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THE PROMOTION OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN THE COMPANY'S DAYS.[1]

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A. Early Missionary Effort.

THE pioneers of the modern study of the South Indian vernaculars and particularly of Tamil, were the European missionaries. It is said that immediately after the celebrated St. Francis Xavier commenced his labours among the Paravas on the Tinnevelly coast towards the end of 1542, he arranged to have the Creed, the Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue rendered into Tamil and himself committed the translations to memory.[2] Robert de Nobili and Constantius Beschi (1680-1747) inspired by their admirable labours the enthusiasm of all lovers of Tamil. Nobili was a nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine and came out in 1606 to serve the famous Madura Mission and died near Mylapore about half a century later, combining in his own person the sanctity of the *sannyâsî* and the erudition of the *paṇḍit.* Beschi spent the years 1710-1747 in the Tamil districts, where he acquired a marvellous knowledge of Tamil, especially over its classical dialect, " as no other European seems to have ever acquired over that or any other Indian language ".[3]

The labours of these two great pioneers of European scholarship in Indian languages are fully portrayed in the *Annual Letters* of the priests of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus and in some cases in the public libraries of Europe. These *Letters* were written annually, sometimes every three years, from every Province or Mission of the Society to its General in Rome, giving an account of every important event that occurred in the Mission. It was from this inexhaustible quarry that Father Bertrand drew materials for his voluminous work—*La Mission du Maduré* (4 vols.)— and also Father Besse for his instructive biography of Beschi.[4] The Letters of the Madura Mission preserved in the Archives of the Society are secured in photographs in the private library of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. " The various compilations published under the name of *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* were made up from such annual letters ".[5]

As a great Tamil scholar and poet, Beschi has always attracted the attention of all Tamils and of Protestant missionaries, engaged in Tamil studies, like Rottler, Caldwell and Pope. Of Beschi's works on the grammar of the Tamil language and of his dictionaries, one writer admiringly points out that they " have proved invaluable aids to his successors and to Protestant missionaries and indeed to all students of Tamil after him". A list of Beschi's numerous works in prose and verse, both in Tamil and in Latin, was published in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1840. There was indeed a previous manuscript Life of Beschi in Tamil written about 1790 which probably served as the basis for the saint's life, which was published in Tamil in 1822 by A. Muttuswami Pillai, Manager of the College of Fort St. George, who, some years previously, undertook a tour in the southern districts of the Presidency for the purpose of securing a collection of Beschi's works, at the instance of F. W. Ellis, a celebrated linguistic scholar. The *Memoir* was enriched with a catalogue of Beschi's works

1 A paper submitted to the Lahore session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 192[illegible]

2 Bishop Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly.* (Madras, 1881). p. 233.

3 Caldwell—Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Dravidian Languages, (1875).

4 *Father Beschi of the Society of Jesus ; His Times and Writings*, (Trichinopoly, 1918).

5 *Ibid* , pp. 3-4.

and extracts from some of them. In 1840 the author gave, at the request of Sir Walter Elliot, an English version of the biography. There is a translation into French of the Tamil notice of Muttuswami Pillai made by Father Louis du Ranquet, S.J., in a letter, dated the Fishery Coast, 1st March 1841.[6] A manuscript French notice of Beschi by a contemporary Capuchin missionary who wrote in 1731 is said to have been found in the library of the Church of Surat and is now in the *Calendrier des Missionaries Jêsuites dans l' Inde* (*Bibl. Nationale*, Fonds Français, No. 9777, Paris).[7]

According to Sir George Grierson,[8] the first Tamil books were printed in 1577–79 ; and the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Father A. de Proenza. A new Tamil grammar by Baltasar da Costa appeared in 1680 ; while the grammar of Ziegenbalg, the Danish missionary of Tranquebar, was printed in 1716. These are, however, very rare or not available at all : while Beschi's much better-known *Grammar on the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language* was written in 1728 for the use of his *confrères* in the Madura Mission and published in the Tranquebar Press in 1737. This work was translated into English first by C. H. Horst in 1806 and more authoritatively by G. W. Mahon at the S. P. C. K. Press, Madras, in 1848—the latter being considered the most accurate English translation of the work. Father Besse says that Anquetil du Perron, the pioneer French Orientalist, presented an abridged French translation of the same grammar to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (MS. No. 219).[9]

Beschi's *Grammar of High Tamil*, the preface of which is dated September 1730, was in Latin and remained unedited for nearly two centuries, until the Latin text was published at Trichinopoly along with the English translation of B. G. Babington.[10] Babington's translation was originally printed at the Madras College Press in 1812 ; and the learned Dr. G. U. Pope calls it "an exceedingly correct and scholar-like edition of a most masterly work."[11]

Connected with this *Grammar of High Tamil* (Literary Dialect) are two other works by Beschi on the Tamil language ; (*a*) The *Tonnûl Viḷakkam*, all in Tamil ; and (*b*) The *Clavis* (*humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulici idiomatis*). Both these works are divided into five parts, embracing prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The first work has been published several times ; and a prose version of it is included in the Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnêe* of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government of Madras ;[12] while the work itself is examined as MS. No. 2179.[13] Mr. Taylor says that the MS. prose version has the appearance of having been a class-book, when the Madras College had a native school attached to it. The noted French scholar, M. Julius Vinson, ranks the *Clavis* among the doubtful works of Beschi, though Dr. A. C. Burnell, the author of *South Indian Palæography*, had no doubt about Beschi having written it and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript, which he thought had been revised by the author in person.

More important than these works on grammar, were Beschi's dictionaries. Of these the first was the *Sadur-Agaradi* (Quadruple Dictionary) consisting of five parts, which was composed in the years 1732–47, and which disclosed "in its author a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics" according to Bertrand. It was published by the Madras College under the supervision of two Tamil Pandits who revised the manuscript and added a supplement. It has been reprinted several times in Madras and in Pondicherry, the last edition at Pondicherry of 1872 being by the authoritative and accurate scholar, Father Dupuis. The next lexicon of Beschi was the *Tamil-Latin Dictionarium*,

6 Besse's *Life of Beschi*, p. 6.

7 *Ibid*, p. 9.

8 *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian, p. 302.

9 Besse, p. 214.

10 *A Grammar of High Tamil*, Latin Text with the English Translation of B. G. Babington. Trichinopoly, (1917).

11 *Tamil Hand-Book* (Madras, 1867). p. 67.

12 MS. No. 2172, p. 784, vol. III (Madras, 1862).

13 MS. No. 2179, p. 2, vol. III (Madras, 1862).

with a long Latin preface, wherein the author compares himself to St. Paul, "the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen." He then praises Father Bourzes, the author of a Tamil-Latin Dictionary, which had been useful to him in the compilation of this work. There was a French translation of this work, of which Anquetil du Perron wanted a copy made for him by the Superior of the Mission at Mahé. According to his original plan Beschi was to have supplemented this work by a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary as a second part. Portuguese was then the language commonly understood by all Europeans in South India, and the Mission House of Trichinopoly possesses a copy[14] of the second part, in which Beschi gives the meaning of 4353 Portuguese words. With the help of this work, other missionaries prepared French-Tamil Dictionaries which are usually attributed to Beschi. The Rev. E. Hoole, in his preface to Beschi's Tamil work—*Rules for Catechists*—which he published in 1844, mentions a Dictionary of Tamil and English among the works of Beschi, while Muttuswami Pillai attributes also to him a Latin-Tamil Dictionary, now extant.

It has also been suggested by Father Besse that Beschi composed a Telugu Grammar, on the ground that Telugu was the language spoken at the Court of the Nayaks of Madura, with which Beschi must have been familiar, and that a century before him de Nobili had composed works in Telugu without ever having left the Tamil country. M. Vinson is not inclined to accept the tradition, and possibly the Telugu grammar was the work of one of the fathers of the Carnatic Mission, whose field of activity was mostly in the Telugu country

Among the manuscripts which Muttuswami Pillai collected as being the works of Beschi, are found other works, theological and secular, to numerous to mention here. The *Têmbâvaṇi*, a long and highly wrought religious epic on St. Joseph in 36 cantos, in the style of the ancient classic of the *Chintâmaṇi*, enables him to be placed in the very first rank of Tamil poets ; and "the Tamils could not believe that it was the work of a foreigner".[15] Beschi's *Commentary in Latin and Tamil on the Sacred Kuṛaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar has been made use of by later editors and translators of the great book, like Ellis[16] and G. U. Pope.[17] Beschi was the last and the most learned of those Jesuit missionaries, and shortly after his time the Jesuit Society and the Madura Mission were suppressed; and for long the great accomplishments of Beschi remained forgotten.[18]

While the Madura Mission did pioneer work in Tamil studies, Protestant missionary effort soon followed suit. The earliest Protestant Mission to South India was the Tranquebar Danish Mission, started by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho. They learnt Tamil "without dictionary, grammar or Munshi"; and between 1708 and 1711 contrived to translate the New Testament into Tamil, and followed it up shortly afterwards with the Hebrew Bible as far as the Book of Ruth.[19] By 1725 the Tamil version of the Old Testament, begun by Ziegenbalg, was completed by his successor, Schulze. This was the *magnum opus* of the missionaries and received two appreciative letters of recognition from King George I of England.[20] The first printing-press that was established in Madras was by the S. P. C. K. in 1711, which had recently begun its operations at the Presidency. It began to take a deep interest in the activities of the Tranquebar Mission which had its own press. Schulze subsequently took charge of a mission in Madras, where he preached in the Tamil, Telugu and Portuguese tongues and translated portions of the Bible into Telugu and Hindustani. The Tranquebar missionaries subsequently printed a

14 Besse, p. 231.

15 Nelson, *A Manual of the Madura Country* (1868), part III, p. 299.

16 Ellis, *Kural* (Madras, 1822), 304 pp. (incomplete).

17 Pope, *The Sacred Kural* (Frowde, 1886).

18 See the writer's article in *The Educational Review*, vol. XXIV (Madras), on "The Madura Mission, and Tamil Scholarship ;" Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, pp. 232-244 ; and D'Orsay, *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa* (1893), pp. 251-261, which gives an account of Robert de Nobili.

19 J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India* (1859), p. 73.

20 Quoted in Claudius Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, (1840).

grammar in Tamil and German and a history of the Church in Tamil.[21] Beschi's first grammar on the Common Dialect appeared in 1737; while C. Th. Walter's *Grammar* appeared two years later. Ziegenbalg's *Dictionarium Tamulicum* was prepared in 1712, and was perhaps only a manuscript.[22] A Tamil Grammar by J. Ch. Fabricius and J. Chr. Breithaupt, missionaries of Madras, was issued in a second edition in 1789. Among these early missionaries, the scriptural system of instruction, the training of schoolmasters and catechists, the publication of manuals of the grammars of the vernaculars and of translations of the Bible, were the methods employed,[23] and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also an era of critical study of these languages. Under the illustrious Christian Frederick Swartz, who laboured in the country for nearly half a century from 1750, and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gericke, Kohloff and Kiernander, translation of Scriptures and other works went on increasing, with large aids from the S. P. C. K. When Valentyn, an indefatigable missionary, who had long resided in Malaya and had translated the Scriptures into colloquial Malay, wrote his history (1727), the Old and New Testaments had been almost completely translated into Singalese as well.

In Malayalam also, much activity was displayed by the missionaries. A Portuguese grammar with a Malayalam vocabulary was published in 1733 Portuguese and Italian missionaries are stated by Grierson[24] to have completed a Malayalam dictionary in 1746, based on materials accumulated in the two previous centuries. The German Jesuit, J. Ernst Hanleden, is stated by Fra Paolino to have written a grammar, which does not seem to have been printed. Other grammars on the language were written by Peter Clemens (Rome, 1784) and by Robert Drummond (Bombay, 1799). In 1781 J. Adam Cellarius published some notes on the features of the language. Grierson says that the first Malayalam printed book was probably the *Symbolum Apostolicum* printed in 1713 at an unknown place.

With regard to Kanarese (Kannada), the Spanish Jesuit Hervas gave 63 Kanarese words in his vocabulary. Schulze, the Danish missionary, prepared a Kanarese version of the Lord's Prayer, which was printed in Berlin in 1806. The famous Serampore missionaries took up the study of Kanarese in earnest ; and a grammar of the language by William Carey appeared in 1817, followed six years later by a translation of the New Testament.[25]

The Telugu (or Gentoo) language is frequently mentioned in the Madras Records from 1683 to 1719. Nobili was said to have written some books in that tongue ; but Schulze was the first European who made a thorough study of it. He translated the Bible into Telugu, published a *Catechismus Telugicus Minor* (Halle, 1746) ; *Colloquium Religiosum Telugicae* (Halle, 1747) and other books. He also gave an account of the Telugu alphabet in his *Conspectus Litteraturae Telugicae*, (Halle, 1747). Later a Telugu grammar was printed at Madras in 1807, and a Telugu translation of the New Testament was issued from the Serampore Mission Press in 1816, followed by a version of the Pentateuch in 1851. It was in Telugu that the greatest necessity was felt by the Madras Government for encouraging the production of books, which would serve the double purpose of assisting civilians, missionaries and other Europeans and also of helping the natives in the acquisition of English ; and it was the Telugu masters and scholars of the College of Fort St. George who greatly helped in the promotion of Dravidian linguistic studies by the Madras Government from about 1800. The Carnatic Mission, which was started for the Telugu country by the Jesuits in 1702, had the services of eminent scholars like John Calmette (1693–1740)[26], who was a great Sanskrit scholar and very probably the *Satyabodha Swamulavaru* of the *Vedânta-Rasâyanam* and who besides translated into Sanskrit a large *Catechism de la Foi*, including a book from the Tamil by Father Beschi.

21 *The Educational Review* (Oct. 1923), article, "Progress of Education in Madras in the 18th century," by C. S. Srinivasachari.

22 G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV, p. 302.

23 Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III, p. 104.

24 *Linguistic Survey*, vol. IV, p. 350.

25 George Smith, *Life of William Carey* (1885), pp. 238-9 ; and Grierson, vol. IV, p. 368.

26 *History of the Telugu Christians* (Trichinopoly), 1910, p. 308.

B. Encouragement by Government.

It was from the starting of the Board for the College of Fort St. George[27] that Government actively took in hand the publication of works in the Dravidian and other native languages and in working the College Press. The Board maintained a depôt and library for the sale and loan of oriental works; and later took charge of the library[28] of Oriental manuscripts transferred from the Museum of the Madras Literary Society, which was started in 1817 by Sir Thomas Newbolt, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Regular rules [29] for observance by the Board of the College were framed in 1820. The College, besides training civil servants in the vernaculars, supervised the instruction of *Munshis* and of persons who were to be appointed law-officers and pleaders in the native courts. The College was advised by Government that "the acquirement of a knowledge of the general grammar and connexion of the several languages of Southern India and of some acquaintance with the sources whence they spring is the chief object of the first two branches of this course."[30] Sometime later Government asked the College Board, which consisted of scholars like F. W. Ellis and A. D. Campbell, to report their opinion regarding the merits of the *Carnatica* (Kannada) *Grammar* and *Vocabulary* submitted by Mr. John McKerrell.[31] Shortly afterwards the Board granted certificates of proficiency to native scholars trained by it, including Muttuswami, the biographer of Beschi, and addressed Government concerning the purchase of the copyrights of "several elementary works of first utility in the High and Low Dialects of the Tamil Language—commencing with Beschi's *Grammar of Low Tamil*". It did not confine its patronage to the products of European scholarship alone. It recommended the purchase of the copyrights of *A Brief Exposition of the Tamil*, by Chidambara Pandaram, the Head Tamil Master of the College, and of a Telugu Dictionary entitled the *Ândhra Dîpica*, compiled by one Mamidi Vencayya of Masulipatam, declaring that the latter work would greatly assist in the formation of an ample Teluga and English Dictionary and proposing the sum of 1,000 star-pagodas for the purchase of the copyright[32]. The Board desired also to acquire the right over a Sanskrit dictionary by the same author. Consequent on its recommendation, the manuscript of A. D. Campbell's *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo* was acquired on public account[33], and the work was printed at the College Press, being dedicated to the Governor-General, the Earl of Moira, K.G. Works on law were also recommended; for instance, the translation of the *Vignânêsvariyam* by the Head Tamil Master of the College, who was also employed in rendering into Tamil the *Vyavahâra-kândam*, corresponding with the 8th and 9th books of Sir William Jones' Translation of the Institutes of Manu.[34] It was ultimately recommended that the copyright should be purchased for 1000 pagodas, which the author agreed to expend in the erection of a public choultry.[35]

In 1815 efforts were made to produce works in Malayalam, and in a Consultation, dated 26th April 1815, recording a letter from the College Board, we read that Mr. Whish had made considerable progress in a grammar of the Malayalam tongue and that he had also commenced a dictionary in that language, and now requested the sanction of the College Board to continue his design of making a copious grammar and converting the two vocabularies (recently

[27] Notification, dated the 1st May 1812, *vide Public Consultations*. 1st and 5th May, 1812.

[28] *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, (1885, Madras), p. 543.

[29] *Rules for the College of Fort St. George*, published by Government in 1820.

[30] PP. 2471-72 MS. *Pub. Consultations*, 1st and 5th May 1812 (Madras Record Office).

[31] *Public Consultations*, 14th July, 1812.

[32] Fort St. George, *Public Consultations*, dated 28th September 1813.

[33] Extract from a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 2nd April 1813, para. 31. Fort St. George, *Consultation*, 7th Dec. 1813, gives the approval of the Governor-in-Council to acquire the copyright. The 1st edition of the book is dated 1816.

[34] *Public Consultations*, 21st June 1814, pp. 3146-47 of vol. VIII of the year (Madras Record Office).

[35] *Public Consultations*, 11th Sep. 1815.

purchased by Government from Mr. Murdoch) into the form of good serviceable dictionaries. In the course of the same year the College Board was asked by Government to report on the Tamil Translation of the English Liturgy[36] prepared by the Rev. Mr. Rottler, promising him assistance if the report should be favourable. Likewise the Board was required to report on Babington's Tamil Translation of Beschi's *Grammar of Shen Tamil* (Higher Dialect).[37] The Board declared that Rottler's work was of limited utility, the translation being too stiff and in some places not conveying the plain meaning. It declared itself satisfied with the Telugu grammar prepared by Mr. A. D. Campbell and requested Government to bring it to the favourable notice of the Court of Directors, soliciting financial assistance[38]. The book was published in 1816 and saw its third edition as late as 1849.[39] In the preparation of the Grammar, Mr. Campbell was assisted by the noted scholar F. W. Ellis and also by the learned Telugu instructor, Udayagiri Venkatanarayana Iyah, who was Head English Master at the College and later became Interpreter to the Supreme Court, and also by Pattabhirama Sastri, Head Sanskrit and Telugu Master at the College. The latter gentleman compiled a Telugu *Dhâtumâla* (List of Roots). It was Campbell who first pointed out the radical and intimate connection that exists between Telugu and the other South Indian vernaculars.

Correspondence was long carried on between Government and the Board on the questions of McKerrell's Karnataka Grammar and Telugu Dictionary and of Whish's Malayalam Grammar and Dictionary.[40] In 1816 Mr. Campbell made a further proposal to compile a Telugu Dictionary, which he asked to be referred to the Court of Directors.[41] Shortly afterwards Government asked for payment of charges for the collection of books and manuscripts purchased by the College Board from Colonel Colin Mackenzie and a native assistant of his.[42]

One Mr. J. Dalziell supplied to the Board the specimen of a Telugu Dictionary that he proposed to complete, and this offer, as well as another made by him to compile a Telugu and English Dictionary, were both disposed of. The Telugu Grammar published by Mr. W. Brown was not favourably reported on at first and Government refused to purchase copies of it.[43] In 1819 Government ordered, on the favourable report of the College Board, to be transmitted to England copies of *The Tales of Vikramanka* in Telugu, compiled by K. Gurumurthy, a master in the College. It also ordered the printing and distribution of an almanac prepared by the native astronomer of the College, as well as the second edition of Campbell's *Telugu Grammar*. In the following year the proposal that Mr. Campbell should compile a Telugu Dictionary took definite shape; and Government permitted him[44] to take two native assistants from the College to Bellary, to help him in the preparation of his Dictionary. Again, on the recommendation of the College Board, Government passed orders that "Mr. Morris's elementary work in the Telugu language" be printed and published under its auspices and the author be sufficiently remunerated.[45] The English and Telugu Dictionary, which Mr. Morris published in 1835, was compiled under the auspices of the College Board and was at their recommendation purchased by Government on behalf of the Hon'ble the

[36] *Public Consultations* of 20th January.

[37] *Ibid.*, 10th March 1815, p. 672 of Record in the Record Office.

[38] *Ibid.*, 22nd Dec., pp. 3358 and 3536 of volumes in the Record Office.

[39] The work was entitled, *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language commonly termed the Gentoo.* It was however as a tolerably correct treatise, being the translation of an original crabbed work.

[40] *Public Consultations*, 10th March, p. 672, 26th April and 8th July (1815), pp. 672, 1116, 1853, of Record Office volumes.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1st of June 1816 (Dispatch Nos. 55 and 56 in the Records).

[42] *Ibid.*, 14th of August 1816 (Dispatch. Nos. 20 and 21).

[43] *Ibid.*, 15th April 1817 (Dispatch Nos. 44 and 45).

[44] *Ibid*, 23rd February 1820 (Dispatch Nos. 232—5).

[45] *Ibid.*, 1820, 18th July (Dispatch Nos. 12 and 13), 1st August (Dispatch Nos. 11 and 12); 20th October (Dispatch Nos. 11 and 12).

Company, to whom the copyright was assigned. In this compilation the author was assisted by the College Telugu Master, K. Gurumurthy Sastri, to whom reference has been already made.[46]

Besides Messrs. McKerrell, Dalziell, Campbell and Morris, we learn from a consultation[47] that Mr. Boileau asked the help of a Telugu teacher in the completion of his Telugu Dictionary. Both Dalziell's Dictionary and W. Brown's Grammar[48] were refused assistance. Shortly afterwards, we read of the handsome donation made by Lieutenant Sinclair of certain Portuguese and Singalese manuscripts to the Library of the College. What use these were of to the Madras scholars, we do not know. From a despatch of the Court of Directors[49] we learn that instructions were given respecting the purchase of W. Brown's *Gentoo (Telugu) Vocabulary*: Campbell's *Telugu Dictionary*; Babington's Tamil work; Rottler's *Translation of the Liturgy*; Morris's *Telugu* work; McKerrell's *Karnataka Grammar* and other books. In continuation of their policy of patronising native authors, the Governor and Council[50] sanctioned a reward to Thandavaraya Vadhiar and authorised the printing of *Amara Kośa* and three other works in Tamil. The College Board was further asked to report on certain of the Mackenzie Manuscripts[51]; and the Tamil translation (perhaps a condensed account) of *The Arabian Nights* Stories, made by one Gnana-Mudaly, was helped by Government purchasing a certain number of copies.[52] Mr. Charles Philip Brown, the well-known Telugu scholar, now began to rise into prominence. He had already translated the verses of Vamana, a rustic epigrammatic poet; and in 1827 he published at the request of Mr. Clark, a member of the College Board, *An Analysis of Telugu Prosody*, adding explanations of the Sanskrit system. Several books tendered by Mr. Brown were purchased by Government, who recommended to the Directors the payment of 1,000 pagodas to him for the original of his treatise on Prosody. A few years later Government acquired the copyrights of the Dictionaries of Morris and Reeve on behalf of the Company. To revise the Tamil Dictionary about to be published by the Rev. Dr. Rottler, Government deputed Mr. Harkness, assisted by two *Munshis*, and later Mr. A. Robertson.[53] The avidity for learning displayed by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, whose sphere of activity lay mainly in the west of India, is well illustrated in a Government consultation[54] defraying the expenses incurred by Muttuswami Pillai in preparing a copy of Beschi's Tamil poem *Tembavani*, which was presented to Sir John.

The continued assistance rendered by the College Board to Mr. Rottler and his successor, Mr. Taylor, in the compilation of the former's Tamil-English Dictionary[55] is seen in the association of T. Venkatachala Mudali, a certificated teacher of the College, with the work of revision. This work refers nearly all words to their roots or primitives; the synonyms were largely drawn from the *Sadur Agaradi*; while Beschi's manuscript Dictionary of the Common Dialect and another manuscript dictionary, Tamil and French, by Du Bourges seem to have been made use of to some extent[56], as well as Fabricius' Tamil and English Dictionary. In 1851, one Captain Ouchterlony solicited patronage for his Tamil-English Lexicon. In 1853

46 *A dictionary English and Teloogoo*, by J. C. Morris, F. R. S. (Madras, 1835)—Introductory Notice :— Pub. Cons., 27th February 1827.

47 Dated 24th August 1821.

48 This was William Brown (Cocclu) who died in 1837. "In 1818 he printed a poor vocabulary and a poorer Grammar. I recollect that he assured me the language, which he called Gentoo, possessed no literature," p. xiii—*Literary Life of C. P. Brown*; *An English and Telugu Dictionary* (2nd Edition).

49 Embodied in *Public Consultation*, 7th October 1823.

50 *Consultation*, 3rd May 1825.

51 *Pub. Cons.*, dated 16th May 1826.

52 *Ibid.*, dated 7th Nov. 1826.

53 *Proceedings* of Government in the Public Department, *Cons.* of 23rd Dec. 1828; and *Cons.* of 20th January 1832.

54 *Pub. Cons.*, 28th June 1831.

55 *A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages*, by the Rev. J. P. Rottler, vol. I., part I (Madras, 1834), vol. I, part II (Madras, 1836-37); part III (Revised by W. Taylor and T. Venkatachala Mudali—1839); part IV (Madras, 1841).

56 Pages iv and v of Preface to Rottler's *Dictionary*, part IV (1841).

the College Board solicited authority for retaining the Rev. Mr. W. Taylor's services for the formation of a *Catalogue Raisonnée* of the Oriental Manuscripts in the College Library.[57] According to C. P. Brown[58], who had a hand in accumulating the Mackenzie MSS. in the Madras College Library, the method adopted by Taylor was unsatisfactory, as he was acquainted with colloquial Tamil alone and unskilled in chronology, and did not use the right method and phraseology in explaining the works. In 1854 the Rev. M. Winslow, American Missionary in Madras, solicited Government patronage to his prospectus of *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil*[59]. This work superseded all earlier works and helped in proving that "in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek, and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than the Latin."[60] About the same date Caldwell's *Dravidian Affinities* was published, Government rendering him also some help[61]. Thus before the Company's rule ended, a brighter day had dawned for Tamil studies with the appearance of Winslow and Caldwell.

In Telugu studies, the labours of Mr. J. C. Morris supplemented by his brother, Mr. H. Morris, and of Mr. C. P. Brown stand out very prominently. From a perusal of the Index volumes to the Proceedings of the Madras Government in the Public Department we are furnished with abundant testimony as to the educative value and popularity of Morris's *Telugu Selections*, Brown's *Dictionary*, and Campbell's *Telugu Grammar*. Brown rates his *Grammar* as being the most difficult and intricate of all his works, with the possible exception of his *Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Muhammadan Chronology*. Brown's works in Telugu are too numerous and varied for detailed notice here; but one may recall the *Nistara Ratnâkaram* (Ocean of Salvation), which he revised from an unknown author, being a summary of the Christian religion in Telugu metre. Brown himself thus speaks of the state of Telugu learning at the time when he commenced his labours "When I began these tasks, Telugu literature was dying out; the flame was just glimmering in the socket. The Madras College, founded in 1813, preserved a little spark. . . . ."[62] An outburst of native authorship was the result, which was to be followed in due course by critical studies. As early as 1839, one B. Subbarayulu published Carpenter's *English Synonyms with Telugu Explanations*. Strangely enough, Morris' *Telugu Selections* was translated into Malayalam by A. J. Arbuthnot, who submitted it for support by Government[63]. Some years before this date appeared Captain Whistler's Translation into Telugu of the *Arabian Nights*, and almanacs both in Tamil and Telugu published by the College Board. Malayalam and Kannada (Canarese) came in also for proportionate attention and encouragement by the College Board and by Government. It was the Rev. Mr. Whish who was first encouraged by the College Board in the compilation of a Malayalam Dictionary. A Consultation of 1834[64] supplied to England information regarding the works in the vernacular languages prepared by the late Mr. C. M. Whish. In 1847 Government gave financial assistance to the Rev. J. Reeks' proposed Grammar of the Malayalam language[65]. Mr. F. W. Ellis first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam of Sanskrit derivatives[66] "in a proportion exceeding half, equal perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads common to all dialects of South India, *tat-samam*, pure

57 *Pub. Cons*, 15th February 1853.

58 P. xviii of *The Literary Life of C. P. Brown* quoted above.

59 Compiled with the assistance of native scholars; and from MS. materials of the Rev. J. Knight of Jaffna (died 1838) assisted by the Rev. P. Percival (Madras, 1862).

60 *Ibid.*, p. vii of Preface.

61 *Pub. Cons.*, 13th Jany. 1854.

62 P. xxii of *The Literary Life of C. P. Brown* quoted above.

63 *Proceedings* in the Public Dept., 27th Nov. 1849.

64 Dated 8th July and answering a communication from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

65 *Proceedings* in the Pub. Dept., 15th July.

66 Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc.* (London, 1855). p. xxiii (Preface)

Sanskrit words, or *tat-bhavam*, derived from Sanskrit." The *Desya* (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and derivatives from Tamil. The study of the language was greatly facilitated in this generation by the Grammars of Mr. Spring of the Madras Civil Service and of the Rev. Mr. Peet of the Church Mission Society, and by the good and useful dictionaries of Malayalam and English, and English and Malayalam, compiled by the Rev. Mr. Bailey of the same Mission. In 1842 Government patronage was solicited for the work of Mr. Bailey.[67] Both Government and the College went only a little way towards meeting the need for printed books for the use of students.

With regard to Kannada, the want of a good dictionary was supplied early enough[68], in which the Madras College had a good share. A better dictionary, both Kannada and English, and English and Kannada, was published in four quarto volumes by Mr. Reeve of the London Missionary Society in 1832. The copyright of Reeve's work was acquired by the Company on the recommendation of the College Board in 1831.[69] Reeve commenced his labours as far back as 1817. He emphasized the affinity between Telugu and Canarese, and he made the fullest possible use of the *Telugu Dictionary* of Campbell and the *Sanskrit Dictionary* of Wilson. He had to encounter, as he says[70], the full force of adverse conditions—" the rareness of ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivelling and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation, and the comparatively small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgment or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment." Records of 1849 tell us of the Government's recommendation to the Court of Directors that help should be given to the Rev. Mr. Moegling in publishing certain works of his in the Kanarese language[71]. The same author was later promised aid in publishing the *Basava Purâṇa* and the *Chenna Basava Purâṇa* ; but the Court of Directors considered that " the aid of Government should be confined to original works or to publications calculated to be useful to junior civil servants, and the expense of which was moderate.[72]

Works undertaken on behalf of the Madras Government, like Ellis' *Mirasi Tenure*, Robertson's *Glossary* in Tamil and English of words used in the law-courts, may also be mentioned in this connection, as having helped in linguistic studies to some extent. Mr. Richard Clarke of the Madras Civil Service collected a great volume of materials relating to terms used in Government records, including Muhammadan law-terms ; and his valuable *MSS.* were useful to Professor Wilson in the compilation of his valuable *Glossary*. The publications of the Madras School Book Society, started in 1820, formed a most enlightened development of vernacular literature. The abolition of the College of Fort St. George in 1854, and the constitution of a Board of Examiners instead, closed a most useful side of governmental activity. Now that the critical study and promotion of the vernaculars is in full progress, it behoves us to remember gratefully and cherish the good pioneer work done by missionary enterprise and both directly and indirectly by Government agency also—which was promptly and willingly taken advantage of by Indian scholars and students. Further material for the elucidation of this interesting subject lies imbedded in the Records of the Public Department in the Madras Record Office.

67 *Public Consultations*, 29th Nov. 1842.

68 *Grammar and Dictionary of Karnata*, by J. McKerrell, M.C.S. (1820).

69 *Public Consultations*, 2nd Jan. and 12th March 1824 ; and 28th June 1831.

70 Preface, p. ii, and Kittel, *A Kannada-English Dictionary*, (Mangalore, 1894), (Preface), pp. vii and viii.

71 *Public Consultations*, 31st July.

72 *Proceedings* in the Pub. Dept. of the 16th Nov. 1852 (Dispatch Nos. 19–21).

YAŚODHAVALA PARAMÂRA AND HIS INSCRIPTION.

BY R. R. HALDER.

YASODHAVALA was one of the Paramâra rulers of Âbu, and was the father of the Paramâra Dhârâvarsha, the most famous among them. He secured the throne of Âbu after the deposition of his uncle Vikramasiṁha. According to *Dvyâśraya Kâvya* [1] by Hemachandra, Vikramasiṁha was ruling at Âbu, when Kumârapâla, the Solanki ruler of Gujarât, came to Abu and waged war against Arṇôrâja, the Chauhân king of Ajmer. The name of Vikramasiṁha, however, is not mentioned in the inscription,[2] dated Saṁvat 1287 (A.D. 1230) at the temple of Neminâtha on Mount Âbu which gives the genealogy of the rulers of Âbu; but as Hemachandra (Hemâchârya) was a great Jain scholar in the reign of Kumârapâla, his version cannot be discredited. It seems, however, that at the time of battle between Arṇôrâja and Kumârapâla, Vikramasiṁha turned traitor and went over to the side of Arṇôrâja. This disloyalty on the part of Vikramasiṁha led Kumârapâla to place him in confinement and set his nephew Yaśodhavala on the throne of Âbu.[3]

Yaśôdhavala ruled at Âbu as a feudatory of Kumârapâla and was a brave warrior. He is said to have killed Ballâla, the lord of Mâlava, when he learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla of Gujarat[4]. His rule began in *s.* 1202 (A.D. 1145) and may have lasted up to *s.* 1220 (A.D. 1163), the date of commencement of his son's rule.

The date of the accompanying inscription of Yaśôdhavala is *s.* 1202 (A.D. 1145); that is to say, he was the ruler of Âbu in that year. Consequently, the above-mentioned battle between Arṇôrâja and Kumârapâla of Gujarat must have been fought in or shortly before that year. Some Jain writers, however, have confused this battle with that fought later between the same rulers.

From the Chitorgarh inscription of Kumârapâla, dated Saṁvat 1207 (A.D. 1150), we learn that Kumârapâla, having defeated Ânaka, the ruler of Śâkambhari, and devastated the Sapâdalaksha country, went to Chitor to view the beauty of that place.[5]

The ruler Ânaka referred to in this passage was clearly Arṇôrâja, the Chauhân king of Ajmer, who is also known as Ânâ, Ânâka, Ânnalladêva, etc. The Chauhâns were called *Śâkambharîśvara* or *Sambharînarêśa* (kings of Śâkambharî or Sambharî) after their capital at Śâkambharî (Sâmbhar). The capital of Arṇôrâja, however, was not Sâmbhar, but Ajmer, to which place the seat of the capital of the Chauhâns was transferred from Sâmbhar by Ajayarâja (Ajayadêva), father of Arṇôrâja. Before Sâmbhar, the Chauhâns had their capital at Nâgaur (Ahichhatrapura) in the Jodhpur State. This is known from an inscription,[6]

1 वाक्षेः परस्तान्नगरीयभूपैमार्मीयभृत्यैः पल्लीयथोधैः
सपर्वतीयैश्च सपर्वतीयवेषैर्युतोथार्बुदमाससार ॥ ३३ ॥
तां पार्वतीं क्ष्मां कुकणीयपर्णीयशोभमानामवितेत्यथोचे ।
पत्तिः स्वकीयो नृपतेर्गहीयपशातियुग्विक्रमसिंहनामा ॥ ३४ ॥ *Dvyâśraya Kâvya*, canto XVI.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 200.

3 ततः सर्वावसरे तं विक्रमसिंहमाकार्य द्वासप्ततिसामन्तसमक्षं
हक्कयित्वा मल्लैः सज्जीकृत्य कारागारे निक्षिप्तवान् ।
तद्राज्याधिपं तस्य भ्रातृव्यं यशोधवलनामानं कृतवांश्च ।
Kumârapâla-Prabandha of Jinamaṇḍanopâdhyâya, p. 42; also, *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, pp. 188-89 and the Parmâras of Dhâr and Mâlwâ by C. E. Luard and K. K. Lele, p. 34.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 201.

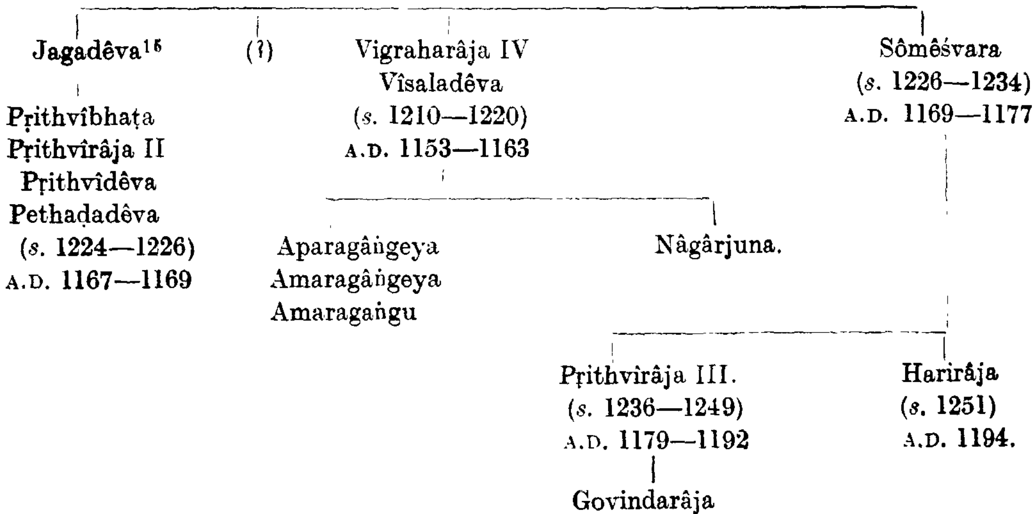
5 सपादलक्षमामर्द्य नम्रीकृतभयानकः ।
[स्व]य[म]यान्महीनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥
सन्निवेश्य सि(शि)बिरं पृथु तत्र त्यासितासहनभूपतिचक्रम् ।
चित्रकूटगिरि[पु]ष्क[ल]शोभां द्रष्टुमार नृपतिः कुतुकेन ॥ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 423, ll. 11-13.

6 विप्रश्रीवत्सगोत्रेभूदहिच्छत्रपुरे पुरा ।
सामंतोनंतसामंतः पूर्णतल्ले नृपस्ततः ॥ १२ ॥
Also see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XL, p. 29.

dated Saṁvat 1226 (A.D. 1169) found at Bijolyân in the Udaipur State, which states that one of the early Chauhân kings, Sâmanta, ruled at Ahichhatrapura[7]. Nâgaur was also the capital[8] of Jâṅgaladêśa, which comprised the whole of the present Bikaner[9] State and the northern part of Mârwâr (Jodhpur State). So the Chauhâns were also called kings of Jâṅgaladêśa[10]. The territory lying in the vicinity of Nâgaur was originally known as Sapâdalaksha[11], and the Chauhâns were called *Sapâdalakshîya-nṛipati* (kings of Sapâdalaksha). Gradually, the Chauhâns of Ajmer under Vigraharâja (Vîsaladeva) IV extended their sway over the country outside Rajputana, as far as Delhi and Hânsî[12] in the Punjab.[13] Roughly speaking, all the territories that came under the rule of the Chauhâns were known as the Sapâdalaksha country.

Arṇôrâja and other Chauhâns of Ajmer are shown in the following table[14] :—

Arṇôrâja—Ânnalladêva—Ânaka—Ânâka
(s. 1196—1207). A.D. 1139—1150.



The defeat of Arṇôrâja mentioned above in the inscription of Chitorgarh was evidently the result of a battle fought in or about Saṁvat 1207 (A.D. 1150), which is quite different from the former battle, to which I have referred.

7 The name Ahichhatra occurs at several places. Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1, pt. II, p. 560, n. 11.

8 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XL, p. 28.

9 The rulers of this state style themselves as the ' kings of Jaṅgaladhara.' See also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XL, p. 28.

10 दण्डे मण्डपिका हैमी सहमत्तैर्मतंगजैः ।
दत्वा पादं गले येन जाङ्गलेशादगृह्यत । ५३
द्वारि प्रविष्टयद्बाणक्लिष्टेनाघूर्णितं शिरः ।
जांगलक्षोणिपालेन दयाचक्षाणौः परैरपि । ४६

—Sômeśvara's *Kirtikaumudi*, canto II.

11 The name Sapâdalaksha also occurs elsewhere. Vide *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, p. 344 ; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 30.

12 प्रतोल्यां च वलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः [।]
दिल्लिकाग्रहणश्रांतमाशिकालाभलंभितः (तं) ॥ २२ ॥

Bijolyân Inscription of the time of the Chauhân king Sômêśvara, dated s. 1226. [*JASB*., 1886, pt. I, p. 42.]

13 Certain parts of the Kishengarh, Jaipur, Bundi, Kotah and Udaipur States were also under the Chauhâns.

14 According to *Prithvirâja-Vijaya* and several inscriptions. The dates are mostly taken from inscriptions set up during their reign. Consequently, they represent the shortest but surest period of their rule. Their reign may have lasted longer than the above dates of their inscriptions.

15 Jagadêva being a parricide, the throne was seized from him by his younger brother Vîsaladêva.

While the general contents of the inscription of Yaśodhavala are of no great interest, its date is important, inasmuch as it definitely enables us to determine the period of the first battle between Arṇôrâja and Kumârapâla.

The stone was found by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gourishankar H. Ojha in the Sirohi State in Rajputana and is now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It contains thirteen lines of writing: lines 8—11 are badly defaced. The character is Nâgarî and the language is Sanskrit, but incorrect. It is dated Monday the 14th day of the bright half of Mâgha, Saṁvat 1202 (A.D. 1145), and records that a certain grant was made at the village Âjâhari by the queen Saubhâgyadêvî of the Chaulukya family (of Gujarat) during the prosperous reign of Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Yaśodhavala (ll. 1—6). The next three lines are imprecatory and threaten punishment in the next life to those who may appropriate this grant in future. The last two lines mention the name of the *Sûtradhâra* (engraver) as Châḍadêva, and contain two words *talâra* and *surabhî* (ll. 12 and 13 respectively), which need explanation. The word *surabhî* means a cow and the grants made by kings or rulers inscribed on stones are called *sureha*, *surihi* or *surî*, which are corrupt forms of the Sanskrit word *surabhi*. Such inscriptions contain on top the figure of a cow with a suckling calf, and sometimes the sun and the moon on either side above the cow, which represents the earth. The idea is that as long as the earth, the sun and the moon shall endure, so long will the grants be preserved. In Rajputana, they are generally found in fields and temples, and this is first inscription known to me, in which the word *surabhî* is written.

The word *talâra* is another form of the word *talâraksha* [16], which seems to be an official title. Probably it meant in those days what the word *kôtwâl* (a police officer) means at the present day. The word is used several times in the Chirwâ inscription [17], dated Samvat 1330 (A.D. 1273), of the time of Râwal Samarasiṁha of Mewâr.

In the *Pṛithvîchand Charitra* of Maṇikyasundarasûri, composed in *s.* 1478, there is a list of officials, which includes the names *talavar* and *talavarya*. Sometimes in inscriptions we find the word *talavargin*[18]. The word *talliari* is perhaps also akin to this (*talâra*), and means a watchman of the village, whose duty it is to watch crops in the daytime and assist the farmers to do so at night. His peculiar duty, however, is to ascertain the boundaries of each field and of each farmer's possession. In Gujarâtî, the word *talâṭi* [19] still refers to a *paṭwâri.*

Line.	Text.
1.	ओं स्वस्ति संवत् १२०२ वर्षे माघसुदि [20] १४ सो—
2.	मे . . . . महामंडलेस्वर[21] श्रीय—
3.	[22]शोधवलदेवराज्ये चौलुक्यवंशोद्भव[23]—
4	पट्टराज्ञीश्रीसौभाग्यदेव्या आजाहरिग्रामा—
5.	मे . . . . स्यार्थे . . . .
6.	. . . . प्रदत्ता य [:] कोपि रि—
7.	प्यति स सप्तपुरुषसहितो[24] कुंभीपातिन[25]—
8.	कै यास्यतो[26] . . . .
9.	. . . . तानि कलिकाल . . .
10	. . . . ब्राह्मण . . . .
11.	. . . . चत्वारि सीरपति . . .
12.	तलारसहितेन सूत्रधारचाडदेवेन
13.	. . . सुरभी प्रतिष्ठिता इति ॥ श्री ॥

16 Prof. Monier Williams gives the meaning of it as a 'body-guard.'

17 *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. 21, p. 143.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, pp 256 and 258. n 6; also vol VI, p. 106, n. 5.

19 See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 217, n. 8.

20 Read °शुदि 21 Read °श्वर° 22 Read °धो 23 Read वंशो

24 Read °सहितः 25 Read पाकनरके 26 Read यास्यति

FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS.

BY B. A. SALETORE, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

I. Song of the Holeyas.

The following songs are sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk during their marriage ceremony :—

1. *The Song in Tulu.*

Text.

Sandânânâ sâṇere.
Sandânâ Sâṇere.
Pani pani barasogu deshampunde.
Pani pani barasogu deshampunde.
Pani pani barasogu tattara beḍa.
Pani pani barasogu tattara beḍa.
Ittiri kârâl madimâla.
Barabara banjidâye madimâye.
Sandânogu baruvâla shankarimanâ.
Nidânogu baruvâla nidânabombe.
Sandânânâ Sâṇere.
Tumbudunde ponnu Kaḷikandelo,
Kattadanḍe ponnu Nîrakandelo,
Sandânânâ Sâṇere.
Munḍevu gunḍiḍa, mudaleda sintema.
Yî yencha battâ, Magâ, bâle bangâro ?
Kanḍâda kaḍitta Mandejida magurundu,
Kaipetaro ?
Sandi beḍâ lingâ, sâri beḍâ.
Koḍi kodusara magâ suddi beḍâ,
Sandânânâ Sâṇere: Sandânânâ Sâṇere.

Translation.

Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment.
When it rains in drops, sprinkle the rice over the pair.
When it rains in drops, sprinkle the rice over the pair.
When it rains in drops, an umbrella is unnecessary.
When it rains in drops, an umbrella is unnecessary.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (*Chorus*).
With feet like those of the Ittiri bird, does the bride come.
With a pattering noise and a big stomach, does the bridegroom come.
She comes for a sacred union, the bride.
She comes slowly, she comes like a puppet doll.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (*Chorus*).
She carries a pitcher of toddy on her waist,
She carries a pitcher of water on her fore-arm.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (*Chorus*).
In the ponds of the Screw-pine, with grief as terrible as a crocodile,
How did you come, O dear, dear, golden child ?
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (*Chorus*).
On the edge of a field, the Madenji fish tumbles,
Is it the Kaipetaru fish ?
Make no promise, O Man, nor wish for an evil turn :

(And) Speak not of the child of Yesterday, O Son, speak not.
Peace, O Peace, at the time of this sacred moment (*Chorus*).

2. *Text.*

Le le le le l e le lâ Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).
Daitirimâle, tânunchellyabâlenâ ;
Nerade kândelkondal, Daitirimâle ;
Tarekuduttu kattondala, Daitirimâle ;
Guddegalâ phovundala, Daitirimâle ;
Aluttalâ Battondala, Daitirimâle ;
Nîrala muttondala, Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).
Ulâyi onjî sôtorogu, Daitirimâle,
Tappu maipu pattondula, Daitirimâle.
Pidayi onjî sôtorogu, Daitirimâle,
Kunti maipu pattondula, Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).
Nîradâ kandela patta (da), Daitirimâle,
Nîradâde phovundalâ, Daitirimâle,
Kaimone nedyandola, Daitirimâle,
Kaimone nedyandola, Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).
Aluttalâ battondala, Daitirimâle.
Karakorayi nedyondala, Daitirimâle,
Dikkela nîra konovundala, Daitirimâle.
Tû andâla pottayela, Daitirimâle ;
Atila mâltondala, Daitirimâle,
Baidi binnerega balasondala, Daitirimâle,
Tânalâ tindondala, Daitirimâle ;
Ullaya bêlega phovandela, Daitirimâle,
Bele kâle tîrândola, Daitirimâle.
Le le le le le le lâ Daitirimàâege,
Tânunchelya bâlena, Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).

Translation.

Le le le le le le lâ O Thou Daitirimâlegé (*Chorus*).
(O Thou) Daitirimâle, who art a little child ;
Who hast heard fond nicknames from the morning, O Daitirimâle ;
Who hast tied thine hair after flapping it, O Daitirimâle ;
Who art ready to go to the hills, O Daitirimâle,
(And) who hast returned a-crying, O Daitirimâle ;
(And) who hast washed with water (thine hands and feet), O Daitirimâle (*Chorus*)
In one of the inner portions of the house, O Daitirimâle,
Thou hast handled the wrong green-foliaged broom, O Daitirimâle.
In one of the outer portions of the house, O Daitirimâle
Thou hast handled a small worn-out broom, O Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).
(O Thou) who art carrying a pot of water, O Daitirimâle,
(Thou) who art going to the well, O Daitirimâle,
Thou who art washing (thine) hands and face, O Daitirimâle,
Who art washing thine hands and face, O Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).
And who art returning a-crying, O Daitirimâle,
Thou who art washing the earthen vessels with thine hands, O Daitirimâle,
Who art pouring water in the pot above the fire, O Daitirimâle.

(Thou) who art lighting the fire, O Daitirimâle,
(And) who art preparing the meal, O Daitirimâle ;
Thou who art serving the guests who have come, O Daitirimâle,
And who after serving them, art eating the food, O Daitirimâle ;
And who art, then, going to do the work of thy land-lord, O Daitirimâle,
After finishing all other work, O Daitirimâle.
Le le le le le le lâ O Thou Daitirimâle,
Thou who art a fond little child, O Daitirimâle (*Chorus*).

The following song is sung by the Muṇḍâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk during their marriage ceremony :—

3. *The Song in Tulu.*

Text.

Le le le le le le lâ Tumbetirâmâ ! Le le le le **Tumbetirâmâ** !
Tumbenavolu kûṭandinâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Karaṇḍenavolu kâḷigandinâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra boroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Nêliya mukhâri dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ ;
Yeliya mukhâri dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Mûlya dikkala baroḍaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Yekkalada Aridakka, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍayâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Koḍada mânya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Panjurli mânya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Yekkalada aridakka, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Guḷiga mânya dikkalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ,
Guḷiga mânya dikkalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Bajaldâya dikkalaya, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Pulyandaya dikkalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ
Nana yêra barouḍuya, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Kachada aṇṇe batteneyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Telikeda akkâ battalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Kedumburedakkâ battalayâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Nana yêra baroḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ ?
Kâla kaḍesunḍaḍo, Tumbetirâmâ.
Veḷe phophunḍuyâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Bêga Bêga ballayâ, Tumbetirâmâ.
Le le le le le le lâ Tumbetirâmâ ! Le le le le, **Tumbetirâmâ** !

Translation.

Le le le l e le le lâ Tumbetirâmâ ! Le le le le le Tumbetirâmâ !
Gather the Tumbe flowers, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Gather the Karaṇḍe leaves, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The wife of the great *mukhâri* is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ;
The wife of the small *mukhâri* is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?

The wife of the demon-priest is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Stretching your body, sprinkle the rice, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The wife of the priest of the demon Kodadabbu is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The wife of the priest of the demon Panjurli is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Stretching your body, sprinkle the rice, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The wife of the priest of the demon Guligâ is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The wife of Bâjaldâye (the Toddy-Server) is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The wife of Pulyandâye is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
Has the indiscreet young brother come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
The laughing sister is come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
The delicate sister is come, O Tumbetirâmâ.
And who is yet to come, O Tumbetirâmâ ?
It is getting late, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Time is fleeing, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Come soon, come soon, O Tumbetirâmâ.
Le le le le le le lâ Tumbetirâmâ ! Le le le le Tumbetirâmâ !

The following song is sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi, when the bridegroom is being shaved :—

4. *The Song in Tulu.*

Text.

Le le le le lâ kinni Madimâye ! Le le le le lâ kinni Madimâye !
Tâṇunchelya bâlenâ, kinni Madimâye :
Tâṇunchelya bâlenâ, kinni Madimâye ;
Nettereḍa puṭṭiyena, kinni Madimâye,
Nîrada balettenâ, kinni Madimâye.
Bâlepobalmanna, kinni Madimâyege;
Uddalâ phovunḍena, kinni Madimâye.
Budditâ kaltonḍenâ, kinni Madimâye.
Uḷḷaya belega phovunḍena. kinni Madimâyege.
Jâtipolikenâ, kinni Madimâyege.
Le le le le lâ kinni Madimâyege !
Gaḍda mêse battonḍayâ, kinni Madimâyega,
Poṇṇu sinte puttunduyâ, kinni Madimâyega.
Poṇṇu tûvere phovundena, kinni Madimâye ;
Poṇṇu malla tûvundenâ, kinni Madimâye,
Jâtipolikenâ, kinni Madimâyegâ.
Landabanda maltondena, kinni Madimâye,
Jâtinîti malpondena. kinni Madimâyege.
Le le le le lâ kinni Madimâyege !
Tûrikorendenâ, kinni Madimâyege,
Jâtinîtimaltondena, kinni Madimâye.
Le le le le lâ kinni Madimâye !
Le le le le lâ kinni Madimâye.

Translation.

Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom !
Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom.
A little beautiful child is he, the young Bridegroom !
Born in blood was he, the young Bridegroom ;
He grew strong in waters, the young Bridegroom.
He was a little child, the young Bridegroom ;
Now he has grown tall, the young Bridegroom.
He has improved his wit, the young Bridegroom.
He has gone to his land-lord's work, the young Bridegroom.
He has got a gift from his caste, the young Bridegroom.
Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom !
He has got beard and whiskers, the young Bridegroom,
And his heart is set on a woman, the young Bridegroom.
He's gone to see his lass, the young Bridegroom ;
He has chosen a fitting mate, the young Bridegroom,
Who is a gift from his caste, the young Bridegroom.
He has bound himself, the young Bridegroom,
To the welfare of his caste, the young Bridegroom ;
Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom !
Give the earthen-pot (of toddy) to the young Bridegroom,
As a gift from his caste, (Oh) the young Bridegroom.
Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom !
Le le le le lâ (Oh) the young Bridegroom !

MISCELLANEA.

KATHÂ AND VṚTTAKA.

In the *Triṣaṣṭiśalâkṛpuruṣacarira* 6. 2. 324 f., Hemacandra raises a question of fiction terminology. In a conversation between a minister and a dwarf, the minister said, "Tell us an interesting *kathâ*." The dwarf replied, "Shall I tell a *kathâ* or a *vṛttaka* ?" Questioned as to the difference between a *kathâ* and a *vṛttaka*, the dwarf said, "A *vṛttaka* is one's own adventures (*carita*) ; a *kathâ* is the adventures of men of former times."

It has long been evident that Râjasekhara's definition (quoted by Buhler, *Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, p. 5) of a *caritra*, as the biography of Tîrthaṅkaras, Cakravartins and Rishis to the time of Aryarakṣita, as distinguished from a *prabandha*, the biography of men of later times, was not observed in practice. *Caritra* is used for the biography of any one ; *e.g.*, *Rauhiṇeya caritra*, which is the biography of a thief, *Śâlibhadracaritar*, the biography of a merchant.

It is difficult to say whether or not Hemacandra's distinction was actually observed. Does any one know of any *vṛttakas* or autobiographical *caritras* ?

HELEN M. JOHNSON.

BOOK-NOTICES.

HINDU POLITY. A constitutional history of India in Hindu Times ; (two volumes in one). By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. ; Butterworth and Co., Calcutta, 1924.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna needs no introduction to students of Indian history and antiquities. The pages of the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, to which he has contributed so many able and suggestive articles, would alone ensure public interest in any work from his pen. The present volume, which the author describes as mainly a commentary upon his paper, 'An Introduction to Hindu Polity,' published in the *Modern Review* in 1913, is a succinct and lucid summary of the ancient constitutional organizations of India, from the *Samiti* and *Sabha* of Vedic times and the later Republics, *Gaṇa* and *Saṃgha*, to the Monarchy and Imperial systems of a more definitely historic age. The various constitutional features of Ancient India are arranged and discussed within certain chronological limits, based upon the evidence supplied by Vedic, Classical, and Prakrit literature and by lithic and numismatic records, and cover the period from the Vedic age to A.D. 600, when Hindu constitutional traditions suffered an eclipse, lasting roughly till the middle of the seventeenth century. Within these limits the author unfolds the origin and characteristics of the assemblies of the Vedic Aryans ; the Hindu Republics of 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600 ; the *Janapada* and the *Paura*

assemblies of 600 B.C. to A.D. 600; Hindu kingship from the earliest age to A.D. 600; the Council of Ministers under Hindu monarchy from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; the judiciary from 700 B.C. to A.D. 600; the theory of taxation from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600; and Hindu imperial systems from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 600. It will be apparent from this list of subjects that the book provides much interesting historical information and offers plenty of food for reflection.

Within the limits of a 'review' it is impossible to deal in detail with the contents of this erudite work, and I will therefore confine my remarks to a brief notice of a few points which aroused my particular interest. Among these is the suggestion that the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, the most vital feature of the Church founded by Gautama, was modelled upon and named after the political *Saṅgha*, which was synonymous with *Gaṇa*, signifying a Republic. According to the author, these Hindu republics were administered by a deliberative body, composed of various classes of the population, and were styled *ayudhajivin* or *Śastropajivin*—two somewhat obscure terms, of which Mr. Jayaswal suggests an explanation. In the Buddhist age the republican form of government was apparently flourishing; the literature of that period mentions at least seven republican states: and between them they must have provided plenty of constitutional material to serve as a pattern to the Buddha, when he addressed himself to the task of organizing his ecclesia. The arrangements prevailing in the republic of the Lichchhavis are rightly treated in some detail, as the Lichchhavi State lasted from early days until the era of Gupta imperialism, and during practically the whole of that period occupied a position of great importance.

Mr. Jayaswal stoutly opposes the late Dr. Vincent Smith's view that these republican *gaṇas* were of Mongolian origin, and that the Lichchhavis themselves possessed Tibetan affinities. He points out that Smith's view was based on the custom of exposure of the dead, as supposed to be illustrated by a passage in a Chinese legend, and secondly on the judicial procedure of the Lichchhavis as described by Turnour. The Chinese legend is admittedly about a thousand years later in date than the period to which it purports to refer, while the description which it contains can be shown, on the analogy of passages in the *Dharma Śâstra* and Sanskrit dramatic works, to be applicable to the ordinary Hindu *smaśâna*, and not to refer necessarily to Tibetan or Iranian burial customs. Similarly, the supposed evidence of Lichchhavi judicial procedure is stated to be illusory by the juxta-position of Turnour's description and the account of the stages of Tibetan criminal procedure given by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das. Mr. Jayaswal depends also upon a passage in the *Mahâbhârata* to establish his contention that Lichchhavi criminal procedure was based on rules normally followed by Hindu *Gaṇas* or republican states. He likewise adduces evidence which suggests the probability of the Lichchhavis themselves being pure Hindu Kshatriyas, having no racial connection with Tibet. The same conclusion has been reached by Mr. Bimala C. Law in his *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*. It is stated in the preface that Dr. Vincent Smith was largely responsible for the inception of Mr. Jayaswal's work, and it is a matter of regret that he did not live to see its completion.

In the second part of his work, dealing with Hindu Monarchy, the author dissents quite as strongly from another statement in Smith's *Early History of India* to the effect that "the native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as crown property." Colebrooke's essay on *Mimâṃsâ*, the dicta of Hindu lawyers like Nilakaṇṭha, Mâdhava. and Katyâyana, the statements of accepted commentators, the *Jâtaka*, and copper-plate title-deeds of the Gupta period, are marshalled together to prove that the ancient Hindu legal doctrine regarding proprietorship in land was the exact reverse of what it is stated to be by Dr. Smith in the above-quoted sentence. *Mîmâṃsâ* declares emphatically that the king has no property in the soil: and this is in consonance with the opinions of ancient constitutional writers, who decided that the king is in the position of a servant of the body politic, obtaining his wages in the shape of taxes, but possessing no proprietorship in the land. Mr. Jayaswal further asserts that the English translation of the *śloka*, on which Smith depended to re-inforce his view, contains a fundamental error, *pati* being rendered 'owner' instead of 'protector,' and the latter portion being wholly misconstrued. Whether Mr. Jayaswal's arguments can be successfully parried, is a question into which I cannot here enter.

In a chapter on 'Technical Hindu Constitutions from 1000 B.C.' the author touches upon the Râshṭrakas of Western India and appears to treat the Pettanikas or Petenikas of Asoka's inscriptions as a separate political entity, of which the rulers or leaders had contrived to obtain hereditary status. This view does not tally with that adopted by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures for 1923. He states that Petenikas cannot be separated from Râshtrika and Bhoja, and that it is a qualifying word or adjective, signifying "one who is hereditary ruler of a *râshṭra* or province." Mr. Jayaswal suggests that the Râshtrikas obtained their name from their political constitution—the Râshṭrika, which was purely republican in character, the administration being vested in a board of non-hereditary elected leaders: while the Pettanikas or 'hereditary leaders' followed a different form of constitution, Pettanika, described as aristocratic or oligarchic. While I do not feel competent to argue

this point, I entertain considerable doubts about accepting Mr. Jayaswal's view in preference to that of Dr. Bhandarkar. If we can assume that the Râshṭrikas of the Asokan inscriptions are the same people as the Mahâraṭhis of the Nasik inscriptions, the view that the former were administrative heads of provinces, who contrived to exchange their original status as governors for that of hereditary chieftains, seems on the whole more acceptable than that now put forward by Mr. Jayaswal. It seems probable that the Mahâraṭhis were connected with, and occupied in western India the same position as, the Mahâsenapatis, who were at one time viceroys of the Andhra dynasty and subsequently assumed independence in Adoni and the eastern portion of the Andhra dominions. It seems difficult to believe that they or the Mahâraṭhis ever indulged in republican forms of government, though the habits and manners of the Marâṭhâs at the close of the eighteenth century, as recorded by Tone, lend colour to the view that social equality and *camaraderie* were once the guiding principles of their class. The aristocratic aloofness, which to-day divides the upper-class Marâṭhâ from his more humble kinsmen, the Kunbis and allied tribes and castes, was certainly not observable in 1796. On the whole, I should like to see Mr. Jayaswal's view subjected to further argument, before finally rejecting the opinion recorded on pages 32 and 33 of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka.*

On the subject of the coronation of Asoka, also, there is a conflict of opinion between Mr. Bhandarkar and the author of the present work. The former argues that there is no sound reason for assuming an interval of four years between Asoka's succession and coronation. Dr. V. A. Smith accepted the fact of the four years' interval in his *Early History of India*, and seemed to think that it signified a dispute about the succession. Mr. Jayaswal agrees that Asoka was not formally 'crowned' for four years after his accession, but ascribes the delay to the operation of the Hindu constitutional law, which forbade the coronation of a king before the completion of his twenty-fourth year. By orthodox and sacred Hindu law the uncrowned period could not be recognized, and it is for this reason, states Mr. Jayaswal, that the *Purâṇas* do not count the pre-coronation years of Asoka's reign, while they include them in the total for the dynasty. This explanation strikes me as plausible.

Another arresting suggestion in this work relates to the supposed existence of the worship of Vasudeva prior to the date of Paṇini. The belief is based upon the interpretation of a *sûtra* of Paṇini, which Mr. Jayaswal believes to be erroneous. He asserts, in short, that the word *bhakti* can be shown from the context to have signified, not religious devotion, but political or constitutional allegiance. There are many other facts, suggestions and inferences set forth in this work, which render it of first-rate importance to students of ancient Hindu institutions, ideals, and history. Other experts may dissent from some of the views propounded by the author, but their criticism cannot deprive the work of its value as a carefully documented retrospect of the growth of Hindu polity.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 26. Two Statues of Pallava Kings and Five Pallava Inscriptions in a rock-cut temple at Mahabalipuram: by RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B. A., Government of India, Calcutta, 1926.

In this *Memoir* the Government Epigraphist gives a definite decision that the two statues in the temple of Âdivarâha-Perumâl are those of Mahendravarman I, the originator of the rock-cut temples of South India, and of his son Narasiṁhavarman-Siṁhavishṇu I, known to history as "Vâtâpikonda" and the foe of the Western Chalukya ruler, Vikramâditya I. On palæographical grounds he decides also that the label inscriptions on the sculptures belong to the reign of Parameśvaravarman I, the grandson of Mahendravarman I. From other inscriptions in the cave, when compared with a reference in the Tamil *Periyapurâṇam* and with the Tandalam inscription (*Ep. Ind.* VII, p. 25), he deduces the interesting fact that the word Kâḍavesa (chief of the Kâḍava) and its alternative forms, Kâṭhaka and Kâḍakka, are synonyms of Pallava, and shows that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas, descended from Bhimavarman (younger brother of Siṁhavishṇu I) were called Kâḍavas and ruled over an outlying part of the Pallava dominions, simultaneously with the main Pallava dynasty. This outlying territory seems to have corresponded roughly with the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool and Mysore State. In later times they claim to have ruled also over Kâñchî. It was from a Kâḍava-Pallava that the Nolambas of the Kanarese country traced their origin. Presumably the word Kâḍava is allied with the Dravidian word signifying "jungle," "wild"; and it would be interesting to know whence the collateral line of Pallavas obtained this designation.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE AHAD NAMEH, Marker Literary Series for Persia, No. 1. Preface by G. K. NARIMAN. Published under the patronage of the Iran League, Bombay. 1925.

This little book is a truly remarkable production and if the subsequent publications of the Iran League are to be of the same calibre, that body will be of the greatest benefit to the Parsis of India. To quote the opening words in the Preface by that veteran scholar, Mr. G. K. Nariman: "Persia with its young and patriotic Moslems is awakened, and the latter have stretched the kindly hand of

fraternity to their Zoroastrian compatriots and the Parsis of India. The Indian Zoroastrians have been separated from the old country for centuries, but have never ceased casting a longing loving glance at the homeland of their origin and religion. Intermittently they carried on correspondence with their co-religionists in Yezd and Kerman. Persia is to-day subordinating every consideration to that of consolidation of the Iranian fraternity."

On these considerations Mr. Pestonji Dosabhoy Marker is planning to create a literature suitable to the requirements of young Iran, and this Literary Series is part of his scheme, of which one constituent is to build up in young Zoroastrians a desire for honest history. In pursuit of such history Mr. Nariman enquires into the causes of the decadence of the Zoroastrians, and his enquiry brings him to remarkable conclusions. It is not due to the action of the Arabs on their conquest of Persia, the decadence in fact dating from the days of Afghan ascendancy at a much later date. It is really due to the rending of the community by "mutual discussions and ruinous jealousies," a view, which when put forward by a Parsi and published in a serious Parsi educational "series," cannot but be arresting.

Mr. Nariman backs this up by stating that under many local governors after the Arab conquest "free practice of religion was accorded" in quite a number of treaties. The very book under review indeed "contains two charters reported to have been granted by the founder of Islam and his great-son-in-law, the pious fourth Khalifa, to the Zoroastrians, in which religious tolerance is particularly emphasised." Mr. Nariman says there are many others conceived in the same spirit.

The grants published in this book are not indeed, in their present form, of unquestioned authenticity, but even if spurious, there are dozens of others which are genuine. They unquestionably bear witness to the spirit of tolerance of the early Islamic conquerors. It was not until the Mongols came into power that the extermination of Zoroastrians commenced, when the great instrument of oppression was the *jaziya* or poll-tax. But even this was not oppressive in its inception, because it was a tax in return for exemption from military service, and thus in theory protected those subject to it from the designs of others than the rulers. It was the extortionate manner in which it was exacted by the officials who raised it that turned it into an instrument of torture and practical annihilation.

With the decadence of the Zoroastrians their literature largely disappeared, and as to this Mr. Nariman makes a remarkable statement: "the destruction of the Zoroastrian literature is due in part to the Turks, more to the Afghans, and most to neglect and sacerdotal arrogance which made a monopoly of the relations between God and man." Here we are provided with something to think over.

Now, however, says our author, "a new period of hope has dawned on united Iran," and in the Persia of to-day "the patriotic son of the soil is Irani first and Moslem, Christian, Jew or Zoroastrian in the second place." Mr. Nariman winds up his remarks by an examination of the legal aspect of the Zoroastrians in Islam, about which he has equally arresting and interesting things to say. One cannot help looking forward to further publications in this series.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

INSCRIPTIONS WANTED.

Can anybody tell me where the inscribed Copper-Plates and Stones mentioned below can be seen ?

Copper-Plates.

(1) Copper-Plates fastened together by a ring in two parcels of three each, found in 1788, while digging foundations in Thana Fort. They record a grant by the Silahâra Chief Arikeshari;

(2) About 1830, two Copper-Plates were found while digging a grave in Thana (whose grave ?) and sent by Mr. Baille to the Hon: Mr. Elphinstone. They are dated A.D. 1272 and 1290, and record grants by Konkan Viceroys of the ninth Devgiri Yadav, Ramchandra Deo [1271–1308] whom Ala-ud-din Khilji defeated.

Stones.

(3) Land-Grant Stones were found about 1835, by Mr. Murphy, in Salsette. One inscribed stone in the Collector's garden in Thana was brought from Vaghol: (one mile west of Sopara, B.B. & C.I. Ry.). This stone was three feet eight inches long, one foot one inch broad, and seven inches thick. The Inscription contained fourteen lines.

B. F. GHARDA.

ENGLISH TOMBSTONES IN THANA.

"In the Churchyard, Thana, are the tombs of John Vaughan, dated 1780; of Charles Driffield, dated 1784; of Stephen Babington, dated 1822; of John Malsey (died 1785); and of George Page (died 18th Nov. 1791)."

Can any reader kindly let me know who these persons were ? And what services they rendered in Thana or in India ?

B. F. GHARDA.

473. After the mutiny of the crew of the *Beckford* Galley (*See para.* 477 *below*), the Purser, Andrew Somerville, managed to escape and make his way to Mayotta. There he found an old friend, the Purser of the *Ruby*, who was trying to save the Company's treasure which had been on board when she was wrecked. The *Ruby* (400 tons, 36 guns, 116 passengers and crew, Captain John Barber, Purser Benjamin Preston) was wrecked at Mayotta on the 14th September 1699 (*Letters to Fort St. George*, 1700, pp. 73—77). With the help of some faithful members of the crew, they seized a small pirate sloop, and on the 30th March sailed for Patta on the African Coast, where they arrived on the 14th April. Here all his companions were, as were all Englishmen who came here at this time (*See para.* 400 *above*), murdered, and the Arabs took booty to the amount of 62,000 dollars, besides goods. He was spared at the intercession of an Arab merchant named Singaree, but to save his life, was forced to submit to circumcision. He did not get free until about April 1701 (*India Office, O.C.* 8585).

474. In February 1700 seven sail of Arab vessels appeared off Vesava and took it from the Portuguese (*Bom. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 128). In the same year Arabs in the Persian Gulf took the *Friendship*, Captain William Morrice, of 100 tons, with a cargo worth £ 8,000.

475. On the 13th and 15th July 1701, John Wheeler Master, and John Cockcroft Supercargo of the English ship *Diamond*, wrote from Jeddah that their ship with a cargo worth more than Rs. 1,00,000 had been seized, at the instigation of Ibrahim, brother of Hussain Amadan of Surat, on the pretence that the *Diamond* was the pirate (*See para.* 463 *above*) which took Hussain Amadan's ship in 1698 (*India Office, O.C.* 8585-6 ; *Madras Consultations* 24th Jan. 1701-2). Thomas Pitt, in a letter dated 27th Nov. 1701 to Sir Thomas Gayer, mentions that, according to Gayer, Sir Nicholas Waite of the New Company, had told the Mughal Governor of Surat, that all the ships of the Old Company were pirates and had incited Hussain Amadan to write to his countrymen to seize the *Diamond* in reprisal (*Letters from Fort St. George*, 1700-1701, p. 79).

Anglo-Americans.

476. On the 1st January 1698-9 Amanat Khan, *Faujdār* of Surat, in consequence of the damage done by European pirates, placed guards upon the English, French and Dutch Factories (Bruce, III. 272). In February (*See Dutch Records* ; Manucci, III. 488 n.) these three nations were forced to sign bonds to indemnify the native traders against future losses. More particularly, the Dutch undertook to protect trade in the Red Sea, the French in the Persian Gulf and the English on the southern coast of India (Bruce, III. 274).

477. In June 1698 the *Beckford* Galley (200 tons, 24 guns, 30 men, John Harris Master) sailed from the Thames to purchase slaves in Madagascar. Early in 1699 she arrived at Tollear Bay. The crew, having been overworked and badly fed, combining with some pirates ashore under one Ryder, who had once served with the Moors and had been left by a pirate at Port Dauphin, mutinied, seized the ship while Harris was ashore, and carried her to Ascension. One account (*India Office, O.C.* 6804) says that they chose Evan Jones as their Captain ; another (*Owners to Council of Trade and Plantations, 7th May* 1700, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*) says that they chose Ryder. I do not know what became of Harris, but the Purser, Andrew Somerville, managed to make his way to Mayotta (*See para.* 473 *above*).

478. The crew of the *Pelican*, deprived of any share in the booty of the *Great Mahomet* (*See para.* 463 *above*), had still their fortunes to make. They accordingly set out from St. Mary's alone and took a number of Moor ships, among which was the *Dolphin*, to which, the *Pelican* being no longer seaworthy, they transferred themselves (Johnson, II. 384). The *Dolphin* arrived at St. Mary's early in 1699. There they found Samuel Burgess in the *Margaret* (Johnson,

II. 383 calls her the *Pembroke*), owned by Frederick Phillips of New York, which had arrived in January (*Culliford's Deposition*). Burgess took up some twenty passengers, including the Captain of the *Pelican* and Dirk Chivers. Later on he deposed on oath (*Ind. Off.*, *O.C.* 6802) that he believed they had some eight or nine thousand pounds between them and he supposed that they had obtained it by piracy. They paid one hundred dollars a head (all which, he says, went to Mr. Phillips) and provided their own provisions. From St. Mary's he went in April to St. Augustine's, and whilst there he saw the *Peter* Brigantine (George Riveley Master) taken on the 7th September by an English pirate, Evan Jones, in the *Beckford* Galley (200 tons, 20 guns and French built), now renamed the *Tollier* Galley. Riveley, poor man, had been captured a short time before by a French pirate, a Monsieur Devisie (?), Captain of a ship of 18 guns and 65 men, and had been ordered to take his vessel to St. Augustine's (*Ind. Off.*, *O.C.* 6804). Apparently Burgess gave him a passage to the Cape. The *Margaret* arrived at Cape Town on the 18th December and there, to his disgust, Burgess found the *Loyal Merchant* (Captain Matthew Lowth). Though, or perhaps because, the latter was flying the King's Jack and Pennant, Burgess did not salute her, but crept under the guns of the Dutch Fort. Captain Lowth, who held a commission to take pirates, forced Burgess and his white passengers to come on board him and put them in irons. On the 20th the *Vine* (Captain Thomas Warren) also came in with 14 passengers of the same kind, including the notorious Culliford. Captain Warren was a relative of Commodore Warren, who had sent him in command of the *Vine* with orders to meet him at Mascarenhas (Bourbon) or St. Mary's. Not meeting him at either place, Captain Warren returned to the Cape. Presumably the pirates to whom he gave passage wished to surrender to the Commodore. Lowth tried to take them, but the Dutch Governor protested vehemently and even sent men on board the *Vine* to prevent Lowth from seizing her. Lowth thought it wiser not to persist, but sailed for Bombay with the prisoners whom he had already got, 21 in number, including Chivers, and delivered them on shore on the 5th July, much to the disgust of Sir John Gayer, as this parading of English prisoners would only confirm the conviction of the natives that all the pirates were English, and the Mughal Governor of Surat would expect that the English would deliver up to him not only the pirates but all that Lowth had taken in the *Margaret* (*Log of Loyal Merchant* ; *Letters from Bombay*, *10th February* 1699-1700 *and 20th September* 1700 : Anderson, pp. 307-8). Lowth had taken on the *Margaret* gold and negroes worth £6,000 (*Bom. Gaz.*, XXVI i. 120). Leibbrandt (*Précis*, p. 17) says that there were 120 slaves on the *Margaret* when she arrived at the Cape. Captain Warren took Culliford to St. Helena, whence he was sent to England. Later he deposed (23rd December 1700 *H. C. A.* 1-15) that Culliford had on the 8th September 1699 at St. Mary's persuaded 17 other pirates to surrender under the Proclamation. This may have been taken as a point in his favour, though the date of the surrender was later than the limit fixed by the Proclamation. Culliford was tried on the 9th May 1701 (the same day as Kidd) for the piratical seizure of the *Great Mahomet* and pronounced guilty, but was respited before judgment (*Brit. Mus.* 515/194 1. 2) and was pardoned on the 16th April 1702 (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*). He seems to have been a mean scoundrel, quite ready to betray his old companions. In a Deposition already referred to and made on the 17th June 1702, he said that Samuel Burgess had written to him in prison (the Marshalsea) begging him to say that he did not know him. According to Johnson (II 268 B) Burgess was taken to England and tried and condemned in London, partly on the evidence of Culliford. He was however pardoned (21st August 1702 *H. C. A.* 1-16) by Queen Anne on the intercession of the Bishops of London and Canterbury (*sic*). He came again to Madagascar in the *Neptune* (Captain Miller) and persuaded the pirate Halsey to seize her (*See para.* 508 *below*). When Halsey died, he left his money in the charge of Burgess, but the latter was poisoned by the natives, who, apparently, had a greater fondness for justice than the reverend Bishops.

479. When the Act of Grace was issued in December 1698 (*see para. 464 above*) Commodore Warren was ordered to take a squadron of King's ships out to Madagascar. Accordingly he started from England (*Bruce*, III. 264), in January 1698-9 with the *Anglesea* (Captain Littleton), *Harwich* (Commodore Warren), *Hastings* (Captain White) and *Lizard* (Captain Ramsey), and news of his coming so far preceded his arrival, that when Burgess left St. Mary's, the narrow mouth of the harbour was blocked by the *Mocha* and *Pelican* (*i.e.*, the *Dolphin* under Captain Inless) lying broadside on to the entrance and determined to sink rather than surrender to any King's ship. Another pirate, the *German Mary* from New England (100 tons, William Mayes Commander), was present also and the *Carlisle* (Captain Breholt), as well as a French pirate, ? Captain Devisie (*Ind. Off.*, *O. C.* 6809). When at last Warren did arrive in Madagascar he did nothing of importance, and died on the 12th November 1699, leaving the command of the squadron to Captain James Littleton. The latter was probably under instructions to use whatever leniency was possible to persuade the pirates to surrender without fighting, and there is certainly no reason to accept Hamilton's statement (I. 17) that he took bribes from the pirates to let them go, for that he meant fighting when it was necessary is shown by the fact that Breholt of the *Carlisle* hoisted the *bloody flag* and burned his ship in St. Augustine's Bay (*H. C. A.* 1-16. *Deposition of Archibald Dunbar*), and Captain Samuel Inless of the *Dolphin* (Johnson II. 385) did the same rather than surrender. These two instances show that the pirates did not expect to escape if they fell into his hands. Unfortunately he was not able to pursue them ashore, and so was forced to leave those who would not surrender (*See para.* 489 *below*) to plot and seize fresh occasions of mischief. He returned to England in 1701, but the *Harwich* had been sent under Captain Cock to deal with the pirates in the Straits of Malacca and the China Seas and was wrecked at Amoy, partly by bad seamanship and partly by treachery (Hamilton II. 257). Twenty marines and sailors of the *Harwich* were taken to Madras by Captain Edward Harrison of the *Gosfright*, and, as there was a lack of Europeans, entertained in the Company's service (*Madras Consultations, 20th January* 1700-1). I have not found any detailed references to European pirates in the China Seas about this time, but in the Log of the *Macclesfield* (John Hurle Commander), under date 27th August 1699, it is stated that when she anchored off the Island of St. John, about 20 leagues from Macao, the Portuguese were very inquisitive as to her character, having lost four ships by English pirates. Two of their officials had lost 70,000 dollars in a ship taken in 1697 (*Ind. Off. Marine Records*). On the 11th November 1699 the *London* (George Matthew Commander) reported at the Cape that a certain pirate, having lost his ship in China, had with a small vessel taken a Portuguese ship of 50 guns coming from Macao, but had been wrecked on the coast of Java, where 12 of the pirates had been arrested and sent to Batavia (Leibbrandt, *Précis* p. 16). It seems likely that the pirate referred to must have been John Ireland (See *paras.* 446 and 486.) On the 11th June 1701 the Madras Government gave a commission to Captain William Redhead (of the frigate *Advice*, 150 tons, 16 guns and about 50 men, English) to attack and destroy pirates in the Straits of Malacca and on the Coast of China and, except in the presence of King's ships, to fly the King's Jack and Pennant (*Madras Consultation, 11th June* 1701).

480. Appended to a letter, dated H. M. S. *Margate*, Nevis Road, 13th May 1700, from Captain Robert Billingsley (*Captains' Letters, Public Record Office*) is a deed signed Abraham Samuels, Rex, King of Port Dolphin, Madagascar, 31st October 1699, with an octagonal seal bearing the Lamb and Cross as in the badge of the Templars. Robert Drury tells (*Adventures*, p. 83) a curious story of a King Samuel at Port Dolphin (Fort Dauphin) as follows :—Some French settlers at Port Dolphin on leaving the place, carried off with them the heir of the native Prince, an outrage which the natives resented so strongly that they would not allow any French ships to come there. Some years later a French Captain, being forced by bad weather to enter the harbour, pretended that he had been sent as an ambassador to seek for a reconciliation. Whilst the French sailors were one day bathing on the beach, the Queen, who was

watching them out of curiosity, thought she recognised in one of them, who was of a darker complexion and different appearance to the others, her long lost son. The Captain, delighted with this accident, urged the youth to play the part, which he agreed to do with alacrity and with so much earnestness and conviction that when, in 1700, the sailors of a French ship ventured to make fun of his supposed royalty, he drove them away and ever after showed the greatest hostility to the French nation, though he was perfectly willing to trade with other Europeans. Drury's story would be hardly credible without corroboration, but such corroboration actually exists. From a list of the crew of the *John and Rebecca* (Captain John Hore) it appears that the Captain's Quartermaster was named Abraham Samuells (*India Office, O. C.* 6535). By pirate law he was the natural successor on the death of the Captain. Captain Hore died before the 25th August 1698 (*Deposition of Samuel Perkins, Home Misc.* XXXVI. 346). On the 3rd July 1699 the Dutch yacht *Tamboer* (Captain J. Coin) arrived at Fort Dauphin in the course of a cruise to enquire after the *Ridderschap*, which was reported to have been wrecked in Madagascar and plundered by pirates in 1694. Captain Coin found that the head of the Europeans at Fort Dauphin was a half breed from Martinique who had come out as Quartermaster to Captain Orr (evidently Hore) of the *John and Rebecca*. Captain Orr had died after taking his prize to St. Mary's and had been succeeded by Samuells, who took his ship about 22 months before Coin's arrival to Fort Dauphin, where she was wrecked, but the King's daughter, whilst he was bathing, thought she recognised some marks on his body which showed him to be a son whom she had borne to a Frenchman and whom the father had taken away with him when he left Madagascar. Taking advantage of this fortuitous recognition and finding himself supported by a strong party amongst the natives, he kept some twenty of his crew as a bodyguard, set himself up as King and made war on the native King Demarung, whom he declared to be only his younger brother. He now however professed himself tired of the life and begged Captain Coin to afford him means of escape. Coin, on the other hand, having been warned that Samuells intended to surprise his ship, as he had done the ship *Jacob* (Captain Francis), which he had caused to be run ashore and whose crew he had murdered, made off in the night (Leibbrandt, *Rambles*, p. 160). On the 8th December 1706 a Dutch ship arrived at Fort Dauphin and found it in ruins. There were several native Kings in the vicinity, the most powerful of whom was one Dimaressive the successor of King Samuells (Leibbrandt, *Précis*, p. 113). This looks as if Samuells was either dead or had run away.

481. About this time a French pirate, Captain Merrino, having taken a rich Surat ship, carried her to Mascarenhas "a general rendezvous for pirates" and settled there. (*Letter from Captain George Wesley*, 7th *November* 1703, *State Trials*, XIV. 1302).

Malabarese.

482. On the 26th March 1701 the Bombay Council wrote to the Court :—"The Shivajis [Marathas] are in reality friends to none, but as pirates and rovers take all vessels they can overpower" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 133).

Arabians.

483. On the 24th September and 16th October 1701, Governor Pitt wrote from Madras to Commodore John Brabourne at Anjengo that in the previous year Muscat Arabs had taken four ships from the Bombay Coast, including the *Friendship*, an English vessel commanded by Captain Morrice, and had made an attempt to intercept the Mocha fleet (*Brit. Mus.*, *Addl.* MSS. 22843). They detained Captain Morrice and his crew as slaves and refused to accept any ransom. This was in reprisal, they said, for the outrages committed by English pirates.

484. In January 1704 off Surat, occurred a fight between seven Portuguese and seven Arab vessels, in which the latter were defeated, but managed to escape. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i 130).

485. Charles Lockyer (*Trade in India*, p. 209), who was at Muscat on the 12th May 1705, says that one Murvil, Master of a Country ship (from Calcutta to Gombroon), was taken off Cape Jasques, though he carried an English pass and they had no reason to think him an enemy[100]. The Governor of Muscat asserted that Murvil was the first to fire on a boat which had been sent to enquire whether she was really English, as his ship was flying English colours. The English at Bombay made no claim for compensation. Lockyer also says (p. 207) that the Muscat colours were *red* (*See para.* 470 *above*), displayed in streamers and pennants at every yardarm, masthead and other remarkable parts of the ship. They were at open war with the Danes and the Portuguese and did not scruple to make prize of small English vessels. Hitherto they had not touched the Dutch. In the port were 14 men-of-war, one carrying 70 guns, and the smallest 20.

Anglo-Americans.

486. On the 17th July 1700 the Council of Fort St. David wrote to Madras :—" We send your Honours upon this ship John Ireland and Thomas Williamson, the two so notorious pirates, who were brought us in the Danes ship from Acheen in irons in December last, though we do not know who consigned them to us." Ireland is mentioned in Kidd's Instructions, (*See para.* 446 *above*) but I do not know anything more about him.

487. On the 21st October 1700 the English and Dutch Presidents at Surat were forced to give bonds to the Mughal Government, promising that if any country ships were taken by European pirates, they would capture the latter and make good the losses which they had inflicted, the Dutch for ships between Surat and Mocha and Jeddah, the English for ships between Surat and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts (*Ind. Off.*, *O. C.* 6620).

488. In January 1701, under orders from the Mughal, the Governor of Surat arrested Sir John Gayer and the members of the English Council and did not release them for a month. They remained in a modified confinement until Jan. 1703 (*Bomb. Gaz.* I.100; XXVI. i. 122, 124; *Madras Consultations* 8*th May* 1701). In the Madras Consultations of the 6th March 1701-2 it is stated that before the order for release was granted by the Mughal, the English paid 2,82,000 rupees as compensation for alleged piratical attacks, at the same time, the Dutch were mulcted to the extent of 4,56,000 rupees.

489. Early in the same year the *Discovery* (Captain John Evans) being at anchor in St. Augustine's Bay, the Chief Mate having been sent ashore, was seized by the pirates living there. They threatened to hang him unless half the ship's cargo was paid as a ransom. Captain Evans refused and sailed away. Coming back soon after, the mate and his boat's crew were brought on board by the natives in a canoe. The natives said that there were more than 500 European pirates in Madagascar and that Captain Littleton had taken away a number of them who had surrendered under the Act of Grace (*Ind. Off.*, *O. C.* 8590 ; *See para.* 479 *above*).

490. In April 1701 the *Speaker*, an English slaver, 4 or 500 tons, Captain Thomas Eastlake (See *Depos. of John, Onely* 20*th August* 1702. *H. C. A.* 1-16) was seized at Massalegie in Madagascar by pirates who came aboard on a boat which the *Speaker* had sent ashore. They gave the following certificate (*Ind. Off.*, *O. C.*, 8567) to the Captain :—

" These are to certify all Governors, Captains or whom else it may concern that the ship *Speaker* was taken by us whose names are under written, and considering their misfortune have given them, that is to say the said ship's company, a vessel to transport them to what

100 This ship was the *Gracedieu*, a rich ship. The Captain was James Murvell (Miles, p. 233). Hamilton (I. 63) suggests that its capture was due to pusillanimity.

place they shall think fit. Given under our hands the 18th day of April 1700 in the River Massalegie Madagascar.

George Booth
John Appowen.
The mark of + Cornelius George.'

The vessel given them was a small French ship. Peter Eastlake, to whose foolish self-confidence the loss of his vessel was due, died on his way to India. The pirates put 150 men on board the *Speaker*, a fact which shows how large must have been the piratical community in the Island (*Letters from Madras*, Thomas Pitt to Sir Thomas Gayer, 23rd August 1701).

491. Johnson (II. 259-67) gives an account of one Captain Cornelius, an Irishman, formerly Quartermaster to the American pirate Lewis of the *Morning Star*. When leaving the west coast of Africa, off the Cape he met Commodore Littleton (in the *Lizard*) and two other men-of-war This must have been in 1701, the year of Littleton's return to England. Cornelius went to the Persian Gulf, where he fought two Portuguese, one of 70 the other of 25 guns, but did little damage to trade. Returning to Madagascar he died there and was buried with much ceremony.

492. Bruce (III. 357) says that it was in 1701 that the Company's ships received Commissions to take pirates. I presume he means that it now became customary for all the Company's ships, as earlier instances have been mentioned already.

Anglo-American Causes of Piracy in the East.

493. In 1701 there was published a pamphlet entitled *Piracy Destroyed*, which gives the following account of the origin of European piracy in the Eastern Seas :—" They began this barbarous trade shortly after the late private war the East India Company had with the Moors [1686-1690, concluded by the Farman granted to the Company, 4th April 1690], for the news of the rich booties their ships seized stirred up the old Buccaneering gang (who found that it was more difficult now to rob the Spaniards than formerly, and that the trade in the West Indies was better protected) to direct their course to the East. And their success answering their expectation, their numbers daily increased by the news of the rich booties they had taken and reposed at Madagascar ; and during the late war this was so successful, and undisturbed pirating rung so in the ears of those that with small success were privateering against the French that whole companies [*i.e.*, crews] both from England and our American colonies flocked thither. Those who went from England either had a commission to suppress the enemies of the nation or went in merchant ships and, mutinying against their officers, ran away with the ship, or else such who touched at Madagascar for refreshment or traffic, whose ships have been either sold, taken or cast away, and then being destitute of an immediate opportunity of getting home, turned pirates. They who went from our American colonies were either old Buccaneers or privateers who had commissions from the Governors, or such as went to trade with the pirates at Madagascar, who, being debauched with their bad company, joined them."

494. Besides the reasons already mentioned for sailors turning pirates, the author of this pamphlet gives :---(1) Resentment at being torn from their families by the press-gang and the cruel treatment which they received when so carried off, as well as the sufferings endured by their families owing to the irregularity of their payment. (2) Insufficient and bad food on board ship in both the naval and mercantile marines. (3) Cruel treatment on board. On private ships at this time, the Captains had absolutely despotic power, which was sometimes grossly abused. John Pike in his account of the voyage (1701) of the *Rochester* Interloper (*Sloane MS*. 24931, *f*. 229) mentions a very cruel beating given to James Fowler, an Irishman, for drunkenness by Captain Francis Stanes. Pike says that in the King's ships the severest punishment for such a slight offence was 15 blows and that on East India (*i.e.* Company's) ships offenders were formally tried and all punishments inflicted were entered in the Consultations (*i.e.* the Log) and signed by the principal officers. A curious, but not uncommon.

practice was to fix the number of the lashes not by the nature of the crime but by the number of men on board, *e.g.* "I gave him 78 blows [for insubordination and abusive language to officers] being the number of people on board with an inch rope. He deserved a great deal more but being the first man I had whipt the voyage and hoping 'twould be a warning I favoured him" (*Log of the Queen, John Martin Commander, 9th August,* 1718). (4) The small share of the seamen in prize money. The proportions were first fixed by law under Queen Anne in June 1702 and then, in the Navy, only three-eighths of the prize-money went to the petty officers and ordinary seamen,[101] whereas on a pirate ship the Captain himself had only a double share as against the single share of the ordinary pirate. (5) The insensibility of the ordinary seamen to the sufferings of men belonging to races which they despised. "Some of the old hardened pirates said they looked on it as little or no sin to take what they could from such heathen as the Moors and Indians were" (*See para.* 184 *above.*) (6) The high pay offered in the Colonies to, and the competition for, the services of deserters from the English ships (rendered necessary by the laws prescribing the proportion of Englishmen required in the crews of ships to entitle them to full privilege of trade between English ports). This rendered the seamen "at last so ungovernable that nothing will serve them but going where they shall all be equal or master by turns.[102] (7) The want of hospitals for the sick and pensions for the disabled and aged.

495. With so many reasons why they should become pirates, the general fidelity of English sailors to their employers would appear to have been absolutely quixotic if, besides their fear of the law and love of home and family, there had not been some countervailing material advantages in fidelity. Robert Park (*The art of sea-fighting*, 1706, p. 127) says that the material reason why they fought so valiantly against privateers and pirates was that, if they defended themselves successfully, they were certain of their wages, which amounted to about £30 in a twelve month voyage and also of their venture, which amounted to about £15 and, though they were not entitled to any pension, they almost always received a gratuity from their employers on such occasions. But, if the ship was taken, they invariably lost their clothes as well as any money in their possession. They therefore knew exactly what they were fighting for. On the other hand, the privateer or pirate very seldom knew what booty to expect in a ship he was about to attack, and the double share of booty which was given to the wounded was so uncertain a quantity as to be little inducement to fight any ship which made a show of spirited resistance; hence the apparent cowardice and readiness to break off an engagement exhibited by these gentry on several occasions. Further, says Park, the chances of making good the defence when the system of fighting at close quarters was in vogue were very great. Ships, as then built, were really fortresses, and when the crews, in presence of superior numbers, retired to their close quarters (*i.e.* the strongly barricaded forecastle and Great Cabin), they could be overcome only by heavy gunfire or desperate hand-to-hand fighting. Thus, says Park, a ship worth £8,000 and carrying 60 men, could easily be defended against a privateer or pirate of 40 guns and 200 men.

Anglo-Americans.

496. Johnson (II. 124) says that Booth was assisted in the capture of the *Speaker* (*See para.* 490 *above*) by Captain Thomas White of Plymouth. When White was Captain of the merchantman *Marygold*, he was taken by French pirates, but managed to get ashore at St. Augustine's. There he was forced to go on board a pirate ship commanded by William Read. Read dying was succeeded by Captain James, who returned to Madagascar.

101 When a prize was taken by a single ship of war the booty was divided as follows:—Admiralty one eighth, Captain three eighths, Officers one eighth, Petty Officers and Crew three-eighths.

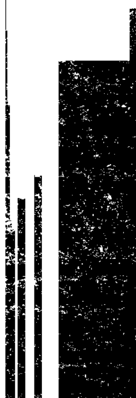
102 "I once knew a Buccaneering Pirate vessel, whose crew were upwards of 70 men, who in one voyage had so often changed, set up and pulled down their Captains and other officers, that above seven and forty of the ship's Company had, at several times, been in office of one kind or another, and, among the rest, they had in particular had thirteen captains" (Defoe, *Account of John Gard*, 1725, p. iii).

Here his crew attached themselves to Booth, who had treacherously taken a French slaver commanded by a Captain Fourgette. Booth presently sailed to Zanzibar, where he was treacherously killed by the Governor's guard during a visit (Johnson, II. 129). It is said that he was "a Bristol man, a notable, stout, stirring man, who pretended to be a near relation of Sir William Booth, formerly one of the Admirals" (*Ind. Off., O.C.* 7621).

497. Booth was succeeded by John Bowen, a Bermudian, a man of respectable parentage and once captain of a merchantman. Having been taken by a French pirate he was forced to join them as Navigator (Johnson II. 271). Bowen went from Mozambique to the Indian coast and, off St. John's, took a Surat ship and, later, on the Malabar coast he took the *Borneo* (Bengal to Surat, Captain John Conaway) on the 28th October 1701. Captain Conaway says (*Ind. Off., O.C.* 8592) that the *Speaker* was a ship of 500 tons, mounting 40 guns and 2 patereroes (Sp. *pedrero*), and carrying 200 men, Dutch, French and English. Edward Martin says that Bowen's men were "all young and brisk" and that he also carried 30 or 40 lascars (*Ind. Off., O.C.* 8594). The Master of the *Speaker* was Samuel Rower, and John North was the Captain's Quartermaster. Bowen sold the *Borneo,* ship and cargo, for Rs. 40,000 in three shares, one to a native merchant of Callequilon, one to a native merchant of Porca (Purakkadu) and one to Malpa (Malappan) the Dutch broker (or Factor) of Calicut. He set Captain Conaway and some of his crew adrift in a boat on the 18th November, and they were three nights and two days before they got to Cochin. The mate, Charles Delafosse, the boatswain and two other men he forced to join him (*State Trials*, XIV. 1302 ; Johnson, II. 49). On the 11th November under English colours Bowen tried to surprise the *Nathaniel* (Captain Charles Hill), in which attempt he failed, though he carried off a boat's crew of her people whom he had inveigled aboard. Bowen's people told their prisoners that they had sworn to go on spoiling the Company's trade until they could get a pardon, the last (that of December 1698) being a sham, for "body, goods and all misdemeanours, murders &c. for which they have been guilty of in England or elsewhere." Edward Martin, one of the men trepanned from the *Nathaniel,* deposed that whilst he was on board they traded very freely with the Dutch ships with which they met, the Dutch pretending that they did not know them to be pirates. With one of these ships they traded to the value of £ 500 (*Ind. Off., O.C.*, 8594).

498. On the 16th February 1702 Father du Tachard wrote from Pondicherry that the French ship *Princesse,* touching at Johanna in August 1701, had found on the Isle of Comoro (or Angasie) two Englishmen who had been there for two years. They said that they had been wrecked at Mayotta, one in an English Company's ship (? the *Ruby*) three years before, the other had been in an English "flibustier" from Boston. All but three men out of the two crews had been murdered and one had since died. The *Princesse* arrived at Surat in September and found that English pirates had just carried off two large vessels, and that, as the native merchants held English, French and Dutch all responsible, matters were very uncomfortable. They left Surat on the 20th October 1701. Soon after, off Tevenepatam, 10 leagues from Calicut, they met the *Pontchartrain* (Captain du Bosc) who had been chased by an English pirate of forty guns off Cape Comorin, but had frightened her off by her evident determination to defend herself vigorously. The good father himself, after having left the *Princesse,* narrowly escaped capture by an English pirate sloop near Cochin (*Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses,* II. 318, 320).

499. On the 27th August 1702 one John Davis, formerly surgeon of the *Madras* frigate and later Surgeon at York Fort (Bencoolen), having been dismissed for misconduct, made up a small party and carried off the sloop *Expedition* (*Sumatra Factory Records*, vol. 5). He sold part of her cargo of pepper at Achin and carried her to Madras. Apparently he was not punished (Dr. G. Crawford, *Indian Medical Service,* I. 35).











STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

With the greatest regret I have to announce the death of Mr. S. M. Edwardes, a joint Editor of this *Journal*, on New Year's Day. He had been seriously ill for about a fortnight, but rallied and was expected to recover only shortly before he suddenly died. Mr. Edwardes was not only a great standby to the *Indian Antiquary*—always working hard and most efficiently—but was a remarkable man in many ways. He was a son of the Reverend Stephen Edwardes, a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and was sent to Eton and thence to Christchurch, Oxford, whence he passed the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894, proceeding in due course to the Bombay Presidency. There he did much notable work, producing invaluable papers and books on the town and island of Bombay—reviving the public knowledge of both to a greater degree than any other contemporary writer. In 1901 he compiled the Bombay Census volume, and in 1906 and 1910 three volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer additional to the thirty-four put together under the splendid editorship of another friend now gone by—Sir James Campbell. These labours made him specially acquainted with the Western Presidency and its capital, and to them he added two fine books, the *Rise of Bombay* and the *Byways of Bombay*, becoming thus the greatest authority of his time on that famous city. Meanwhile, in 1904 the Government appointed him a special collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act.

Edwardes showed himself at a very early period of his life to be a man of courage and decision, and his literary and official work gave him an intimate knowledge of the western capital of India : so when Lord Sydenham chose him in 1910 to be Commissioner of the Police thereof, his choice was more than justified. Very soon afterwards the King and Queen visited Bombay on their way to the Delhi Coronation Durbar and on Edwardes fell the difficult duty of making the necessary Police arrangements during their stay in that Presidency town. So well was this performed that he was created a C.V.O., an honour which was followed by a well-deserved C.S.I. in 1915.

His work as Commissioner of Police was so highly appreciated—he effected several reforms—that a marble bust of him was set up in the central police office to commemorate it. Later on he wrote an account of the Bombay Police as an institution, a volume that was reviewed in this *Journal* in March 1925. In April 1916 he was selected by Lord Willingdon for the Municipal Commissionership of the city he knew so well. So far then his twenty years' career in India as a civil servant had been unusually brilliant, but after two years in this last office he was compelled to resign the service before his time by ill-health of a kind that would have daunted most men.

Edwardes was, however, a man of exceptionable courage, and faced the situation with quiet unassuming determination, for he had a wife and family to support on only a proportionate pension. As soon as he was able he sought work and became secretary to the Indo-British Association, under Lord Sydenham, to oppose the reforms advocated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. This office brought on him many attacks from those who favoured the reforms—all the more virulent because of the offices he had held while in India. But Edwardes continued his work nevertheless as long as Mr. Montagu remained Secretary of State for India. Meanwhile in 1921 he was chosen to represent India at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children.

In all this Edwardes acted as a public official, but he was besides a born researcher, becoming President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay and a constant contributor to its *Journal*. For the Clarendon Press (Oxford) he reviewed Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, and more recently Dr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, a work in which is much more of Edwardes's own research than appears in the wording of the text thereof. He also produced quite lately a study of the Mogul period in *Babur, Diarist and Despot*, out of the wonderful self-revealing diaries of the founder of the Mogul Imperial Dynasty. This was a result of the researches he was carrying on with Professor Garrett of the Government College, Lahore, into the records of the Mogul Emperors. He further brought out memoirs of prominent personages of the Bombay Presidency—Sir Dinshaw Petit, the first Baronet, Sir Ramchhodlal Chhodlal of Ahmadabad, and Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, the Parsi savant.

In 1923 he joined me as Joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, and did a wonderful amount of work for it, especially so when his trying ill-health is considered. In the few years of his connection with this *Journal* he wrote reviews of books and articles, besides taking an active share in its general conduct. And to crown the labours of an ever active life he became Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society in succession to Miss Ella Sykes about six months ago. I have in consequence known him well, and I found him always learned, always willing to work and always unassuming—a fine specimen of an Englishman facing exceptional difficulties of health with a calm unflinching courage.

A HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION.

BY CH. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL, M.A., M.F., M.R.A.S.

Provenance.—This inscription stone was noticed by me in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, in 1921. I no sooner saw it than I began to trace its provenance. Not being satisfied with the statement, which seemed impossible to me on the very face of it, that it was picked up by Colonel Jacob [1] from the vicinity of the Tombs or Chattris of the former Raos of Cutch, not far from the Resident's office, I wrote to Mr. N. M. Bilimoria, the retired Superintendent of the Cutch Bhuj Residency Office to let me know definitely how the stone along with others came to Bhuj. He replied in a letter, dated 11th December 1923, that they were brought from Aden by Colonel H. F. Jacob of the Indian Army, who was for a long time at Aden and was for some time Political Agent for Cutch, and that under the Colonel's instructions the stone inscriptions were sent to the Prince of Wales Museum in 1911. On further inquiry Mr. Bilimoria confirmed his statement given above. So Mr. (now Dr.) Bhandarkar's suspicions were rightly founded [2] and the provenance of this inscription stone has been determined to be Aden or a place near it in South Arabia.

The Inscription.—1. The language of the Inscription is what may be called Himyaritic, though Sabaean and South Arabic are also names given to it.

This stone measures on the face of it 9½″ by 9″ with a thickness of 1¼″. The left-hand bottom corner has been broken off ; otherwise the epigraph is quite complete and clear.

2. I read it from left to right and find the inscription as below :—

Line 1. I I |≤ ⊓ ♀

Line 2. ⊗ þ [glyph] ⊓

Both the lines are quite legible. Some doubt however is attached to the two strokes I I in the first line and the form ⊗ in the second and perhaps also to [glyph]. I shall take them individually.

(*a*) I I. The shape of these two strokes is almost always used as a mark of separation between two words, to mark the beginning of the latter and end of the former between which the mark interposes. The place these two strokes occupy here, *i.e.*, in the beginning of the epigraph, seems to be quite extraordinary. We do not know a letter corresponding to them. If we suppose that their tops were joined the letter will be ⊓ = ב in Hebrew = B and the first line could be read then as *Bombay*, which is as strange as it is unsatisfactory. Again there is no ground for joining the two letters, for the engraver seems to know his art quite well. Then what is the solution ? I propose to take each stroke by itself which stands for one. We know that the Himyarites wrote one, two and three in the form of I, II and III like the Romans and the Assyrians. So I believe that these strokes stand for II = 2 = Hebrew ב.

(*b*) ⊗ This form of letter is also unknown. We know that O = ع = '*a* sometimes = ו = w = و and that × stands for ת = ت = t. Then what does it stand for ? I suggest that it is a combination of two letters × placed inside O. The question arises why × was not separately placed ? My answer is that " In Muhammadan Numismatics and epigraphy, especially where artistic arrangement is to be observed, clerical accuracy is often sacrificed for the sake of symmetry and ornamentation " [3]. What is true of Muhammadan Epigraphy is also true of Himyaritic. In the first line two strokes stand for I and I and make two. Here there are two letters, one being inside the other. The skill of calligraphy is to be seen here. If × had been written in the end of the first line there would have been no

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1 *Archæological Survey Report*, Western Circle, 1916, p. 3. 2 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 50.

3 *JASB.*, vol. XVIII, p. 37, of the Num. Supplement.

symmetry. If written in the beginning of the second line the mark of demarcation ought to have been placed between × and O and here too symmetry would have been lost. By placing × inside O the symmetry has been kept with the I I of first line and the sign of separation has been done away with. So to me it seems ⊗ stands for × / O or × / Ⓘ, both O and Ⓘ standing for ו = و = w.

As an example of symmetry see six lines each consisting of eight letters in the second half of lines 5–10, p. 200, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Tomus II, Fasciculus Tertius,* and also p. 97, *I.A.*, vol. XIV (1885). Other inscriptions also show that in these Himyaritic inscriptions some sort of symmetry is often kept, *e.g.*, if there are eleven letters in one line other lines also contain as far as possible the same number *vide* p. 222 of *Corpus* quoted above.

(c) [Himyaritic aleph] in the second line perhaps also requires an explanation. It is aleph الف (Hebrew אָ), the only difficulty about it being that its upper waving stroke touches the right hand vertical stroke of ⊓ in the first line.

3. With this explanation I would transcribe the Himyaritic characters in the usual way in Hebrew and then into Arabic to which they are more allied.

Transcription :—

Himyaritic. I I Ƹ ⊓ ♀ / ⊗ þ [aleph] ⊓ = I I | Ƹ ⊓ ♀ / × | Ⓘ þ [aleph] ⊓

Hebrew. כ | סב S / ח | יז אב

Arabic. ۲ م ب ی / ب ا د و ات = ۲ بيت و داب or ۲ من بيت و داب

Translation :—House No. 2 (dedicated to) Wadd Pater.

The letter Ƹ = ם = م in the first line may be equivalent to مِنْ = ر עָן. In Arabic to cut short the humming mummation or nunnation sound only one م *mim* is used and the process is called ادغام م as in مِمّا = من ما. In Himyaritic also this is abridged from קָר

Grimme takes Ƹ = נָר *vide* p. 313 *I.C.S.*, (II) *Fasciculus Quartus*. See also p. 43, vol. IV, *I.A*. Even if we take Ƹ to be a part of Ƹ ⊓ ♀ × and not a preposition before ⊓ ♀ × the sense remains the same for بيت means a resting place for the night and so a house generally.

Hence the inscription means : The House No. 2 dedicated to God or Father Wadd. The word *ab* was used by the Arabs as an honorific title. It has been used in the Quran (11, 127) for Abraham and his two sons and has also a meaning signifying the feeder. It has been specially found accompanying Wadd in the Himyaritic inscriptions (see *C.I.S.,* II, pp. 385–87).

Wadd was a god worshipped by the Arabs, who often wore talismans bearing the name Wadd. The word itself is derived from *wudd* which means love. It was opposed to Nakruh, the god of hatred. It was " a certain idol which pertained to the people of Noah and then to Kelb—or a certain good man who lived between Adam and Noah, and of whom, after his death, was made an image, which, after a long time, became an object of worship " [4]. Its name is mentioned in the Quran, *vide ante,* vol. LXXI, 22 and 23. The idol has been described by some to be " the figure of a tall man wearing one loin cloth with another cloth over him, a sword hanging round his neck, with a bow and a quiver, in front a lance with a flag attached to it,"[5] but the figure that we have got in the Museum is that of a man wearing a close

[4] Lane's *Lexicon.*

[5] *Arzul Quran*, vol. II (1918), p. 428.

A HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION
PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA, BOMBAY

fitting cap with a long tassel and a cloth round the loins just touching the knees. His garment resembles the kilt of the Highlander in the form of pleats it displays.

The inscription over it I read as follows ? [illegible]

supplying [illegible] before [illegible] of the word. The first word thus becomes [illegible] which means a "form, an appearance, external state or condition, state with respect to apparel and the like or garb," and the inscription means "the image of Father Wadd."

SVETAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

By Miss. HELEN M. JOHNSON.

THERE has long been need of a Śvetâmbara corollary to the valuable article by Burgess on 'Digambara Jaina Iconography.' [1]

Burgess gives the Śvetâmbara variants only as detailed by Hemacandra in the *Abhidhânacintâmani*, which gives merely the names of the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇîs, the *śâsanadevatâs* of the Tîrthañkaras. These attendant divinities came into existence at the founding of the congregation (*tîrtha*) by the Tîrthañkaras when they attained *kevalajñâna*. In the *Triṣaṣṭiśalâkâpuruṣacaritra* Hemacandra gives a detailed description of each *śâsanadevatâ*. His account differs so much from the Digambara account, as reported by Burgess, that the images of the one sect would be quite unrecognizable from the description of the other's. These images play quite an important part in Jaina iconography, not only on their own account, but because they help to identify the statues of the Jinas. Hemacandra gives the name, colour, *vâhana*, number of hands with the object in each, and any unusual feature, of each *śâsanadevatâ*.

The references in the following are all to Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalâkâpuruṣacaritra*, published at Bhavnagar.

1. Ṛsabha : 1. 3. 683. The Yakṣa is named Gomukha. He is gold-color, and has an elephant as a *vâhana*. He has four arms. One right hand is in the *varada*-position, the other holds a rosary. The left hands hold a citron and a noose.

The Yakṣiṇî is named Apraticakrâ, though Hemacandra himself calls her Cakresvarî in the *Abhidhânacintâmaṇi*, 44 (B. and R. ed.). She is gold-color, seated on a *garuḍa*. She has eight arms. One right hand is in *varada* ; the others hold an arrow, discus and noose. The left hands hold a bow, thunderbolt, discus and goad.

2. Ajita : 2. 3. 842. The Yaksa is named Mahâyakṣa. He is dark (*śyâma*), has an elephant as *vâhana*, has four faces and eight arms. Of the right hands, one is in *varada* ; the others hold a hammer, rosary and noose. One left hand is in *abhayada*-position ; the others hold a citron, goad and spear.

The Yakṣiṇî is named Ajitabalâ. She is gold-color, seated on an iron seat. One right hand is in *varada*, and the other holds a noose. The left hands hold a citron and goad.

3. Sambhava: 3. 1.385. The Yakṣa is named Trimukha. He is dark, three-eyed, has three faces and six arms. His *vâhana* is a peacock. Two of his right hands hold an ichneumon and mace ; the other is in *abhayada*. His left hands hold a citron, wreath and rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî is Duritârî. She is fair (*gauravarṇâ*), with a ram for a *vâhana*. One right hand is in *varada*, and the second holds a rosary. One left hand is in *abhayada*, and the other holds a serpent.

4. Abhinanda : 3. 2. 157. The Yakṣa's name is Yakṣeśvara (Abhidhana°, 41, Yakṣanâyaka). He is dark, and has an elephant for a *vâhana*. His two right hands hold a citron and rosary. The two left hands hold an ichneumon and goad.

The Yakṣiṇî's name is Kalikâ. She is dark, and seated on a lotus. One right hand is in *varada*, and the other holds a noose. The two left hands hold a snake and a goad.

1 *I.A.*, XXXII (1903), p. 459 ff.

5. Sumati: 3. 3. 246. The Yakṣa is named Tumburu. His color is white, and his *vâhana* is a *garuḍa*. One right hand is in *varada*, and the other holds a spear. The left hands hold a mace and noose.

The Yakṣiṇî is Mahâkâlî. She is gold-color, and has a lotus as a *vâhana*. One right hand is in *varada*, and the second holds a noose. The left hands hold a citron and goad.

6. Padmaprabhu: 3. 4. 180. Kusuma is the name of the Yakṣa. He is blue, and a deer is his *vâhana*. One right hand is in *abhayada*, and one holds a fruit. His left hands hold an ichneumon and rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî is named Acyutâ (Abhidhâna°, 44, Śyâma). She is dark, and her *vâhana* is a man. One right hand is in *varada*, the second holds a noose. One left hand holds a bow, and the other is in *abhayada*.

7. Supârśva: 3. 5. 110. His Yakṣa is named Mâtañga. His color is blue, and his *vâhana* is an elephant. One right hand holds a *bilva* (its fruit ?), and the other a noose.

His Yakṣiṇî is named Śântâ. She is gold-color and her *vâhana* is an elephant. One right hand is in *varada*, the other holds a rosary. One left hand holds a trident, the other is in *abhayada*.

8. Candraprabha: 3. 6. 108. Vijaya is the Yakṣa's name. His color is green, and his *vâhana* is a *haṅsa*. He has only two arms. In the right hand he holds a discus, and in the left a hammer.

The Yakṣiṇî's name is Bhṛkuṭî. Her color is yellow, and her *vâhana* is a *haṅsa* (*marâla*). In her right hands she holds a sword and a hammer. In her left hands she has a tablet and an axe.

9. Suvidhi: 3. 7. 138. The Yakṣa's name is Ajita. His color is white, and he has a tortoise for a *vâhana*. His right hands hold a citron and a rosary. His left hands hold an ichneumon and a spear.

Sutârâ is the Yakṣiṇî. She is fair, with a bull as a *vâhana*. One right hand is in *varada*, the second has a rosary. The left hands have a water-pot and goad.

10. Śîtala: 3. 8. 111. His Yakṣa is named Brahmâ. He is white, is three-eyed, has four faces, and is seated on a lotus. He has eight arms. Three right hands hold a citron, hammer and noose; the fourth is in *abhayada*. The left hands hold an ichneumon, mace, goad and rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî, Aśokâ, is bean-colour. Her *vâhana* is a cloud. One right hand is in *varada*, the second has a noose. Her left hands hold a fruit and goad.

11. Śreyâṅsa: 4. 1. 784. The Yakṣa is Îśvara (Abhidhâna°. 42, Yakṣeṭ), with a bull for a *vâhana*. He is three-eyed, and his color is white. In his two right hands are a citron and mace. In his two left hands are an ichneumon and a rosary.

The Yakṣiṇî is Mânavî. She is fair, and has a lion as *vâhana*. One of her right hands is in *varada*, and the other holds a hammer. An axe and a goad are in her left hands.

12. Vâsupûjya: 4. 2. 286. The Yakṣa's name is Kumâra. He is white, with a *haṅsa*-*vâhana*. A citron and arrow are held in his right hands; an ichneumon and bow in his left.

Candrâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is dark and her *vâhana* is a horse. One right hand is in *varada*, the other has a spear. A flower and a mace are held in her left hands.

13. Vimala: 4. 3. 178. The name of his Yakṣa is Ṣaṇmukha. He is white, his vâhana is a peacock, and he has twelve arms. His six right hands hold a fruit, discus, sword, noose, and rosary. Five of his left hands hold an ichneumon, discus, bow, tablet and goad; the sixth is in *abhayada*.

Viditâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is a yellowish-green color. She is seated on a lotus. She holds an arrow and noose in her right hands; and a bow and a snake in her left.

14. Ananta: 4. 4. 200. Pâtâla, the Yakṣa, is red. His *vâhana* is a dolphin (*makara*). He has three faces and six arms. In his right hands he holds a lotus, sword and noose. In the left ones he has an ichneumon, tablet and rosary.

Añkuśâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is fair. Her *vâhana* is a lotus. A sword and a noose are held in the right hands ; a tablet and goad in the left.

15. Dharma : 4. 5. 197. His Yakṣa, Kinnara, has three faces and six arms. His color is dark-red, and his *vâhana* is a tortoise. Two right hands hold a citron and a club ; the third is in *abhaya*. In the left he has an ichneumon, lotus and rosary.

His Yakṣiṇî is named Kandarpâ. She is fair, and has a fish as a *vâhana*. She holds a blue lotus and a goad in her right hands. In one left hand she has a lotus ; the other is in *abhayada*.

16. Śânti : 5. 5. 373. His Yakṣa, Garuḍa, has the head of a boar. His color is black and his *vâhana* is an elephant. In his right hands there are a citron and a lotus; in his left an ichneumon and a rosary.

Nirvânî is the name of his Yakṣiṇî. She is fair, and is seated on a lotus. In her right hands she has a blue lotus and a book ; a water-jar and a lotus in her left.

17. Kunthu : 6. 1. 116. Gandharva is black. His *vâhana* is the *haṅsa*. One right hand is in *varada*, the other holds a noose. In his left hands he has a citron and goad.

Balâ, his Yakṣiṇî, is fair, with a peacock as *vâhana*. In her right hands she holds a citron and trident ; in her left she has a weapon (*muṣaṇḍhî*) and a lotus.

18. Ara : 6. 2. 97. His Yakṣa is named Yakṣendra (Abhidhâna°, 43, Yakṣeṭ). He is dark, three-eyed, has six faces and twelve arms. His *vâhana* is a conch. Five of his right hands hold a citron, arrow, sword, hammer; and noose ; the sixth is in *abhayada*. In his left hands he has an ichneumon, bow, shield, trident, goad and rosary.

Dhâriṇî, the Yaksiṇî, is seated on a lotus. She is blue. In her right hands she holds a citron and blue lotus ; in her left a lotus and rosary.

19. Malli : 6. 6. 251. The Yakṣa, Kubera, is rainbow-colored. The elephant is his *vâhana*. He has four faces and eight arms. One right hand is in *varada*, two hold an axe and a trident, and the fourth is in *abhayada*. His left hands have a citron, spear, hammer and rosary.

Vairoṭyâ is the name of the Yakṣiṇî (Abhidhâna°, 45, Dharaṇapriyâ). Her color is black, and she is seated on a lotus. One right hand is in *varada*, and the other holds a lotus. A citron and spear are in the left hands.

20. Munisuvrata : 6. 7. 194. Varuṇa, the Yakṣa, is white, three-eyed, four-faced, with matted hair. His *vâhana* is a bull. He has eight arms. In the four right hands he has a citron, mace, arrow and spear. In the four left there are an ichneumon, rosary, bow and axe.

Naradattâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is fair, seated on a throne. One right hand is in *varada*, the other holds a rosary. She has a citron and a trident in the left hands.

21. Nami : 7. 11. 98. Bhṛkuṭi, the Yakṣa, is gold-colored, three-eyed, and four-faced. His *vâhana* is a bull. He has eight arms. Three right hands hold a citron, spear and hammer ; the fourth is in *abhayada*. The four left hands hold an ichneumon, axe, thunderbolt and rosary.

Gândhârî, the Yakṣiṇî, is white, with a *haṅsa* as a *vâhana*. One right hand is in *varada*, and the other holds a sword. Both of her left hands hold citrons.

22. Nemi : 8. 9. 383. Gomedha is his Yakṣa, dark, three-faced. He has a man as a *vâhana*. Of his six hands the three right ones hold a citron, axe, and discus ; the three left ones hold an ichneumon, trident and spear.

The female divinity (here called a Kuṣmaṇḍi) is named Ambikâ. Her color is golden her *vâhana* is a lion. In her right hands she holds a cluster of mangoes and a noose ; in her left hands she has a child and a goad.

23. Pârśva : 9. 3. 362. The Yakṣa, Pârśvayakṣa, is dark. He has the head of an elephant, and has a serpent's hood for an umbrella. A tortoise is his *vâhana*. He has a citron and serpent in his right hands ; an ichneumon and serpent in his left ones.

The Yakṣiṇî, Padmâvatî, is gold-color. Her *vâhana* is a *kurkuṭa*-serpent. She has a lotus and a noose in her right hands; and a fruit and a goad in her left.

24. Mahâvîra: 10. 5. 11. Mâtañga is the name of his Yakṣa. He is black, and has an elephant as a *vâhana*. He has only two arms. In his right hand he has a citron; and in his left an ichneumon.

Siddhâyikâ, the Yakṣiṇî, is green. Her *vâhana* is a lion. Her right hands hold a citron and lute. One left hand holds a book; the other is in *abhayada*.

From these descriptions it is evident that the Śvetâmbara tradition in regard to the Śâsanadevatâs differs from the Digambara not only in the details of name, cognizance and objects held, but that there is a great divergence in the attitude of the figures. The Śvetâmbaras allow much more variety and the conception of the proper attitude has not become so stereotyped. In Burgess's plates all the figures but one have the front right hand in that position so universal in Indian art—with the palm exposed and the fingers pointing upwards. This Burgess calls the *varada-hasta*. But there seems to be some confusion of terminology here. This same position of the hands is the one usually called *abhaya-hasta*.[2] But this cannot be dismissed as a mere confusion of terms by Burgess, for whenever *varada-hasta* occurs in Hemacandra's text, it is always in the case of a right hand. There is no such uniformity as with the Digambaras. The *varada-hasta* occurs only in seventeen instances, as compared with forty-seven. The *abhaya-hasta* occurs fifteen times, and may be on either side. Apparently then, the Jain use of these two terms is just the opposite of the Buddhist and the Hindu; or, that in the case of the Śvetâmbaras, at least, the very ordinary right hand position, usually called *abhaya-hasta* may also be on the left side.

On another point Hemacandra shows an interesting variation. He uses the words *vâhana*, *ratha* and *yâna* indiscriminately and with about equal frequency for the vehicle of the divinities. In eight cases, however, he uses *âsana*, which is open to several interpretations. I think the idea of posture can be eliminated here. As a very conspicuous characteristic of Hemacandra's style is the substitution of some unusual word for a very common one, it seems possible that *âsana* might be merely the equivalent of *vâhana*; but perhaps the most obvious interpretation is that the conventionalized seats or pedestals are meant. In five cases the *padmâsana* (*ambuja*, *kamala*) occurs, also the *bhadrâsana*, *lohâsana* and *garuḍâsana*. I have found no instance of a conventionalized *garuḍâsana*, though a *kûrmâsana* and *makarâsana* occur.[3]

These conventionalized seats could, of course, be used as cognizances, as in Burgess, plate I, fig. 2, without implying that the image would be mounted on them, but two examples, *lohâsanastha* (No. 2), and *bhadrâsadasthita* (No. 20), and the use of *padmârûḍha* (No. 13) indicate that Hemacandra thought of these divinities as placed on these pedestals.

As always, Hemacandra makes use of words hitherto quoted only from lexicons: *musandhî*, 6. 1. 119, 'a kind of weapon', and *kurkuṭoraga*, 9. 3. 364, 'a kind of snake'. The Kuṣmâṇḍas, 8. 9. 385 (No. 22), with the Jains are a division of the Vyantaras, as are also the Yakṣas.

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[2] *Cf.* Foucher, *L'Art Greco-bouddhique de Gandhâra*, 2, pt. 1, p. 326 f.; and Gopinatha, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, p. 14. The definitions here and references to illustrations do not correspond, but throughout the text *abhaya-hasta* is used for this position.

[3] Gopinatha, *E.H.I.*, I, p. 19 ff.

THE DATE OF ASOKA'S ROCK EDICTS.

BY M. H. GOPAL, M.A.

IN his recent book on Asoka[1] Dr. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University supports[2] Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's view, expressed in his *Asoka's Dhammalipis*, that at least Rock Edicts[3] II and XIII must be later than Pillar Edict VII dated in the 27th regnal year, because their contents are not mentioned in PE VII, which is a *résumé* of Asoka's work; to quote Dr. Bhandarkar's words, " the carrying out of philanthrophic works (RE II) and the propagation of Dhamma (RE XIII) are such important things that Asoka would most certainly have made mention of them in PE VII, if he had heard, when it was engraved, that they had met with some measure of success in those foreign countries. The omission is significant and shows that RE II and XIII could not have been promulgated prior to PE VII, that is, the 27th regnal year."

Dr. Bhandarkar goes a step further and remarks that all the RE, including the MRE, are in date later than PE VII. We shall, however, discuss this view later on.

There are also a few other scholars, who hold the same view as Mr. Deb and for the same reasons. But on a closer examination we find that this contention fails to stand criticism. True, the absence of any reference to foreign missions is so significant that it requires some explanation; and such an explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that by about the 27th regnal year, when PE VII was issued, the foreign missions had been abandoned.

However this may be, Messrs. Deb, Bhandarkar and their school appear to have overlooked a very remarkable short passage in RE II, which is almost reproduced both in language and contents in PE VII. RE II says: [4]

> " Roots and fruits wherever they are not found have been imported and planted. On the roads wells have been caused to be dug and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.

> PE VII [5] says:

> " On the roads have I planted the banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight *koses*. I have made many waiting-sheds at different places for the enjoyment of man and beast."

This shows that PE VII, as a mere *résumé* of Asoka's acts, must be later than RE II. For this philanthropic work of Asoka is mentioned nowhere in the PE.

Moreover the very position of the edicts (RE II and XIII) goes against Mr. Deb's view. At Shahbazgarhi[6] "the larger portion of the record containing all the inscriptions except the 12th is engraved on both the eastern and western faces of a mass of trap rock," while at Mansera " the first twelve edicts have been found incised on two rocks " and the last two are missing. In the Kalsi group the edicts are in order on a single boulder, though " towards the bottom, beginning with the 10th edict, the letters increase in size." The inscription at Girnar consists of two main divisions separated by a line drawn from the top to the bottom of the rock. The first five edicts are to the left, while the next seven, from 6 to 12, are to the right. " The 13th edict is placed below and on its right is the 14th edict." At Dhauli " the Asoka inscriptions are arranged in three parallel vertical columns, of which the Fourteen Rock Edicts occupy the whole of the middle column and one-half of the right column."

Thus we find that in all these places RE II at least is found along with the others on the same rock and in a regular order following the first edict and being followed by the third.

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1 *Asoka*, by D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., published by the Calcutta University in 1925.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

3 In this article RE stands for Rock Edicts; PE, for Pillar Edicts; MRE, for Minor Rock Edicts.

4 Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, p. 276. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 319.

6 The quotations are all from Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, pp. 250-4.

If RE II was, as Mr. Deb says, later than PE VII, then it could not have followed the first and been followed by the third edict; on the other hand it ought to have been on a separate rock or at least apart from the rest as a supplement to them. As this is not the case, we shall have to suppose, if Mr. Deb's theory is accepted, that, while the Rock Edicts were being engraved, Asoka had left between RE I and III just enough space for the Second Edict, and then filled in the edict later on. The absurdity of such supposition is evident on the very face of it.

The same argument applies *mutatis mutandis* to RE XIII.

Thus the simple fact that RE II and XIII are found along with the other Rock Edicts in a certain definite order, shows that they could not have been later than the other Rock Edicts and that at least the first edict was followed by the second, the second by the third and so on.

Dr. Bhandarkar avoids this difficulty by saying that all the Rock Edicts are later than PE VII. "We are, therefore," he writes, "compelled to infer that RE II and XIII, in fact the whole set of the 14 Rock Edicts, came to be engraved after the Seven Pillar Edicts were incised . . . . This shows that all his RE, whether they are the 14 RE or the MRE, must have been engraved when the work of inscribing the seven PE came to an end."[7] The basis for this view has been that in PE VII Asoka refers to Dhammalipis as having been ordered to be inscribed on stone pillars and slabs, and not on *parvatas* or rocks, and also that PE VII, which sums up Asoka's measures for the promotion of the Dhamma, does not mention the works of charity and the missionary efforts found in RE II and XIII.

We have discussed before how, though the omission in PE VII of the missionary efforts mentioned in RE II and XIII remains to be explained satisfactorily, there has been definite mention of works of charity in PE VII, while the position of RE II and, to a lesser extent, of RE XIII has shown us that all the Rock Edicts must be nearly of one date, or at least that RE II cannot be later than RE III and IV.

We have some specific references in the edicts themselves as to when they were engraved or issued. And yet Dr. Bhandarkar remarks[8] "It is true that no less than four different dates are found mentioned in this series (RE IV, V, VIII and XIII), but it is nowhere stated that this whole set of Dhammalipis, or any component part thereof, was inscribed in any particular year. They are dates of the different events alluded to in the different parts of this series and not of the actual engraving."

In all there are five dates mentioned in the RE, and of these the one mentioned in RE III has unfortunately escaped Dr. Bhandarkar's notice. This date is very important for our purpose. Equally unfortunate has been the learned professor's statement that we find nowhere the particular year of inscribing any part of the Dhammalipis. For there is at least one date in RE IV, which tells us when that edict was inscribed or written.

In RE III Asoka says[9] "When I had been consecrated twelve years this order was issued (by me) . . . ." This means that whenever the edict might have been actually engraved, the order at least was issued in the 13th regnal year. The edict as such—its form, language and contents—apart from its existence on stone, existed in the 13th regnal year. And as we do not find any reference anywhere else to when the order was incised, we may safely take the words "this order was issued" as denoting the engraving of the edict on the rocks.

Further in RE IV we find "This was *caused to be written* by king Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods, when he was consecrated twelve years." Here it is obvious that the edict was engraved in the 13th regnal year, as there is definite mention of the date. In spite of this, Dr. Bhandarkar says that we do not find any date of the actual engraving, and that all the

[7] *Asoka*, p. 268

[8] *Asoka*, p. 266

[9] The extracts from the edicts quoted in these pages are from the English translation of the edicts given at the end of Dr. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*.

dates mentioned in the edicts are dates of the different events alluded to. The dates of events are to be found in RE V, VIII and XIII, but those in RE III and IV refer to the edicts and not to events.

Again in the Sixth Pillar Edict Asoka says: "Since I was crowned twelve years, I have caused Dhammalipis to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, so that giving up that (conduct), the officers might nurture this and that growth of Dhamma." This reference to the edicts cannot be to the PE because they are definitely known to belong to the 26th and 27th regnal years. What other edicts can this refer to but the RE, of which the third and the fourth definitely mention that they were issued or written after the twelfth year and before the thirteenth regnal year was over? The first four RE at least cannot be later than the 13th regnal year.

One small point must be noted. RE IV says that it was *written*, and not *engraved* as PE II and VII record. But as PE I, III and VI, of which the dates are settled, use the word "written," we may safely ignore the difference between "written" and "engraved."

From another side we find that the RE are earlier than PE VII and the PE as a whole. These are some institutions and acts of Asoka which are mentioned in PE VII, but which are found only in the RE and not in the other PE, for instance, Dharma Mahamatras whose creation was a very important act of Asoka. In Asoka's eyes this institution was so important that he devoted the whole of RE V to describing their functions, in addition to referring to them in other edicts. Likewise we find no mention of almsgiving in PE, but we find it mentioned in PE VII and RE V, VIII and XI. There are a few more such instances which show that PE VII recapitulates some ideas and institutions to be found exclusively in the Rock Edicts, which, therefore, must be prior to PE VII.

Thus we are forced to conclude that at least the first four Rock Edicts belong to the 13th regnal year and the first two may be a little earlier, while the other Rock Edicts are certainly not later than the Pillar Edicts, particularly the 7th; and it is most probable that RE V to XIV belong to the 14th regnal year.

Coming to the Minor Rock Edicts, we find that it is not correct to place them, as Dr. Bhandarkar does, after the PE. For in MRE I we find this passage: "The Beloved of the Gods saith: 'It is more than two years and a half that I was lay-worshipper but did not exert myself strenuously. It is a year, indeed more than a year, that I have lived with the *Sangha* and have exerted myself. . . .'" This indicates that the Edict was engraved about four years after Asoka became a Buddhist, *i.e.*, a little more than a year after he entered the Sangha or became a monk. RE XIII tells us that directly after the conquest of Kalinga, which event happened in the 9th regnal year, began Asoka's zealous protection of the Dhamma. That is to say, Asoka became a Buddhist about three years before the Kalinga war, *i.e.*, about the 6th regnal year, and entered the Sangha just after the conquest, and issued the Minor Rock Edict a little more than a year later, about the 10th regnal year and not the the 13th, as V. A. Smith and others hold. For if we accept Dr. Smith's view, Asoka became a Buddhist after the Kalinga conquest and a zealous one nearly three years later. But this contradicts the more reliable statement in RE XIII that Asoka's zealous protection of the law began directly after the conquest. Therefore the MRE must belong to the 10th regnal year.

Even if we accept Dr. Smith's view, the MRE fall in the 13th year and not after the PE. If we follow Dr. Bhandarkar and place the MRE about the 27th or 28th regnal year, it means that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the 23rd or 24th regnal year. But RE XIII distinctly tells us that Asoka's zealous protection, longing for and teaching of the Dhamma began after the conquest of Kalinga in the 9th regnal year. Therefore we cannot place the MRE after the PE. Their real date must be somewhere about the 10th regnal year.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from vol. LV, page 234.*)

1, 124, 4 : *úpo adarśi śundhyúvo ná vákshо*
nodhâ' ivâvír akṛta priyâ'ṇi |
admasán ná sasató bodháyantî
śaśvattamâ'gât púnar eyúshînâm ||

"The breast (that is, the upper body) of Ushas has come to view like that of a resplendent (young) woman ; she has made manifest her own (greatness) like *nodhas* : waking the sleepers like the *hotṛ*, she has come again, the most frequent comer of those that come again". After *priyâṇi*, own, I supply the word *mahimnaḥ* after 7, 75, 1 : *vy ùshâ' âvo divijâ' ṛtênâvishkṛṇvânâ' mahimâ'nam â'gât.* The same word, or, if a neuter noun be deemed necessary, the word *mahitvam* or *mahitvanam*, it seems to me, should be supplied also in 4, 4, 5 : *âvish kṛṇushva daivyâny agne* (*daivyâni=daivyâni mahitvâni*; *daivyâni vîryâṇi*; Sâyaṇa supplies *tejâṁsi*) and 2, 23, 14: *âvis tát kṛshva yád ásat ta ukthyàm* (*yat=yat mahitvam* ; *yad vîryam*; Sâyaṇa has *yad vîryam*). *Nodhas* still remains an obscure word and its meaning is unknown.

Priya means 'own' in the following passages also: TS. 5, 1, 5, 2 : *chándâṅsi khálu vâ' agnêḥ priyâ' tanû'ḥ* | *priyáyaivainaṃ tanúvâ páridadhâti* "the *chandâṁsi*, indeed, are the own body (self) of Agni ; he covers him with his own body (self)"; *ibid.*, 5, 1, 6, 2 : *eshâ' vâ' agnêḥ priyâ' tanû'r yád ajâ' priyáyaivainaṃ tanúvâ saṅsṛjati* "this, namely, the she-goat, is verily the own body (self) of Agni ; he unites him with his own body (self) "; *ibid.*, 5, 7, 3, 4 : *eshâ' khálu vâ' agnêḥ priyâ' tanû'r yád vaiśvânaráḥ* | *priyâ'yâm evainaṃ tanúvâṃ prátishṭhâpayati* "this, namely, Vaiśvânara, is verily Agni's own body ; he establishes him in his own body " (compare *vaiśvânara iti vâ agneḥ priyaṃ dhâma* "Vaiśvânara is Agni's own body" in Tâṇḍya Br. 14, 2, 3; and Ait. Br. 3, 8, 6-7) ; TS. 5, 3, 10, 3 : *etád vâ' agnêḥ priyáṃ dhâ'ma yád ghṛtáṃ priyéṇaivainaṃ dhâ'mnâ sámardhayati* "This, namely, butter, is verily the own form of Agni ; he makes him thrive with his own form "; KS. 20, 1: *agner vâ eshâ vaiśvânarasya priyâ tanûr yat sikatâḥ* "This, namely, sand is verily the own body of Agni"; *ibid.*, 21, 3 : *priyayaivainaṃ tanvâ samardhayati* "He makes him thrive with his own body (form) ".

Likewise, it means 'own' in VS. 2, 17 : *agneh priyaṃ pâtho' pîtam* "Go to the own abode of Agni " ; in VS. 8, 50 : *agneḥ, indrasya, viśveshâm devânâṃ, priyaṃ pâtho 'pîhi* "Go to the own abode of Agni, Indra, Viśve Devâḥ " (compare *svaṃ pâtho apîtha* 'go to your own abode' in ÂŚS. 1, 11, 8) ; and AV. 2, 34, 2 : *pramuñcánto bhúvanasya réto gâtúṃ dhatta yájamânâya devâḥ'* | *upâ'kṛtaṃ śáśamânaṃ yád ásthât priyáṃ devâ'nâm ápy etu pâ'thaḥ* "Do ye, releasing the seed of being, show the way to the sacrificer, O gods ; what, brought hither and immolated, stood up, living, let it go to the own abode of the gods, (compare TS. 3, 1, 4, 3: *upâ'kṛtaṅ śaśamânáṃ yád ásthâj jîváṃ devâ'nâm ápy-etu pâ'thaḥ* and TS. 5, 1, 11, 4 : *áśro ghṛténa tmányâ sámakta úpa devâ'ṅ ṛtuśáḥ pâ'tha etu*)." And similarly *priya* means 'own' in TS. 1, 5, 3, 2-3: *saptá te agne samídhaḥ saptá jihvâḥ saptá ṛ'shayaḥ saptá dhâ'ma priyâ'ṇi* and in *ibid.*, 1, 5, 4, 4 : *sapta sapta vai saptadhâgneh priyâs tanuvaḥ.*

In the same way there can be no doubt that *priya* generally means 'own' in the expression *priyaṃ dhâma* which occurs fairly frequently in the *Yajus-Saṃhitâs* and *Brâhmaṇas* and is interpreted by Böhtlingk and Roth (s.v. *dhâma*) as 'gewohnte Heimath, Lieblingsstätte, Lieblingssache, Liebhaberei, Lieblings-name ; -preise, -person ' and by Geldner (*Glossar*, s.v. *dhâma*) as '. das Liebe Wesen, die liebe Persönlichkeit, Lieblingsname, die liebe Person,' etc.; thus :

Kaush. Up. 3, 1 : *Pratardano ha daivodâsir indrasya priyaṃ dhâmopajagâma yuddhena paurushena ca* | *taṃ hendra uvâca pratardana varaṃ te dadânîti* ||

"Pratardana, son of Divodâsa, went to Indra's own abode by means of battle and valour. Indra said to him, 'Pratardana, I grant thee a boon.'" *Indrasya priyaṃ dhâma* here does not mean 'Freundschaft, Gunst, Liebe' of Indra (as Geldner would have it) or 'gewohnte Heimath'

of Indra (*PW*), but 'Indra's own abode', the domain that he rules over and that is known as Indraloka or *svarga* in later literature which Pratardana won through his valour in battle (see Macdonnell in *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Pratardana*). The allusion here is to the well-known belief of the Indian writers that those who die in battle fighting valiantly go to heaven; compare Manu, 7, 89 : *âhaveshu mitho' nyonyam jighâṁsanto mahîkshitaḥ | yudhyamânâḥ paraṃ śaktyâ svargaṃ yânty aparâṅmukhâḥ*, and Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra, 10, 3 (p. 365) : *vedeshv apy anuśrûyate—samâpta-dakshiṇânâṃ yajñânâm avabhṛtheshu sâ te gatir yâ śûrâṇâṃ iti . . . . yân yajñasanghais tapasâ ca viprâḥ svargaishinaḥ pâtracayaś ca yânti | kshaṇena tân apy apiyânti śûrâḥ prâṇân suyuddheshu parityajantaḥ.*

Ait. Br. 6, 20, 9-10 : *etena vai vasishṭha indrasya priyaṃ dhâmopâgacchat | sa paramaṃ lokaṃ ajayat | upendrasya priyaṃ dhâma* (Aufrecht's edition reads *lokam* here which is incorrect) *gacchati jayati paramaṃ lokaṃ ya evaṃ veda ||*

"By means of this (*sûkta* ; hymn of praise), verily, Vasishṭha attained the own abode of Indra, he won the highest world ; he who knows this goes to Indra's own abode, wins the highest world."

And similarly, in *ibid.*, 5, 2, 5 : *etena vai gṛtsamada indrasya priyaṃ dhâmopâgacchat* ; 5, 2, 12 : *gayaḥ plâtaḥ visveshâṃ devânâṃ priyaṃ dhâmopâgacchat* ; 1, 21, 6 : *etâbhir hâśvinoḥ kakshîvân priyaṃ dhâmopâgacchat* ; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6 : *etena vai vatsaprîr bhâlandano'gneḥ priyaṃ dhâmâvârunddha* ; ibid. 5, 2, 3, 4 : *etena vai viśvâmitro'gneḥ priyaṃ dhâmâvârunddha* ; and in *ibid.*, 5, 3, 11, 3, I take *priya* in the sense of 'own' and *dhâma* in the sense of 'abode.' With regard to the latter word, the meaning of 'Persönlichkeit, Wesen, Form', suggested by Geldner is however not unsuitable in these passages which can be translated as "By means of this (hymn of praise) Gṛtsamada attained verily the own personality of Indra", etc.; for, in similar passages in later literature that describe the virtue of hymns of praise (*stotra*) or of mantras, we read not only that the author of the hymn of praise and the others that made use of the *stotra* or *mantra* in question (compare *upa agneḥ, indrasya, devânâṃ, priyaṃ dhâma gacchati ya evaṃ veda* in the above passages) attain the world of the particular deity (*sâyujyaṃ gacchati, salokatâm âpnoti*) that is addressed by the *stotra* or *mantra*, but also that they become such deity itself (*sarûpatâm âpnoti*). Compare for instance, Lalitâsahasranâmastotra (Nirṇaya-sâgara ed., v. 289 ff.): *pratimâsaṃ paurṇamâsyâm ebhir nâmashasrakaiḥ | râtrau yaś cakrarâjasthâm arcayet paradevatâm || sa eva lalitârûpas tadrûpâ lalitâ svayam | na tayor vidyate bhedo bhedakṛt pâpakṛd bhavet ||* ; Avyaktopanishat, Kh. 7: *ya imâṃ vidyâm adhîte . . . . dehânte tamasaḥ paraṃ dhâma prâpnuyât | yatra virâṭ nṛsiṁho'vabhâsate . . . . . tatsvarûpa-dhyânaparâ munaya âkalpânte tasminn eva lîyante* ; Tirpurâtâpinî Upanishad, 4 : *oṃ namaś śivâyeti yâjushamantropâsako rudratvaṃ prâpnoti* ; and Râmarahasyopanishat, Ch. 5 : *râmamantrâṇâṃ kṛtapuraścaraṇo râmacandro bhavati.*

Priya means 'own' in the other passages too given in PW. Thus, VS. 1, 31: *dhâma nâmâsi priyaṃ devânâm* "Thou art the gods' own form and name"; *ibid.*, 2, 6 : *priyeṇa dhâmnâ priyaṃ sada âsîda* "Sit in thy own seat in thy own form"; *priyâ dhâmâni* and *priyâ pâthâṁsi* in VS. 21, 46 ff. mean 'own abodes, own domains'; Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devâ jushṭâs tanûḥ priyâṇi dhâmâni sârdhaṃ samavadadire* "The gods took together portions from their own selves, from their own powers"; *ibid.*, 10, 1, 3, 11 : *etad dhâsya priyaṃ dhâma yad yavishṭha iti* "This is indeed his own name, that of 'youngest'"; and *ibid.* 2, 3, 4, 24 : *âhutayo vâ asya priyaṃ dhâma* "The oblations are indeed the own essence of him"; *priyeṇaivainaṃ dhâmnâ samardhayati saṃsparśayati, prâtyeti, etc.*) "With his own body (or form, or nature, etc.) he makes him thrive (covers him, etc.)."

The word *sva*, which, like *nitya*, primarily means 'own', seems likewise to be used in the sense of *priya* in some passages. Instances of such usage are :

2, 5, 7 : *svấh svấ'ya dhấ'yase kṛṇutấ'm ṛtvíg ṛtvíjam |*
stómaṃ yajñáṃ cấ'd áraṃ vanémâ rarimấ' vayâm ||

"May the beloved (Agni), the priest, for the sake of dear food, make ready the (human) priest ; may he then control the praise and sacrifice ; we have offered (oblations)". The sense of this verse is obscure and 1, 31, 3 where the words *dhâyase, vanoshi* and *mantram* occur, scarcely helps here. But *sva* seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here ; compare the passages given above where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding *svaṃ dhâyaḥ* compare 10, 112, 4 : *priyêbhir yâhi priyám ánnam áccha* and note the repetition of the word *priya* here similar to that of *sva* in the above verse. Compare also 1, 58, 2 : *â' svám ádma yuvámâno ajáraḥ* . . *ataśêshu tishṭhasi* where too perhaps *sva* means 'dear'.

3, 31, 21 : *ádedishṭa vṛtrahâ' gópatir gâ'*
antáḥ kṛshṇâ' ñ arushaír dhâ' mabhir gât |
prá sûnṛ' tâ diśámâna ṛtêna
dúraś ca víśvâ avṛṇod ápa svâ' ḥ ||

"The destroyer of Vṛtra, the lord of cows, has given cows ; with his bright troops he penetrated into the dark ones. Bestowing riches rightly, he has opened all the dear doors." To interpret the last *pâda* as 'he has opened all his own doors' hardly yields any sense; I therefore take *svâḥ* here as equivalent to *priyâḥ*. Compare 1, 142, 6: *pâvakâ' śaḥ puruspṛ' ho dvâ' ro devî' r hiraṇyáyîḥ*, 7, 17, 2 : *utá dvâ' ra uśatî' r ví śrayantâm* and 10, 70, 2 : *ví śrayadhvaṃ* . . . . *uśatî' r dvâ' raḥ* where the doors are called 'much-beloved, dear'. The 'dear' doors are, evidently, those that give access to the chamber or other receptacle that contains wealth (compare, *râyo duraḥ* in 1, 68, 10 : *ví râyá aurṇod dúraḥ purukshúḥ*) ; and the epithet 'dear' seems to be transferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the RV. as being 'dear'; compare 4, 41, 10 given above and the passages cited in connection therewith.

10, 120, 8 : *imá' bráhma bṛháddivo vivakt-*
î' ndrâya śûshám agriyáḥ svarshâ' ḥ |
mahó gotrásya kshayati svarâ' jo
dúraś ca víśvâ avṛṇod ápa svâ' ḥ ||

"These mighty hymns Brhaddiva speaks out for Indra. He, the foremost, the winner of light, is the lord of the mighty and independent stone ; he has opened all the dear doors". By the 'mighty and independent stone' is here meant the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra with which he opens the doors of the receptacle containing riches and which is elsewhere called *adri, parvata* and *aśman* : compare 4, 22, 1 : *yó* (sc. *indraḥ*) *áśmânaṃ śávasâ bíbhrad éti*; 6, 22, 6 : *manojúvâ svatavaḥ párvatena* | *ácyutâ cid vîḷitâ' svojo rujáḥ* ; and 1, 51, 3 : *saśéna cid vimadâ'-yâvaho vásv âjâ' v ádriṃ vâvasânásya nartáyan*. The epithet *svarâj*, 'independent,' indicates perhaps that the Vajra is irresistible and overcomes all.

8, 70, 11 : *anyávratam ámânusham áyajvânam ádevayum* |
áva sváḥ sákhâ dudhuvîta párvataḥ sughnâ' ya dásyuṃ párvataḥ ||

"May the dear friend Parvata shake off him who follows another's ordinance, who is not human, who does not offer sacrifices, who is impious ; and may Parvata (shake off) the Dasyu for swift death (?)".

3, 31, 10 : *saṃpáśyamânâ amadann abhí sváṃ*
páyaḥ pratnásya rétaso dúghânâḥ |
ví ródasî atapad ghósha eshâṃ
jâté nishṭhâ' m ádadhur góshu vîrâ' n ||

"Seeing and milking the milk of the old one's semen, they (the Aṅgirases) gladdened the dear (Indra). Their shout warmed the two worlds ; they placed him the foremost in what is born (that is, in the creation) ; they placed heroes amidst the kine (or, in the kine)". I understand this verse as referring to the winning of the sun which also is one of the exploits of Indra in association with the Aṅgirases ; see Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 61 and 143. The 'old one,' *pratna*, is Dyaus or Heaven and his 'seed,' *retaḥ*, is the sun ; compare 8, 6, 30 :

á'd ít pratnásya rétaso jyótish paśyanti vâsarám ; 1, 100, 3 : *divó ná yásya rétaso dúghânâḥ* ; 5, 17, 3 : *divó ná yásya rétasâ bṛhác chocanty arcáyaḥ* ; and 10, 37, 1 : *divás putrá'ya sû'ryâya śaṃsata.* The second *páda* therefore means, 'making the sun appear'. In the first *pâda*, the word *svam* has been interpreted by Geldner (Kommentar, p. 51), following Sâyaṇa, as *svakîyaṃ godhanaṃ* and the verb *abhi amadan* in the sense of 'rejoicing' (Glossar ; *sich freuen über*). The combination *abhi mad* is however met with in another verse of the RV, namely, in 1, 51, 1 *abhí tyáṃ meshám puruhûtám ṛgmíyam in'draṃ gî'rbhir madata* where it has the sense, not of 'rejoicing' but of 'gladdening'. I believe that this is the sense here also, and that *amadann abhi svam* means 'they gladdened the dear (Indra),' that is to say, that they praised him; compare 1, 62, 5: *gṛṇânó áṅgirobhir dasma ví var ushásâ sû'ryeṇa góbhir ándhaḥ.* Compare also 1, 142, 4 ; 5, 5, 3 ; 8, 50, 3 ; and 8, 98, 4 where the epithet *priya* is used of Indra. In the last *pâda*, the expression 'they placed heroes in the kine (or, amidst the kine)' is not very intelligible to me ; Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* 1, p. 241) suggests that it means that 'they exerted themselves in such a way that the heroes were no more cut off from the possession of cows.'

AV. 6, 83, 4 : *vîhí svá'm á'hutiṃ jushâṇó mánasâ svá'hâ mánasâ yád idáṃ juhómi* | "Consume the dear oblation, enjoying with the mind, hail, as now I make oblation with the mind."

AV. 3, 19, 3 : *nîcaíḥ padyantâm ádhare bhavantu*
yé naḥ sûríṃ magháv ânaṃ pṛtanyá'n |
kshiṇá'mi bráhmaṇâmítrân ún nayâmi svá'n ahám ||

"Downward let them fall, let them become inferior, who may fight against our liberal patron. With my incantation, I destroy the enemies ; I raise those that are dear (to me)." Though the interpretation of *svân* as '(my) own people' is not unsuited here, the contrast between *amitrân* and *svân* shows that the latter word has here the sense of 'those that are dear to me ; those whom I like ; friends.'

AV. 7, 77, 5 : *taptó vâṃ gharmó nakshatu sváhotâ*
prá vâṃ adhvaryúś caratu páyasvân |
mádhor dugdhásyâśvinâ taná'yâ
vîtáṃ pâtáṃ páyasa usríyâyâḥ ||

"The *gharma* is heated for you ; let the dear *hotṛ* approach ; let the *adhvaryu*, rich in milk, move forward. Eat ye, O Aśvins, of this milked sweet ; drink ye of this cow's milk." The word *tanáyâh* is obscure and I have followed Ludwig here in translating it as 'this.' Regarding *svahotâ*, compare what has been said above under *nityahotâ.* Compare also 7, 73, 2 : *ny ù priyó mánushaḥ sádi hótâ ná'satyâ yó yájate vándate ca* | *aśnîtáṃ mádhvo aśvinâ upâká â' vâṃ voce vidátheshu práyasvân* where the expressions *priyo hotâ, aśnîtaṃ madhvo aśvinâ,* and *prayasvân* are parallel to *svahotâ, madhor aśvinâ vîtam,* and *prayasvân* (for, this is the correct reading, found, as is noted by Whitney in his *Translation*, in the Kauśika-Sûtra and the Vaitâna-Sûtra and also in Sâyaṇa's commentary, and not *payasvân*) in the above verse.

10, 21, 1 : *á'gníṃ ná svávṛktibhir hótâraṃ tvâ vṛṇîmahe* |
yajñá'ya stírṇábarhishe ví vo madé śîráṃ pâvakáśocishaṃ vívakshase ||

"As Agni, we, with pleasingly-cut (hymns of praise), choose thee *hotṛ* for the sacrifice where the *barhis* is spread—thee that art burning and that hast clear light." Compare *priyâ tashṭâni*, pleasingly-cut, pleasingly-fashioned (limbs) in 10, 86, 5 and the verses 1, 130, 6 ; 5, 2, 11 ; 5, 29, 15 ; 5, 73, 10 ; etc., which speak of hymns being 'cut' or 'fashioned' into shape. Concerning the refrain, *vi vo made . . . . vivakshase*, which is not here translated, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 221 and the literature referred to therein.

8, 32, 20 : *píba svádhainavânâm utá yós túgrye sácâ* |
utá'yám indra yás táva ||

"Drink of these (Somas that are mixed) with pleasing milk; and what is with Tugrya and that which is here, O Indra, are thine." *Svadhainavânâm* is equivalent to *priyadhainavânâm*: the reference is to the milk which is added to the Soma juice. Compare 9, 101, 8: *sám u priyâ' anûshata gâ'vo mádâya ghṛ'shvayaḥ | sámâsaḥ kṛṇvate patháḥ pávamânâsa índavaḥ*; compare also 9, 32, 5: *abhí gâ'vo anûshata yóshâ jâràm iva priyám*; 9, 1, 9: *abhî'mam ághnyâ utá śrîṇánti dhenávaḥ śíśum | sómam índrâya pâ'tave*; 9, 9, 1: *pári priyâ' divás kavír váyâṁsi naptyòr hitáḥ | suvânó yâti kavíkratuḥ*.

VS. 22, 19: *ihá dhṛ'tir ihá svádhṛtiḥ svâ'hâ* |
"Here steadiness; here pleasing steadiness, hail."

In the above translations, I have assumed that the words *svavṛkti, svadhainava* and *svadhṛti* have really the word *sva* as a component, in which case *priyavṛkti, priyadhainava* and *priyadhṛti* are the best equivalents for them. I do not however feel certain that this assumption is correct; or rather, I feel inclined to believe that the word *sva* is not really a component of these words at all. We know that in Sanskrit there exist a number of words beginning really with *su-* but having a variant form beginning with *sva-*. As examples of such, I may cite the following from PW—*svagupta, svagṛhîtanâman, svadhâ, svadhita, svadhiti, svastha, svabrahmanyâ, svabhadrâ, svavâsinî,* and *svarâshṭra* (proper name of a people), *svapura* (name of a town), *svabhûmi* (proper name), and *svareṇu* (proper name) all which have also forms beginning with *su-* instead of *sva-*. The word *sujana* occurs in the form *svajana* in *Ind. Spr.* (II), 6672, *svajana-durjanayoḥ*, and it is remarked in PW 'nicht selten werden *svajana* und *sujana* mit einander verwechselt.' Similarly, the PW gives references to passages where the word *svaprakâśa* has the meaning 'clear,' that is, of *suprakâśa*. In the RV itself, we have the form *svadhâ*, nectar, instead of *sudhâ* and the form *svayaśastaram* in 8, 60, 11 where the SV reads *suyaśastaram*. I am inclined to think that the words *svavṛkti, svadhainava,* and *svadhṛti* also belong to this class and that they are but variants of the words *suvṛkti, sudhainava* and *sudhṛti*. Of these latter, the word *suvṛkti* occurs frequently in the RV. It is derived from the root *ṛc* in PW but I believe that it really comes from the root *vṛj* 'to cut' (compare the word *vṛkta-barhis*) and that the meaning is 'well-cut, well-fashioned'; see what has been said above under 10, 21, 1. I would therefore translate the passages 10, 21, 1; 8, 32, 20; and VS. 22, 19 as follows: "As Agni, we with well-fashioned (hymns) choose thee *hotṛ* for the sacrifice, etc."; "Drink of these Somas that are well mixed with good milk, etc."; and "Here steadiness; here good steadiness, hail!" With regard to the VS passage, the commentator Uvaṭa, I may here observe, has paraphrased *svadhṛti* by *sâdhu-dhṛti* which seems to show that he too regarded it as a variant of *sudhṛti*.

Wackernagel, in his *Altindische Grammatik* II, § 33b (p. 81), refers to the frequently-expressed opinion, the best exposition of which is by Zubaty in KZ, 31, p. 52ff., that *su-* in compounds has, in addition to itself, an *ablaut* form *sva-*, and says that so far as the Vedic language (altindisch) is concerned, the examples adduced, namely, *svadhâ-sudhâ, svadhiti-sudhiti,* and *svadhita-sudhita* are too few in number to justify such opinion being held with regard to it. The number of examples, however, is not, as he thinks, restricted to the three mentioned here; for we have already met with two more examples above—*svavṛkti-suvṛkti, svayaśastara-suyaśastara* and we shall meet with some more presently. And, secondly, the statement that '*su-* has in addition to itself an *ablaut* form *sva-* in compounds' gives but a partial and incorrect representation of the real fact, namely, that in Sanskrit, and in the Vedic language also, there occur a certain number of words beginning with *su-* that have got variant forms beginning with *sva-* or alternatively, that there occur a certain number of words beginning with *sva-* that have got variant forms beginning with *su-*. This does not mean that the first word in all such compounds is in reality *su* and that the form beginning with *sva-* is a variant of this; for there occur some compounds in which the first word is really *sva* and in whose case the form beginning with *su-* is a variant of such original form with *sva-*. Compare

Tait. Up. 2, 7: *asad vâ idam agra âsît | tato vai sad ajâyata | tad âtmânaṁ svayam akuruta | tasmât tat sukṛtam ucyata iti*; the word *sukṛta* here stands distinctly for *svakṛta* and is thus a variant of it; compare Śaṅkara's *bhâshya* thereon: *sukṛtaṃ svayaṃ-kartrucyate* and Śaṅkarânanda's scholium, *sukṛtaṃ svârthe 'yaṃ soh prayogah | svena saṃskṛtavat svakṛtam.* Compare also Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 1: *esha vaḥ panthâḥ sukṛtasya loke* (Śaṅkara: *sukṛtasya svayaṃ nirvartitasya karmaṇo loke*); ibid., 1, 2, 6: *esha vaḥ puṇyaḥ sukṛto brahmalokaḥ* and also ibid., 1, 2, 10: *nâkasya pṛshṭhe te sukṛte 'nubhûtvâ imaṃ lokaṃ hînataraṃ vâ viśanti* where too in all probability *sukṛtaḥ=svakṛtaḥ*: and Kaṭha Up. 1, 3, 1: *ṛtaṃ pibantau sukṛtasya loke châyâṃ pravishṭau parame parârdhe* where Śaṅkara has explained *sukṛtasya* as *svayaṃ kṛtasya karmaṇaḥ*. It must therefore be understood that in the case of compounds that occur in two forms, one beginning with *su-* and the other with *sva-*, the real original form may be either the one beginning with *su-* or the one beginning with *sva-*. And as a corollary, it has also to be admitted that in the case of compounds that occur in one form only, either beginning with *su-* or beginning with *sva-*, it is possible that such form beginning with *su-* or *sva-* may not be the real original form of the word at all, but only a variant of the real original form beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be.

In other words, when we meet with compounds beginning with *su-* or *sva-*, it is desirable to investigate first if such compound occurs in both forms or in one form only. In the latter case, one should further find out which of the two words, *su* and *sva*, gives the better meaning for the compound in connection with the passage where it occurs and determine accordingly the original form of the word and its meaning and also whether the word occurs in the given passage in its original form or in a variant form. The same thing has to be done in the former case also; but if, as sometimes happens, both the words *su* and *sva* are found to give the better meaning, each in its own context, one should postulate two original forms, beginning with *su* and *sva* respectively, and interpret the words accordingly: if, on the other hand, one only of the two words, *su* and *sva*, is found to give a good meaning (or the better meaning) in all the passages (where the compound occurs in either form), one should postulate one original form (beginning with *su-* or *sva-* as the case may be) and regard the other form (beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be) as a variant of it and interpret the passages accordingly.

The bearing of the foregoing remarks may perhaps be better understood from a consideration of some compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The words *svakshatra-sukshatra* both occur in the RV.; and the originality of the form *svakshatra* is proved by the occurrence of the parallel word *priyakshatra*; see above. One has therefore to consider if the word *sukshatra*, in the passages where it occurs, gives a better meaning when one regards it as occurring in its original form and therefore interprets it as 'having excellent dominion' (*śobhanaṃ kshatraṃ yasya*) or when it is regarded as a variant of the word *svakshatra* and therefore interpreted as 'whose is dominion' (*svaṃ kshatraṃ yasya*), that is, 'ruling over others; sovereign.' Considering that the word *sukshatra* is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods, and that in their case, the meaning 'sovereign; ruling over others' is more appropriate and forceful than that of 'having excellent dominion,' I feel inclined to give preference to the latter of the above meanings and thus to regard *sukshatra* as a variant of the original form *svakshatra*, which, too, be it noted, is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods. On the other hand, in the case of the words *suścandra-svaścandra* both occurring in the RV., I consider that the interpretation 'well-shining' is, in every passage, to be preferred to that of 'shining of itself,' 'self-shining'; and I therefore regard *svaścandra* in 1, 52, 9, the only passage where it occurs, as equivalent to *suścandra* and as meaning 'well-shining'. As regards the words *suhotṛ* (RV)—*svahotṛ* (AV), the occurrence of the word *nityahotṛ* (see above) seems to show that the latter form (in AV. 7, 77, 5) is original and should be interpreted in the same way as *nityahotṛ*, while the juxtaposition of the word *svadhvara* in 8, 103, 12: *yáḥ suhótâ svadhvaráḥ* seems to show that here the interpretation "good *hotṛ*" gives the better meaning. I therefore

regard both words as being in their original forms. Of the pair *svayaśastara*, 'renowned of one's self' (RV)—*suyaśastara* 'having much renown' (SV), it is obvious that the latter is the better meaning. I believe therefore that *svayaśastara* in the RV is a variant of *suyaśastara* and means the same as that word, and likewise that the word *svayaśas* occurring frequently in the RV, is a variant of, and has the same meaning as, *suyaśas*. Similarly, of the pair *sugopa* (having a good protector; well-protected)—*svagopa* (protected by one's self; self-protected), both occurring in the RV, the former meaning seems to be obviously better than the latter; and I therefore think it preferable to interpret *svagopa* in 10, 31, 10, (the only passage where the word occurs): *vyáthir avyathîḥ kṛṇuta svágopâ*, as 'well-protected' and to regard it as a variant of the word *sugopa*; while, of the pair *suyuj* ('well-yoked') -*svayuj* ('yoking itself; yoked of its own self') both occurring in the RV, it is equally obvious that the latter meaning suits the context better than the former, which is, when compared with it, a weak and colourless epithet. I therefore look upon the word *suyuj* (in the RV. passages where it occurs) as a variant of, and having the same meaning as, *svayuj*. Compare the epithet *manoyuj*, which, like *suyuj*, is applied to hymns, horses, and chariots; and compare specially 1, 121, 12: *tvám indra náryo yâ'n̐ ávo nṛ'n tíshṭhâ vâ'tasya suyújo váhishṭhân | yáṃ te kâvyá uśánâ mandínaṃ dâ'd vṛtrahánaṃ pâ'ryaṃ tatakṣha vájram* with 1, 51, 10 *tákshad yát ta uśánâ sáhasâ sáho ví ródasî majmánâ badhate śávaḥ | â' tvâ vâ'tasya nṛmaṇo manoyúja â' pû'ryamâṇam avahann abhí śrávaḥ* and 5, 31, 10: *vâ'tasya yuktâ'n suyújaś cid áśvân* with 4, 48, 4: *váhantu tvâ manoyújo yuktâ'so navatí'r náva vâ'yo* . . . . where the word *suyuj* in the former pair of verses is obviously parallel to the word *manoyuj* in the latter pair thus indicating clearly that *suyuj* is equivalent to *svayuj*. Compare also the verse 3, 58, 3: *suyúgbhir áśvaiḥ suvṛ'tâ ráthena dásrâv imáṃ śṛṇutaṃ ślókam ádreḥ* with the verse 5, 75, 6: *â' vâṃ narâ manoyújó 'śvâsaḥ prushitápsavaḥ | váyo vahantu pîtáye sahá sumnébhir aśvinâ* and with the verse 1, 119, 4: *yuváṃ bhujyúṃ bhurámâṇaṃ víbhir gatáṃ sváyuktibhir niváhantâ pitṛ'bhya â'* and note that the epithets *suyuj, manoyuj* and *svayukti* are parallelly applied to the bird-horses of the Aśvins indicating that they express the same idea. The horses (birds) of Vâyu (Vâta) and of the Aśvins yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters think [5] of setting forth in it, and are hence *manoyujaḥ* as well as *svayujaḥ*.

This is not however the occasion for investigating exhaustively the nature and meaning of all the Vedic compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The foregoing observations will, I believe, have shown the necessity of such an investigation; and I therefore close this digression and return to our subject.

Sva has the sense of *priya* in the derivative *svadhâ* also which in the instrumental case, means not only 'according to one's own nature or wont' but also 'willingly, with gladness, with pleasure', *nach eigenem Gefallen, gern, aus eigener Lust* (Grassmann), *Neigung* (Geldner, *Glossar*).

Like *nitya* and *sva*, the word *nija*, too, means primarily 'own'; and like these two words, it too seems to have the meaning *priya* in the following passage: AV. 3, 5, 2: *máyi kshatráṃ parṇamaṇe máyi dhârayatâd rayím | aháṃ râshṭrásyâbhîvargé nijó bhûyâsam uttamáḥ* || "In me maintain dominion, *parṇa* amulet, in me maintain wealth; may I, in the sphere of (my) kingdom, be beloved, supreme".

Jushṭa, like *priya*, originally means 'pleasing, agreeable, dear' and like *priya*, has, seemingly, the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

Sata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devâ jushṭâs tanûḥ priyâṇi dhâmâni sârdhaṃ samavadadire* | This passage has already been cited above (see p. 31) and explained as "The gods put

[5] According to another conception, these horses yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters express their intention of setting forth in it *in words*, they are hence also called *vacoyujaḥ*. They are thus at the same time *manoyujaḥ* or *vacoyujaḥ* and *svayujaḥ*.

together portions from their own selves, from their own powers". Note the parallelism of the word *jushṭâḥ* with the word *priyâṇi* that follows :

1, 33, 2 : *úpêd ahám dhanadâ'm ápratîtam*
júshṭâm ná śyenó vasatím patâmi |
índram namasyánn upamêbhir arkaír
yáḥ stotṛ'bhyo hávyo asti yâ'man ||

'I fly (for protection), like the hawk to its own nest, to the giver of wealth, the irresistible, adoring with the best chants Indra who in battle is to be invoked by his praisers " *Jushṭâ vasatiḥ* is here equivalent to *svâ vasatiḥ* : compare 1, 25, 4 : *párâ hí me vímanyavaḥ pátanti vásyäishṭaye* | *váyo ná vasatî'r úpa* ; 9, 71, 6 : *śyenó ná yónim sádanam* . . . . *eshati*

4, 29, 3 : *śravâ'yêd asya kárṇâ vâjayádhyai*
júshṭâm ánu prá díśam mandayádhyai |
udvâvṛshâṇó râ'dhase túvishmân
káran na índraḥ sutîrthâ'bhayam ca ||

" To quicken his years for hearing ; to make him find pleasure in (our) own direction ; may Indra the mighty, showering gifts, make for us good crossings and safety ". The expression ' to make him find pleasure in our own direction ', means, probably, ' to make him find pleasure with us, in our sacrifice '; compare 8, 12, 17: *yád vâ śakra parâváti samudrê ádhi mándase* | *asmâ'kam ít sutê raṇâ sám índubhiḥ.* The 'good crossings ' desired are no doubt across evils, *duritâ*, and enemies, *dvishaḥ*. Instead of *pra díśam*, I read *pradiśam :* see Oldenberg, *Veda-forschung*, p. 110.

1, 182, 6 : *ávaviddham taugryám apsv àntár*
anârambhaṇê támasi práviddham |
cátasro nâ'vo jáṭhalasya júshṭâ
úd aśvíbhyâm ishitâ'ḥ pârayanti ||

" The four own ships of Jaṭhala impelled by the Aśvins, bring over safely the son of Tugra who was abandoned in the midst of the waters and who was stuck in bottomless darkness ". I take *jaṭhala* here as a proper name : the person referred to is perhaps the same as the Jaṭhara mentioned in 1, 112, 17, in a hymn likewise addressed to the Aśvins. The four ships that brought over Tugra's son to safety are perhaps the same as the four birds that are said to have carried him in 8, 74, 14 : *mâ'm catvâ'ra âśávaḥ śávishṭhasya dravitnávaḥ* | *suráthâso abhí práyo vákshan váyo ná túgryam.*

Likewise, *jushṭa* seems to have this meaning of ' own ' in the formula *amushmai tvâ jushṭam prokshâmi* (*nirvapâmi*, etc.; see *Concordance*); the meaning seems to be " I sprinkle thee that art the own (portion) of such-and-such."

Similarly, the word *vâma* also, meaning primarily ' dear, pleasing ', etc., seems to have the meaning ' own ' in the following passages :

10, 140, 3 : *û'rjo napâj jâtavedaḥ suśastíbhir mándasva dhîtíbhir hitáḥ* |
tvê íshaḥ sám dadhur bhû'rivarpasaś citrótayo vâmájâtâḥ ||

" O Jâtavedas son of vigour, rejoice thou, beneficent, with the hymns containing fine praises. They put in you manifold nourishments, they whose help is wonderful, who are born of own self". *Vâmajâtâḥ* here, like *priyajâta* in 8, 71, 2 above, seems to be equivalent to *svajâtâḥ*.

T.S. 1, 5, 1, 1 : *devâsurâḥ samyattâ âsan* | *te devâ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vâmam vasu sam nyadadhata* | *idam u no bhavishyati* | *yadi no jeshyantîti* |

" The gods and *asuras* prepared to fight. The gods, setting out for the battle, deposited their own wealth with Agni (thinking), ' this will be ours in case they vanquish us ' ".

Tait. Br. 1, 1, 2, 8 : *yaḥ purâ bhadraḥ san pâpîyân syât* | *sa punarvasvor agnim âdadhîta* | *punar evainam vâmam vasûpâvartate* | *bhadro bhavati* |

" He who having been formerly prosperous (literally, splendid or glorious) is now worse off, should establish the fires in Punarvasu (*nakshatra*). (His) own glory (*i.e.*, wealth) will again come back to him and he will become glorious (prosperous)". *Vâmaṃ vasu* here seems clearly to be equivalent to *svakîyaṃ vasu.*

In the case of these words also, *priya, sva, jushṭa* and *vâma*, I have to repeat the observation made above with regard to *nitya*—namely, that in some passages, either of the meanings, 'dear' and 'own', is suitable, and that, though in the translations given above, I have chosen in such instances what seemed to me the better of the two, a combination of the two meanings would perhaps better represent the idea which the poet had in his mind when he used these words.

The use of the word *nitya* in the sense of 'dear' (*priya*) is not confined to Vedic literature but is occasionally met with in later literature also. Thus, it is said in the *Mahâbhârata* (1, 169, 14) of Ghaṭotkaca—

anuraktaś ca tân âsît pâṇḍavân sa Ghaṭotkacaḥ |
teshâṃ ca dayito nityam âtmanityo babhûva ha ||

" That Ghaṭotkaca loved the sons of Pâṇḍu and he was always dear to them, as dear as their own self ". *Nitya* in *âtmanitya* signifies, it seems to me, 'dear' and the word *âtmanitya* means therefore 'dear as the *âtmâ* or own self' and not 'im Selbst haftend, an's Herz gewachsen' as suggested in the PW. (*s.v.*); for the word *nitya* has no connection with 'haften' or 'wachsen.'

Similarly it is not unlikely that the word *nitya* at the end of some compounds (like *araṇya-nitya, dharma-nitya, tapo-nitya, satya-nitya, adhyâtmajñâna-nityatvam* in *Bh. Gîtâ* 13, 11) has the signification 'dear'. In *Bh. Gîtâ*, 13, 11 especially (*adhyâtmajñânanityatvaṃ tattvajñânârthadarśanam | etaj jñânam iti proktam . . . .*) the words *etaj jñânam* in the third *pâda* make it very probable that *nitya* here means 'dear'.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

A CONTEMPORARY CONTEMPTUOUS CRITICISM OF MANUCCI'S *STORIA DO MOGOR.*

In the outgoing Letter Books of Thomas Pitt, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 22842-22850) appears a copy of a letter (No. 18 of MS. 22844) from Pitt, then Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, to Thomas Woolley, secretary to the E. I. Co. in England, dated Fort St. George, 17 October 1701. Woolley had evidently heard of Manucci's work and had asked for details. Pitt replied as follows :

" In yours of the 4th of July concerning Senr. Manuches history, 'tis true he liv'd many years with Shallum [Shâh 'Alam] the Mogulls eldest Son, in which time without doubt was capable of makeing many observations, but I beleive 'tis soe Ordinaryly connected that 'tis hardly worth reading. When I came here first, he was in disgrace with our Government, and to drawn [*sic*] himselfe from it, his Book he had some time agoe dedicated it to the French King; the copy of it in Portugueez I will endeavour to get and send you; but when all is done, I believe 'tis no better than Tom Thum."[1]

In Mr. Irvine's introduction to his monumental edition of Manucci's MS. he states (p. xix) that Catrou, who pirated Manucci's work, admitted that he obtained the MS. from M. Deslandes, a Pondicherry official, who had brought it to Europe in 1701 or 1702.

Later, in his Note on Boureau-Deslandes Mr. Irvine shows (p. lxxxv) that Deslandes left Pondicherry in February and reached France in August 1701.

Manucci's MS. must have been seen and read by Europeans in Fort St. George before its transmission to France, and some among their number must have had a higher opinion of its contents than Thomas Pitt, for otherwise his correspondent would not have troubled to enquire about it.

In any case the extract is valuable as it gives the earliest notice of the *Storia* so far discovered.

L. M. ANSTEY.

[1] Pitt means that the work will be found to be of insignificant value.

BOOK-NOTICES.

MOSUL AND ITS MINORITIES, by H. C. LUKE, 1925. London, Martin Hopkinson and Co., Ltd.

This book gives an account of two journeys in the Near and Middle East made in 1908 and 1924, especially to Mosul, with the object of helping "to make the singularly interesting peoples" inhabiting the area round about Mosul "better known to English readers." Mr. Luke has thoroughly succeeded in his object, as he writes with the pen of a ready writer, and the information he supplies is that of a scholar well versed in his subject. To those whose work lies in India and who would learn something historically of the populations that have dwelt in modern 'Irâq, *i.e.*, Mesopotamia, for centuries under Moslem-Turkish rule, and have had in the past so many dealings with India in one form or another, the book is an invaluable guide.

It is lightly written, but it is never flippant, and the statements in it, historical and other, are of extraordinary accuracy. It deals briefly with the way from Palestine to Mosul, the site of Niniveh, and then with Mosul as it now is and as it has been in the past. The entrancing stories of the religions of the region, chiefly minor varieties of Christianity—Nestorians, Monophysites and equally interesting others,—of the people of the Assyrian Mar Shimun, the youthful hereditary patriarch of an ancient sect, now studying at Oxford, and of Prester John, are all dealt with in a rapid but masterly manner. Then follows a most valuable chapter on the Yezidis or devil-worshippers, part of which has already appeared in this Journal (vol. LIV, pp. 94-98). And finally we are treated to an illuminating summary of the history of Baghdad and Palmyra (Tadmor) on the "return journey."

Personally, I have read this book from cover to cover with absorbing interest, and have found it, as an old student of the matters with which it is concerned, not only informing, but accurately informing. The one point which I should be inclined to discuss with the author is the character he gives to Timur the Lame—the Tamerlane the Terrible of European scholarship. He is evidently a bugbear to Mr. Luke, but whether he was really as bad as he is generally painted I have long doubted. Sir Lucas King's untimely death on 23th August 1925, has deprived us of the account of Timur on which he was engaged—an account which, let us hope, would have given the world a fair picture of him. He was a ruthless conqueror at times, no doubt, but he was also a highly cultivated man and a scholar, and it is this mixed character—half hereditary savage and half hereditary man of learning—which one would like to see developed and balanced. The story of the early Christian Church and its schisms, resulting in cleavages into Nestorians and Monophysites, with their further divisions into Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, and Gregorian Armenians and finally into Uniates—Chaldeans, Syrians, Assyrians—is told with admirable clearness. But I cannot deal with them here, and will say no more than that the brief chapters containing the story are filled with a mass of facts, such as only a mature scholar could have put together in so concise a form. Passing on to the old and vexed question of Prester John, Mr. Luke discusses it with scholarly notices of many a great Oriental name and many a story of the East, and I would remark that the chapter on that old Will-o'-th'-Wisp of Eastern history should be of special interest to the St. Thomas Christians of South India and to the students of their creed and its history.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SIDDHANTAS AND THE INDIAN CALENDAR, by R. SEWELL. Government of India, Calcutta, 1924, (Reprinted from the *Epigraphica Indica.*) 28×21 cm.; pp. xvii, 609; £1-2*s*.-6*d*.

The names of R. Schram, H. G. Jacobi, F. Kielhorn and J. F. Fleet give a lustre to the subject of Indian Chronology, which is ordinarily considered a dull and difficult affair; and the devotion of these scholars to the task with which they burdened themselves, and their skill in unravelling the intricacies of this very technical subject earn our gratitude and admiration. But these scholars by no means exhausted the subject of Indian chronology, and they have been followed by others equally altruistic and equally deserving of our gratitude. Among this second generation of scientific chronologists the names of R. Sewell and L. D. S. Pillai [1] are noteworthy, and their works now form our standard reference books on the subject. Mr. Sewell has already published three quarto volumes and he hints at further fields to explore. The enormous labour and skill entailed in his vast work compels our admiration.

The demand for special chronological tables for India arose from the sad discovery of numerous forgeries in ancient inscriptions, and in deeds produced in the Law Courts of India; and the enormous labour involved in the preparation of these tables is due to the complicated system, or rather sets of systems, of calculating and recording dates in different parts of India and at different periods.

The Hindu solar year is scientific in theory, but the neglect of precession has made it artificial; the use of a so-called luni-solar year introduces the problem of intercalation; the use of a theoretical lunar day (the *tithi*) adds further complications; and these fundamental difficulties are greatly increased by the employment of various initial

[1] Other notable Indian chronologists are—T. Warren, 1825; J. Prinsep, 1834; J. B. Jervis, 1843; Sir A. Cunningham, 1883; S. B. Dikshit, 1887, etc.; F. K. Ginzel, 1906.

times for the year, for the month and for the day; and further still by the practice of forming calendars by calculations based upon the teachings of different Siddhântas, pre-eminent among which are the Sûrya, Ârya, Brahma and Śiromaṇi.

Schram and Jacobi provide us with what may be termed general results, while Messrs. Sewell and Pillai give us detailed tables according to the various systems in vogue. Schram reduces the date to Julian days, and for ordinary verification his method is simple and effective. His original tables for India occupy five pages only. Jacobi employs the *acargaṇa*, or sum of days from the beginning of the *Kali-yuga*, and his general tables occupy some dozen pages. Sewell gives for each year certain elements from which the details of the calendar can be calculated, and his tables fill three quarto volumes. Pillai now gives information for each day (in eight large volumes). He indeed states that any attempt to enable the historian or epigraphist to be his own computor of *tithis* and *nakshatras* seems predestined to failure, and that the only solution is a day to day ephemeris. The draw-back to this plan is the size, number and cost (£6-10*s*.) of the volumes involved, and Schram's or Jacobi's few pages, or, say, Ginzel's two volumes (for all countries) may be preferred; or, for India itself, the volumes of Mr. Sewell.

Mr. Sewell's present volume is the third of a series, consisting of (1)—*The Indian Calendar*, 1896, which gives detailed information based upon the *Sûrya Siddhânta* for every year from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1900, also a table of initial days of Muhammadan years from A.H. 1 to A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1900), Schram's useful tables for eclipses of the Sun in India, and certain subsidiary tables; (2) *Indian Chronography*, 1912, which is an extension of the former volume with working examples; (3) the present volume which gives general tables based upon the *Siddhânta Śiromaṇi* (A.D. 1100–1900), the First *Ârya Siddhânta* 'True system' (A.D. 900–1800) and 'Mean system' (A.D. 500–1400), *Brahma Siddhânta* 'True system' (A.D. 600–1200) and 'Mean system' (A.D. 600–1400); also tables relating to the cycle of Jupiter, and Fleet's tables for finding the mean place of Saturn, together with many elucidatory notes and subsidiary tables.

The historian and epigraphist will probably be more interested in the general tables, which give year by year the main eras, the Jovian Saṁvatsara, intercalated and suppressed months, the European dates of the beginnings of the solar and luni-solar years, etc. These general tables occupy 330 pages, or rather more than half the volume. They are generally exactly the same for some seven columns, but differ occasionally in the record of the intercalated months, and more often in the times of the commencement of the year.

The following table (shown below) 2 illustrates the type of variation between the tables based upon the several Siddhântas. Of the explanatory portion of the volume the student will find the preface of considerable interest, and he will find it profitable to work through the examples on pages 237 to 247.

One special feature of the present volume is its supposed greater accuracy than former publications —"since the figures are given with four decimal places instead as previously in whole numbers, and so give us planetary positions to a quarter of a second whether in space or time." Mr. Sewell goes even farther than this, *e.g.*, on page 56 we find a value 2° 8′ 18.828200553,″ and there are many other similar examples. Accuracy to a hundred millionth of a second might delight certain astronomers if it were attainable! But in dealing with physical quantities it is a sound maxim to keep the calculations to the same order of accuracy as the observations on which they are based; and although it might be stated with justification that Hindu astronomy is not based upon observation, yet no useful object can be obtained by such artificial methods. There are misprints, and the volume used for review has the pages bound up in incorrect order; but such blemishes are difficult to avoid in a technical work printed at a Government Press in India.

These may be termed the minor defects of an extremely valuable work.

G. R. KAYE.

2 BEGINNING OF THE SOLAR YEAR—'TRUE' SYSTEMS.

	A. Ârya.	B. Brahma.	C. Śiromani.	Differences. A — B	B — C	
Kali.	March.	March.	March.			A. D.
4201	24·31077	23·26446	23·25777	1·04631	·00669	1099—1100
4202	23·56944	22·52289	22·51620	1·04655	·00669	1100—1101
4203	23·82813	22·78133	22·77465	1·04680	·00669	1101—1102
4204	24·08681	23·03976	23·03308	1·04705	·00668	1102—1103
4251	24·24479	23·18632	23·17955	1·06847	·00677	1149—1150
4301	25·17882	24·10818	24·10133	1·07064	·00685	1199—1200
Yearly Differences.	·25868	·25843	·25843			

500. From Malabar Bowen sailed towards Madagascar but was wrecked on St. Thomas's Reef, off the Island of Mauritius. He was kindly received by the Dutch, who assisted him in turning his longboat into a sloop, in which he transhipped his crew to Maritan in Madagascar. Here, early in 1702 (Johnson, II. 51) they surprised two ships belonging to the Scottish South African and East India Company. These were the *Speedy Return* (Captain Robert Drummond) and the *Content* Brigantine (Captain Stewart), which had left Scotland in May 1701. The two Captains were put ashore at St. Mary's and were afterwards murdered by the natives. About the same time another gang of pirates who had settled at St. Augustine's surprised and seized the *Prosperous* (Captain Hilliard) and made one Thomas Howard their Captain. Howard, originally a London lighterman, had been Quartermaster to a pirate, Captain James, on the coast of Virginia (Johnson, II. 247), probably the Captain John James who flew Every's Mughal flag when he fought H.M.S. *Essex*, Captain John Aldred, in Linhaven Bay in July 1699 (*Col. Off. Records*, 323-3 No. 37, 1. *See para.* 415 *above*). On the coast of Guinea, James took a large Portuguese ship, to which a part of his crew transferred themselves, they renaming her the *Alexander*. They were wrecked on the coast of Madagascar and there surprised the *Prosperous*. The latter then went to St. Mary's and the crew were well received by Ort van Tyle, but hearing that he (? his brother) had caused the death of some pirates they tried to kill him, and he escaped only by the help of the natives.

501. Howard and Bowen agreed to cruise in company. On the 10th March 1703 at Mayotta they took the *Pembroke*, Captain Weoley (Johnson, II. 64).[103] It is not clear what colours they flew on this occasion. Weoley says that at first he thought it was the King's Jack, but he does not say what it actually was (*Madras Consultations*, 31*st May* 1703). Later they sailed towards India, and in August, off Surat or St. John's, took a Surat ship with treasure amounting to 88,000 pieces of eight, and at the mouth of Surat River Howard took another belonging to Abdul Gafur with treasure valued at Rs. 1,68,000. The latter they set adrift without anchor or cable off Daman, the other they carried to Rajapore. News of these disasters arrived at Surat on the 31st, and the Governor threw the English and Dutch Presidents into prison and inflicted a heavy fine. But English and Dutch ships threatened the port; the prisoners were released on the 5th March 1704, the Governor was dismissed by the Mughal and the Allies' demands were conceded (Manucci, III. 488 n.; Bruce, III. 543).

502. If they knew of these results of their actions, Bowen's men must have been amused and gratified, for they had certainly succeeded in spoiling the Company's trade (*See para.* 497 *above*). Bowen and Howard sold their booty to Coge (Khwaja) Commodo (*See para.* 510 *below*), an old friend of Every and Kidd, burned both of their own ships and transferred the united crews to the Surat ship, which they renamed the *Defiance*. She carried 56 guns, and they kept by force 70 of her lascars. They themselves numbered "164 fighting men, of which part are 43 English, the better part of the company French, the rest Negroes, Dutch, &c. nations that cries 'yaw' [? Scandinavians]." Johnson, II. 63, mentions "Danes and Swedes" (*State Trials*, XIV 1286, 1302). After a time Bowen and Howard came to Mascarenhas, where Bowen intended to retire from piracy, but dying, "was buried in the highway, for the priest would not allow him holy ground as he was a heretic" His Quartermaster Nathaniel (? John) North was chosen to succeed him and returned with Howard to Madagascar, where Bowen's crew dispersed and North lived for some time amongst the natives, enjoying very great respect from them, until later (*c.* 1707) he went aboard Captain Halsey as Quartermaster (Johnson, II, 406). Howard went to India and married a native wife, whose relatives killed him for ill-treating her (Johnson, II. 250).

103 On this occasion they took out necessaries to the value of about 4-500 pagodas and then let her go. She arrived at Madras and was sent with a fresh cargo to Surat, but on the way was again captured by the same pirates and relieved of goods to the value of 600 pagodas. *Letter from T. Pitt, Madras, 2 Jan. 1703-4.*

503. In 1703 the *Severn* (Captain Charles Richards) and the *Scarborough* (Captain Foulis), two men-of-war, were, at the Company's request, sent under Captain Richards (Johnson, II. 260, calls him Commodore) who had been in the Company's service (Bruce III. 493) to Madagascar to visit St. Mary's, Antongil Bay, Assada Bay, Mohilla and Johanna, after which they were to proceed to Mocha and convoy the Mocha fleet to Surat, where Captain Richards was to consult the Governor regarding the suppression of the pirates (Bruce, III. 493, Johnson, II. 260). On the 15th November 1703 the *Scarborough* sent boats ashore at St. Mary's to surprise the pirates living there. On the 19th they returned with two prisoners, John Pro,[104] a Hollander, and David Wallin, a Welshman. On the 23rd, answering a flag of truce, they found it belonged to one Arthur Gardiner, who, having been many years a-pirating, had settled at Marinho, and wanted permission to supply them with provisions (*Log of the Scarborough. Sloane MSS.* 3674).

504. The *Rochester* Interloper visited Johanna on the 9th June 1704. In the *Log* we are told that the capital was called Chusan Town or Johanna Town and the Governor was "Myohazeerie Hoosaince." He complained that a certain Captain Richards (of an English man-of-war) had promised to assist them in an attack upon the piratical Mohillans, but had not supported them properly so that the attack had been unsuccessful. He said that Captain Richards, finding that the people of Johanna intended to carry their complaints to England, committed suicide and was buried in the Bay (John Pike, *Voyage of the Rochester Interloper, Captain Francis Stanes,* 360 *tons,* 28 *guns and* 94 *men, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 24931). As a matter of fact, in February 1703-4, the boats of the *Severn* and *Scarborough* did assist the men of Johanna in an attack on Mohilla, but were repulsed with a loss of 22 English and 300 Johannans (*Masters' Logs, No.* 280). Pike says that the people of Johanna were so fond of the English and so determined to imitate them in every way that when their King, Sultan Halliman, died, they resolved that, like the English, they would be governed by a Queen, and elected his widow to take his place. She accordingly took a husband "who is not a King." Pike adds that a valley near the capital was known as Brown's Garden,[105] so named after a ship-surgeon who had cured a number of their chief men, whilst his ship was in the harbour. The garden was given him in recognition of his services and, as he refused to settle in the island, was free to all Englishmen who came there and no payment was ever asked for the oranges, lemons and cocoanuts which grew in it. Johnson (I. 122) ascribes the friendship of the Johannans for the English to the assistance given them about 1704 by Captain Henry Cornwall against a piratical attack of the Mohillans. Cornwall himself (*Observations,* p. 12) says that the Johannans were very bold and warlike, always quarrelling with the Mohillans. Also that visitors to Johanna behoved to be very careful, as Johanna was much frequented by pirates who came there for intelligence regarding the strength and destination of other ships. He calls the Capital Demani.

505. Captain Richards died on the 23rd March 1703-4 and Captain Foulis on the 20th April 1704 (Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*) The two ships apparently continued their journey to India, for John Leeds (*Travels*) writes that on the 26th November 1704, he, then master of the *Calicut* Muncheo (*manchua,* a sea-going trading vessel), was pressed by Captain Robert Harland of H.M.S. *Severn* at Calicut, with his boatswain Thomas Brown, they being the only two white men on board. Pike says (f. 106 b) that when he was in India the commanders of English men-of-war impressed any Englishmen whom they found on country ships. As these men were probably the most enterprising of the sailors who had come out on the European

[104] In 1711 Capt.-Woodes Rogers was informed at the Cape that the Dutch used to send yearly to Madagascar for slaves as the Hottentots were too lazy to work. (*Cruising Voyage*, p. 419).

[105] Mentioned in a letter of the Court of Committees to the Sultan of Johanna, dated 26 Dec. 1676 (*Letter Book,* v. 394), and under date 20-23 May 1683 in the *Log of the Herbert,* Henry Udall, Commander (*Marine Records, India Office*).

ships, it can be imagined that their impressment must have excited a dangerous indignation in the hearts of men like Leeds.

Malabarese.

506. In 1703 Hamilton visited Tellicherry on the Malabar coast. About twelve miles south of the town is " Burgara [Badagara] a sea-port in the dominions of Ballanore [Valunnavar or Ruler] Burgarie, a formidable Prince.[106] This Prince and his predecessor have been Lords of the Sea time out of mind, and all trading vessels between Cape Comorin and Damaan were obliged to carry his passports. Those of one mast paid for their passes eight shillings yearly and those with three paid about sixteen." The Portuguese disputed his pretensions and therefore were at constant war with him. " He keeps some light galleys that row and sail very well, which cruise along the coast from October to May and make prize of all who have not his passes." When Hamilton objected to the damage which he did to trade, he replied that " he was no enemy to trade but only vindicated his sovereignty of those seas before mentioned, and that our King was invested with the like sovereignty not only on his own coasts but on those of France, Holland and Denmark [an allusion I suppose to the English claim to the Honour of the Flag], and could have no greater right than he had, only he [*i.e.*, the King of England] was in a better condition to oblige the transgressors of his laws to obedience than he was : however he would maintain his claim and right the best way he could, and whoever lost their ships or vessels for contempt of his authority might blame their own obstinacy or folly " (Hamilton I. 298).

507. On the 24th February 1705 the *Westmoreland* (Captain Thomas Gallon) had a short engagement off Vingurla with Maratha pirates. He says that they flew a short blewish pendant over their red flag (*Ind. Off. Marine Records*). As a matter of fact Sivaji's naval flag seems to have been white (Fryer II. 2), so the red flag may have been either the Moor ensign or the usual signal of attack. Gallon refers to the pirates as 'Rogues.' It will be remembered that Edward Terry (*See para.* 230 *above*) did the same in 1616, and so does Defoe in his *New Voyage round the World* (II. 32, pub. 1725). So also Defoe writes of men " going a-roguing " instead of " a-pirating."

Anglo-Americans.

508. In the year 1704 the Scotch ship *Neptune* (Captain James Miller) was taken in Madagascar by the pirate Halsey at the instigation of Samuel Burgess (*See para.* 478 *above*; Johnson II. 116 and 268 b). Hamilton (I. 17) says that the *Neptune* was laden with strong ale and brandy and that the pirates, falling to a carouse, five hundred of them died of their excesses. This did not deter a number of Miller's men from joining the pirates. According to Johnson, the *Neptune* was taken by Halsey after his capture of the *Essex* in 1707 and Hamilton is possibly wrong in his date, for it was only on the 7th November 1704 that Captain John Halsey received a privateer's Commission for the *Charles* Brigantine from Governor Cranstone of Rhode Island. On the other hand, Johnson (II. 110) says that Halsey picked up at St. Augustine's a number of men who had been wrecked in the *Degrave* in 1700. This appears rather a long time for their stay there. The *Charles* Brigantine had been a privateer under the command of Captain Daniel Plowman. Plowman was murdered by his lieutenant, John Welch, who having committed piracy on some Portuguese vessels, returned to Boston, where he was arrested and hanged, the *Charles* being recommissioned under Halsey. The piratical career of the *Neptune* was short. One David Williams was elected Captain and soon after (Johnson, II. 118, says the year after Halsey's death) she was wrecked. Williams fitted up a sloop in which he came to Methelege (Massalege), where going ashore he was killed by the natives (Johnson, II. 262).

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106 Apparently the Raja of Kadattanad (between the Mahé and Kotta Rivers), whose Commander was one of the Marakkars of Kottakal (Innes, *Mal Gaz. 433. See para. 536 below*).

French.

509. Manucci (IV, 169) says that in 1705 a certain Monsieur Delaval, resident at Juncalam (Junkceylon, belonging to Siam) had with two of his countrymen, Messieurs Masson and de Roubal, turned pirates, to the great terror of the merchants

Anglo-Americans.

510. In 1705 Captain Thomas Green of the *Worcester*, who had arrived in Scotland in July 1704 (Johnson, II. 52) was hanged for piracy. His ship had been seized by the Scottish, African and East India Company in reprisal for the seizure of the *Annandale* in England by the English East India Company (*See Petition of the Scots East India and African Company,* 1705). Some of his men had talked in a mysterious way of their doings in the East and particular references to the *Speedy Return* (Captain Thomas Drummond), which ship had totally disappeared, led to the conclusion that he had taken her and had made away with the crew. He was arrested and tried and, though the evidence against him was neither trustworthy nor conclusive, the people of Edinburgh were in such a state of irritation against the English, owing to the failure of the Darien Company and the disappearance of some of the ships of the Scottish African and East India Company (founded in 1695) to which the *Speedy Return* belonged, that he and some of his crew were convicted and hanged on this charge. It is perfectly certain that he was not responsible for the loss of the *Speedy Return*, for we have seen (*para. 500 above*) that she was taken by John Bowen, nor for the death of Captain Drummond, who was killed by the natives of Madagascar (Drury's *Adventures*, p. 305), but that some of his acts were piratical there can be little doubt, for one of the witnesses in the trial (Antonio Fernando, Cook's mate on the *Worcester*) said that a certain one of the ships which he attacked flew English colours, *i.e.* white, red and black, like those which he flew himself (possibly Fernando, being a Portuguese mistook dark blue for black, a not uncommon mistake at sea. *See para.* 553 *below*), and said that he had taken such a ship, murdered the crew and sold the ship to Coge Commodo (*See para.* 502 *above*), whilst another of his crew (John Roberts) deposed that he had been accessory to the cutting off of the heads of some men at Sacrifice Island, betwixt Tellicherry and Calicut, and others (Reynolds and Linstead) said "that their Prayers even on Sunday were dropped after they passed the Cape of Good Hope, the Supercargo having told Mr. May [the Surgeon], who commonly acted the Clerk's part, that they would leave their religion behind them and take it up when they came back" (*Flying Post,* 17-19 May, 1705).[107] Captain Hamilton met the *Worcester* at Calicut in 1703. Green, when in drink, personally told him that he had traded with the pirates in Madagascar and Mascarenhas, and it was commonly reported at the time that he had plundered some Moor ships and had sunk a sloop with ten or twelve Englishmen on board her off Coiloan. Hamilton sums up the case in a way with which probably every one will agree :—"Whether Captain Green and Mr. Mather [Chief Mate] had justice impartially allowed them in their process and sentence I know not. I have heard of as great innocents condemned to death as they were" (*New Account*, I. 317-19 : *State Trials*, XIV. 1199-1323)

511. Hamilton's comments are the more interesting for the fact that in 1705 complaints were made at Bombay against "Captain Alexander Hamilton, Master of the Vinta Gurra," for seizing at Johor some goods on a junk belonging to the native merchants of Canton (*Bombay Cons.* 27*th May* 1705). He himself (II. 159, 234) says that he did this in reprisal for their false dealing and that the Sultan highly approved of his action, only wondering

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107 "If you want rogues . . . . you have that gallant caste of adventurers who laid down their consciences at the Cape of Good Hope as they went out to India and forgot to take them up again when they returned" (Scott. *The Surgeon's Daughter* : *Mr. Croftangry's Preface*).

at his moderation in not having taken all the goods and having sold the crew and other people on board as slaves. On the 1st Feb. 1706-7 Capt. Richard Collins of the Sloop *Calcutta* reported at Madras that he had been plundered off Negrais by a pirate brigantine (50 Europeans, 16 guns) commanded by one Jones, who came originally from New England and had completed his crew at Madagascar. The pirates had some of them, returned to Madagascar, but the rest had gone to Achin to waylay the China, and a Manilla ship belonging to the Armenians (*Madras Public Proceedings*, 1 *Feb.* 1706-7.)

Malays.

512. That the seas of the Malay Archipelago were now full of pirates is shown by the caution which British ships were forced to exercise. Captain Martin Gardiner of the *Seaford*, sailing from Batavia to China, records on the 26th June 1701 :—"Sent my boats to two small junks, taking them to be China junks, but they were boats belonging to Banca, believed to be Rovers, having severall brass pattereroes and many men on board" and the Commander of the *Loyal Cook*, sailing from Amoy to Malacca, records on the 21st April 1702, "Saw three great boats which we judged to be Rogues. We made a cleare ship and lay by but they would not speak with us, our [ship] having Dutch colours. We supposed them to be bound for Malacca."

513. In 1705 the Dutch East India Company, in order to check piracy in the Malay Archipelago, fixed the number of the crew and passengers allowed to be carried on native vessels (*Parl. Papers*, 1851, LVI. i. 65 ; Temminck II. 227).

514. In June 1707 the Banjareens made a desperate attack on the English ships *Carleton, Blenheim, Squirrel* and the *Hawke* man-of-war (?), lying in Banjar River, and burned the ship *Limpo* and the English Factory ashore, in revenge for an affront offered to the Malay Chief Gusta Ganton in attempting to arrest him for the murder of the Chinese Shabandar. It was this attack which caused the English to abandon their settlement in Borneo. The Commander of the *Carleton* (Captain Robert Phillips) was killed in the fight. (*Ind. Off., Marine Records*.)

Arabians.

515. Arab reprisals for European piracy have already been mentioned in 1701 (*See para.* 483 *above*) and in 1705 (*See para.* 485 *above*). Some of their vessels carried 40 to 50 guns (Low, I. 90). Encouraged by their early successes, the Muscat Arabs aimed at a more extended sphere of action, and in 1707 obtained permission from the King of Pegu to build ships in his country. Their vessels were to be found and did much damage in all the seas round India from the Madras coast to the Persian Gulf. The Shah of Persia applied to the Bombay Government for assistance and the Marathas organized a fleet to hold them in check. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. 81-2 ; Low, I. 90 ; Bruce, III. 649).

516. In 1708 the Shah proposed to the Bombay Government a joint attack on the Arab and Malabar pirates (*Bomb. Gaz.* XIII. 482).

Malabarese.

517. On the 12th February 1706, a Maratha fleet, under their Admiral Nilla Purbu, took the English ship *Monsoon* (Bengal to Surat—Captain Wilcox) off Anjediva and carried her into Bed Cove. Nine days later she was cut out by the Portuguese and taken to Goa, where the Viceroy declared her a lawful prize and refused to restore her to the English (*Letter from T. Pitt*, 11*th Sept.* 1707 ; *Bombay Quarterly Review*, III. 66 ; Low I. 93.)[108]

[108] According to French Law in 1681, vessels retaken from pirates were restored to the owners on payment of one-third of the value (*Justice*, 370).

518. The Maratha fleet organised for protection against the Arabs was composed of sixty vessels under an officer independent of Angria and was supposed to operate between Bombay and Goa. It devoted its spare time to piracy on its own account. At the same time Kanhoji Angria possessed a considerable fleet occupied with piracy only (Bruce, III. 649; Low, I. 90; *Bomb. Gaz.* I. ii. 81-2; *Bomb. Sel.* xxiv. 169). In 1706 the Marathas and Angrians took three English ships, one of them, the *Diamond* (Madras to Surat and Persia, Captain Whistler, who died of wounds received in the fight), carrying twelve guns and 26 Europeans, with a cargo worth nearly two lakhs of rupees—the Madras merchants lost 30,000 pagodas in her (*Letter from T. Pitt*, 11*th September* 1707, *B. M. Add. MSS.*, 22850). They also took a Bombay *manchua*, some Portuguese vessels and a Dutch hoy with a crew of 26 Dutchmen (*Letter from Sir John Gayer, Surat* 1*st March* 1706-7). The last mentioned is, I suppose, the Dutch "Hooker" of which mention is made in the Bombay Consultations of the 21st January 1706-7. Twenty-one Dutchmen had arrived, being all that remained alive of her crew when she was taken by an Angrian fleet of two grabs and eleven gallivats. She was carrying provisions to the Dutch garrison at Surat.

519. On the 23rd October 1707 the English frigates *Oley* and *Horsham* reported at the Cape that they, together with a Company's ship of 44 guns and two galleots, had fought a whole day's fight with 21 Malabar pirate vessels which had taken the two galleots. On the 27th the *Araby Merchant* reported that she had had many fights with the Malabarese (Leibbrandt, *Précis*, p. 139).

Anglo-Americans.

520. In August 1706 Captain Thomas White took near Mocha the *Dorothy* (Captain Penruddock) of Madras, a Calicut ship of 400 tons (in which his men got a booty of £200 a man, but missed finding 50,000 sequins hidden in milk jars in the stall where a cow was kept for the old Moor supercargo), a small Portuguese ship and the Ketch *Forgiveness* (Captain Benjamin Stacey. *Letter from Sir John Gayer, Surat* 1*st March* 1706-7; *Hedges' Diary*, II. 144, III. 107). Johnson says (II. 136-7) that amongst the passengers on the *Forgiveness* were two small children, who wept bitterly at the loss of their whole fortune, *viz.* some 500 dollars, a silver mug and two silver spoons. White harangued his men, saying how cruel it was to rob innocent children, upon which not only was all restored to them, but a collection was made among the pirates and 100 dollars were added to it, whilst a present was also made to Captain Stacey and his officers. White took the *Dorothy* to St. Mary's where he joined Halsey as a private man. (7th Nov. 1704. *See para.* 508 *above.*)

521. John Halsey came from Boston. His commission was to cruise on the coast of Newfoundland. Instead he sailed to Madagascar, where he took on board some of the crew of the *Degrave* East Indiaman, Captain William Young, which was wrecked there in 1701.[109] It was his intention to attack only Moor ships, but after a temporary deposition by his crew, he consented to make prey of ships of all nations. In the Red Sea he took the *Buffalo* (Captain Barkley) from Bengal and soon after a sloop (Captain Collins), with the deck planks of which the pirates repaired their own brigantine. Then he sailed to the Straits of Malacca, where he met and was chased by the *Albemarle* (Captain Beavis) from China. Halsey was probably the pirate who was reported to have taken off Negrais two ships from Bengal to Achin (*Letter from T. Pitt*, 5*th Feb.* 1706-7, B. M. *Add. MSS.* 22850). Returning *via* Mascarenhas, where they were supplied with all necessaries by the Governor, to Madagascar, at Hopeful Point near St. Mary's, they found the *Dorothy* and Captain White and his men, some 90 to 100, settled amongst the natives. Some of them, amongst whom

109 According to Robert Drury, she passed the Downs, 17th Feb. 1701 and arrived at Madras in June of the same year.

was White, joined them. Halsey now sailed for the Red sea and learned from a Moor grab, which he took, that there were four English ships near Mocha. These ships left Mocha on the 7th August 1707. They were the *Bombay Merchant* (or frigate, Captain Samuel Jago 45 Europeans and 18 guns) which had been sent out by the Court of Managers to Mocha in the belief that she, being a good sailer, would be of use in freeing the coast from the Sanganians and other petty robbers that attacked small vessels trading with Bombay (*Bombay Cons.* 22*nd August* 1707); the *Eagle* or *Rising Eagle* (Captain Chamberlayne, 25 Europeans, and 14 guns); the *Essex*, Captain Thomas Punt, who in 1703 astonished the Dutch broker at Rajapore by refusing to earn an honest penny by carrying off a ship to the pirate Bowen, "telling him, now he was not ashamed to show his face, but should he be guilty of so base an action he must never see the face of his countrymen again, which made the gentleman change his countenance" (*Letter from George Weoley, State Trials* xiv. 1302. She had 12 Europeans on board and carried 10 guns); the *Mary* (Captain Cornwall, 10 Europeans and 8 guns); and the *Unity* (Captain Greenhaugh, 20 Europeans and 12 guns). Besides these Europeans they carried about 120 lascars.[110] The next day they met Halsey in the *Charles* Brigantine. One account says that she had only 50 men, and from 4 to 6 guns, another and more probable one, 90 men and 10 guns. Johnson says (II. 114) that Jago, attempting to board Halsey, his ship was raked by a shot, which, apparently so frightened him that he left his companions to their fate and made off for Bombay, where he arrived on the 22nd August. He said nothing of his cowardly flight. On the 28th October his ship was blown up in a fight with a Sivaji vessel. Ten of his men were killed, but he and the rest of the crew got safely to Bombay (*Bomb. Cons.* 11*th November.*) On the 9th December the Council received a letter, dated 26th September from Madras, telling of his misbehaviour. By this time he had been placed in command of the *India* Frigate, but on the 1st June 1708 he was allowed to resign and go home on the *Aurangzeb* (*ibid*, 1*st June* 1708). After the flight of the *Bombay Merchant*, Halsey attacked the *Eagle* which brought to, to receive him, trusting Capt. Jugo would return to her support. She made a good defence, but the guns of the *Charles* killed or wounded all the officers in the poop.[111] Even so, and after she had surrendered, the mate in command of the men stationed in the forecastle continued to fire on the boarders and killed some of them before he could be convinced that further resistance was useless. Some wished to put him to death, but he, being an Irishman, the Irish and Scotch amongst Halsey's crew insisted on his life being spared. From the prisoners on the *Eagle*, Halsey learned that the *Essex* was the richest of the three remaining ships, having come from Jeddah. He therefore allowed the *Mary* and *Unity* to escape and went after her. Punt prepared to fight, but as Halsey came up he hoisted the *bloody flag* as a signal of 'No Quarter,' which so frightened the passengers that they forced Punt to surrender without fighting. From the *Eagle* Halsey took £10,000 and from the *Essex* £40,000 (between 30 and 40 chests of silver). He then took some of the officers and Sir John Bennett on board the *Charles*, and having disabled the *Essex*, made for Calicut (*R Adams to Surat. Tellicherry* 17*th September* 1707. *Surat Records*, vol. 101). Captain Cornwall arrived in Madras 7th September 1707. The Europeans of that town had lost 200,000 pagodas by this mishap for the treasure on the *Mary* had been sent on board the Essex for security (*T. Pitt to J. Dolben, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 22850, ff. 49-50). Soon after, Halsey, meeting the *Harriott*, again tried the effect of the *bloody flag* ("with a bloody flag at topmost head") but, after exchanging two or three broadsides "turned tayle, when our ship chased his till night." (*Ibid.*

110 None of these five ships was large, being between 100 and 200 tons. Their total force was 112 Europeans, 120 lascars and 62 guns (*Letter from T. Pitt, Madras, 12th Sept.* 1707. *B. M. Add. MSS*, 22.850.

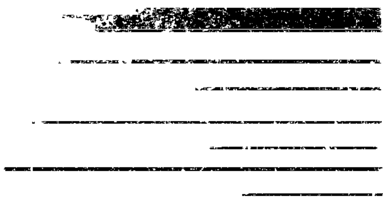
111 Capt. Chamberlayne, his Chief Mate and three or four more were killed. Of pirates 7 were killed and as many wounded. *Thos. Pitt to Elihu Yale, Madras, 3 Oct. 1707. B. M. Add. MSS*, 22,860, f. 71.

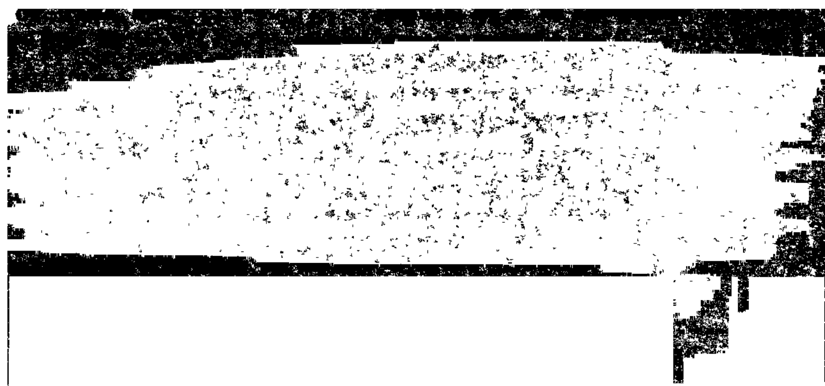
f. 92). The pirates, of course, were not over eager to run any great risks when they were gorged with booty From Calicut Halsey went to Madagascar, where he traded for necessaries with the *Greyhound*, which had been sent by the Governor of Madras to buy back the plunder of the *Essex* and with the Scotch ship *Neptune* (Captain James Miller. *See para.* 503 *above*) Johnson says that the Company's representatives on the *Greyhound* incited the pirates to take the *Neptune*, which, in their eyes, was an Interloper. They bettered this advice and took the *Greyhound* also, but subsequently released that ship (Johnson, II. 110-116). Halsey apparently died soon after these events. Johnson (II. 117) writes :—" He fell ill of a fever, died and was buried with great solemnity and ceremony; the prayers of the Church of England were read over him, colours were flying and his sword and pistol laid on his coffin, which was covered with a ship's Jack : as many minute guns fired as he was years old *viz*. forty-six, and three English, one French volley of small arms : he was brave in his person, courteous to all his prisoners, lived beloved and died regretted by his own people. His grave was made in a garden of water-melons and fenced in with palisades to prevent his being rooted up by wild hogs, of which there are plenty in those parts." Possibly this religious and ceremonious funeral was due to Captain Thomas White, who, according to Johnson (II. 138) died in Madagascar, very penitent for the wicked life he had been forced to lead. By will he left his money to a companion (who faithfully observed his instructions) for the benefit of his son by a native woman of the country, who was to be sent to England " to be brought up in the Christian religion in the hopes he might live a better man than his father."

522. Many of Halsey's crew settled in Madagascar and some were still to be found there in 1719, for when the *St George* (Captain Samuel Lewis) was at St. Mary's, her *Log* (23rd July 1719) tells us that two Europeans, John Guernsey and Old Nick of Dover came on board to see the Captain " These I kept on board two nights and entertained them plentifully with liquor, in hopes to sound what might be gathered from them. They faithfully promised me provisions speedily, but I found their tempers much alike (with a downcast eye, not able to look me in the face) very cautious of what they spoke till almost drunk, then they lay themselves open and tell of their loose way of living, bragging in their villainy as bravoes. They acknowledge of their being in the brigantine [*i.e.* the *Charles*] that took Chamberlayne, and at the plundering of three Moor ships and bringing away a fourth, which lay sunk in their harbour. This they call the *Fair Chance*, and they wanted but one hit more and then to go home, for they were aweary of their course of life Their number was now reduced to 17 with about 10 or 12 Mustees and free negroes. That they live separate on the other side upon the Main, some 20 or 30 miles asunder, each having a town to himself and not less than five or six hundred negroes, their vassalls, ready to serve 'em upon any expedition. They do not appear to be in any wise concerned for their former ill actions, only in relation to Sir John Bennett, whom they acknowledged they had not used well in taking his goods and money from him after a fair agreement[112] Thus freely they would talk when warm with liquor, but always cautious when sober. I likewise askt 'em why they did not accept the King's pardon [1718] and go home in time. They told me that they believed it was a sham and would not trust to any unless they had the Great Seal to it. Such impudence and ignorance possest them " Another pirate, a Frenchman named Pierre Jerran told Captain Lewis (*Log*, 22*nd July*) " that he and all his company had been on the Account (as they call'd it) but now designed to live honest and steal slaves to sell to such ships as came to trade with them "

112 Probably this refers to their seizure of the goods etc., on the *Greyhound* after they had been repurchased by the Company's agents, etc., as has just been mentioned Sir John Bennet's name occurs in the 1714 " List of sea-faring men," not constant inhabitants of Madras (Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 208, note 5).







[illegible]



STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES C.S.I., C.V.O.

STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

BY THE EDITORS.

WITH this number we publish a photograph of our late colleague, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, and take the opportunity of adding to the obituary notice in last month's issue, a few lines sent us by an old friend of his and fellow official in the Indian Civil Service. He writes: " I would draw attention to his amazing powers of work. When doing his very difficult Census of Bombay Town and Island in 1901, he managed to write the whole of the *Rise of Bombay* in his spare time It was published as one of the volumes of the Census, and was later re-issued in book form with illustrations. I would also like to mention his specially valuable work in connection with the Muharram. By putting a stop to the *tabut* procession he brought to an end the regrettable disturbances that usually accompanied that celebration in Bombay City."

LAND'S ANECDOTA SYRIACA ON THE SYRIANS OF MALABAR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN BY THE REVD. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

[From *Anecdota Syriaca. Collegit, edidit, explicavit J. P. N. Land, theologiae doctor.* Tomus primus, Lugduni Batavorum, E. J. Brill, MCCCCLXII (*sic* for MDCCCLXII).]

Our document, a short history of the Syrians of the Malabar Coast, comes from the Leyden Academy Library, and was published by Land, not only for the style, but also for the sake of the names and of the subject, as a specimen of the work done in this line by Indians, none of which had yet appeared. *Cf.* p. ix.

The MS., numbered 1213, consists of two leaves of European paper, measuring 120 × 28·30 centimetres, written on both pages, and containing a " Summary of the history of the Syrians on the Malabar Coast." Written by Matthew, a Jacobite priest, it deals with the history of the Syrians from the time of the Apostle St. Thomas up to the beginning of the 18th century.

The title of the Syriac MS. is : *Al Gedes'e Dagedās' Le Suriyoye U Tase Isahūn Dehōlēn*,[a] which means : " Of what happened to the Syrians and their history."

Nestorian writing, resembling that of MS. No. 1212.[b] *Cf.* p. 7.

Land did not publish the Syriac text of MS. 1213, for want of proper type. *Cf.* p. 179. In Plate B, No. 12, he gives a specimen of the writing by reproducing the title above. At pp. 123–127, we have a Latin translation of the text, which we translate into English below. I take it that the Latin translation is by Land, although his correcting some mistakes of spelling and translation at pp. 180–184 would make one conclude the contrary. But see his note about San Pablo at p. 184.

The Syriac text contains about 120 lines, and from Land's marginal references to *vs.* 11, 21, etc., one must conclude that they are verses. The date of the document must be earlier than 1737, since Mar Gabriel, who died in 1737, is mentioned as alive.

At pp. 179–184 we find a number of notes by Land. Omitting a short initial discussion on the peculiarities of the Syriac writing, we translate the remainder from the Latin as closely as possible.

* * * * * *

(Page 123.) *Of the things which happened to the Syrians* (on the Malabar Coast) *and their history.* (MS. vol., Lugd. Batav. Or. 1213.)

(*vs. 1.*) In the year 52[1] of Our Lord Jesus Christ the lord Thomas[2] came into India and landed at Mailapur.[3] Here he preached the Gospel to many, whom he made his disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Next he set out and went to Malabar, where he arrived at Moljokare.[4] He preached also to the people of this country and set up to the Lord an altar, for the service of which he added two presbyters. From there he went to Kutkajel,[5] where he built a church, as he also did at Irapoli,[6]

[a] The parts in Syriac type have been kindly transliterated for me by Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum.

[b] Weyers' *Orientalium*. T. I (Leyden, 1840, p. 322 *sqq.*), has a careful description of Codex 1212. *Cf.* Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, I, p. 1, n. 1.

and Gu*k*ama*g*lam,[7] and Nernam,[8] and Tirûboku*t*.[9] Finally he returned to Mailopur, where he was pierced with a lance by unbelieving gentiles ; and his soul rested in peace. After his death India and Malabar was left without a preacher and leader, those excepted who had been made presbyters by the Apostle Thomas.

Now, after 92 years, India and Malabar[10] was made a widow, deprived of priests and presbyters (*orbata sacerdotibus et presbyteris*), (*vs.* 11) and there were only the faithful of both sexes. However, at that time, there arose a magician, called Mani*k*bos·r,[11] one of the infidels. He too came to Mailopur, where through his magical arts he performed many miracles, scandalized the leaders and chief ones of the faithful and drew them away from the true faith ; and there was no one to oppose himself to his orders. On this account the rest of the faithful fled and found an asylum in Malabar. Seeing them, the brethren, the faithful of Malabar, rejoiced with the greatest joy, and, according to the custom of the faithful, they became bound to one another by the ties of affinity. **(Page 124.)** Afterwards, however, when 160 truly Christian families[12] had long been without presbyters and leaders, a dissension arose among them for what cause I know not ; that is, some of them renounced the orthodox faith,[13] and others did not. Those who renounced the faith were 96 families[13a] ; on the other hand, those who retained the orthodox faith were 64 families.

(*vs. 21.*) At the same time, a vision appeared by night to the metropolitan of Edessa.[14] He arose in the morning and went to the Catholicus of the East,[15] and told him of the vision which he had seen. When the Catholicus had heard it, he sent messengers to all the churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese and called the people to his presence. And when many flocks had met with their bishops and merchants,[16] he related to them what the Bishop had seen, and they spoke together (*et collocuti sunt*).[17] Then, one of them arose, to wit a merchant called Thomas of Jerusalem,[18] who answered, saying : " Behold, I have ere now heard a report about Malabar and India from foreign countries and men." The Catholicus, hearing his answer, rose from his seat, went to him, embraced him lovingly, and thus addressed him : " I entreat thee, my very dear son, to go to Malabar, to visit the inhabitants of the country, and to tell me what has befallen them." Accordingly, that occasion offering, Thomas of Jerusalem set out for Malabar, and, coming to Moljomkare, he saw the Thomas Christians ; and they were mutually pleased, the Christians telling him about their affairs. (*vs. 31.*) Which when Thomas had heard, he gave them courage and exhorted them with kind words ; and straightway he embarked and returned to his country. Back in his country, he went to the Catholicus and said to him : " Lo ! I have seen with my eyes the Thomas Christians, and we spoke together and were mutually pleased. I left them hopeful and returned.' The Catholicus, hearing these words, answered thus : " Although I am ready to lay down my life for them, I ask you to be pleased to tell me what those children of mine most wish me to do." Then he stated to the Catholicus what the Malabar brethren desired. Therefore, not long after, yea in those very days, with the help of the adorable God and by order of the Catholicus of the East, Thomas of Jerusalem, the merchant, went forth again, and with him the Bishop who had seen the vision, and at the same time presbyters and deacons, and also men and women, young men and maidens, from Jerusalem and Bagdad and Ninive,[19] and they entered a ship **(Page 125)** and left for Malabar, where they landed at Moljomkare in the year 345 of the Lord.[20]

(*vs. 41.*) The Malabars at once recognised them, and they came together for advice to the brethren who had arrived, which done, they went to Serkun,[21] the king of the whole of Malabar, and presented him with gifts. And the king was pleased with them (the gifts ?), and said to them : " I shall give you whatever you ask of me." And he gave them the land which they desired, a very long and very broad piece of ground ; besides, he granted them all the royal honours, which were written on copper-plates. Lo ! these plates are preserved among us to this day.[21a] Having received all this from the king, they returned to Moljomkare to

build a church and town. And they built a church in the country of Kûramaklûr[22] which they had received in gift from the king, and there they erected a town of 472 houses from east to west on both sides, and they duly inhabited it. Now, in those days and subsequently Syrian Fathers[23] used to come by order of the Catholicus of the East,[24] and they took care of the district of India and Malabar, (*vs. 51*) while the Syrians spread from that town.

Again, in the year 823 Syrian Fathers came, the lord Sapor (*Sapores*) and the lord Pheroz (*Pherozes*),[25] and with them S'barjes' ûc, a famous man. So, they came to the town of Kulam,[26] went to the king S'akîrbîrtî[27] and asked for lands.[28] The king gave them as much land as they wished. So they too built a church and town in the country of Kulam. Next, after those days,[29] Syrian bishops and metropolitans came oftener (? rather often, *saepius*) by order of the Catholicus, who used to send them.

However, long afterwards, about the year 1500,[30] the deceitful Franks (*Franci fraudulenti*) came to this country of Malabar, and they too began to inhabit Malabar and India. At that time, Syrian Fathers came again, the lord Denh'o, and the lord Thomas, and the lord Jacob, and the lord Jahbalohô,[30a] and, according to ancient usage, they shepherded Malabar and India. (*vs. 61.*) Then, after those days, in the year 1580, came lord Abraham,[31] a Syrian bishop. When he had come to Malabar, the fierce Franks were jealous of him, and they laid snares to him and tried to kill him ; but with the help of Christ our Lord he was saved from their hands. Accordingly, in fear and trembling, he could hardly carry on his office. For, in those days, the Franks, enemies of Almighty God, began to lay snares on the roads where the Syrians walked, to seize them and put them to death. (**Page 126.**) After the death of the Syrian bishop lord Abraham, during 52 years no bishop came to Malabar. Then, by order of the Pope of Rome, a certain Frank bishop[32] came, who tried to reduce the Syrians to his power, but the Syrians were against him. Then that rebel went to the king of Quqs'în,[33] and gave him a present of thirty thousand double gold pieces,[34] and the king began to harass the Syrians in various ways. That vexatious king oppressed the Syrians during three years, (*vs. 71*) and after those persecutions the Syrians had no strength left them. Therefore, under coercion from the king, they submitted to the Frank bishop[34a]. The Franks now began to change the good customs of the Syrians, they forbade the marriages of presbyters and deacons and taught a new and abominable faith. When the Syrians had suffered this 52 years,[35] God deigned to reveal the treachery of the Franks through Patriarch Ignatius,[36] who came to Mailopur on his way to Malabar. As soon as this Syrian arrived at Mailopur, the Franks apprehended him, loaded him with chains and took him to Quqs'in, where they drowned him in the waves of the sea. The news of this spread through the whole of Malabar by means of the Syrian deacons[37] then living there. So, all the Syrians assembled at the church of Mûtums'eri[38] near Quqs'in, and all the Syrians swore that to the end of time they would not obey the Franks, nor those who sowed their seed.[39] (*vs. 81.*) These words they put down in writing. Amen. Now, when the Syrians had thus separated from the Franks, and the strength of the Syrians had grown after a few years, the bishop of the Franks[40] began to send presents of great value to the priests of the Syrians and to write to them letters secretly. Some of the Syrian priests stealthily accepted these gifts and went at night to the bishop of the Franks ; others refused them and would not go. When this had gone on for some time, some of the priests were scandalized, and turned against the bishop; others, not at all ; accordingly, a dissension arose among the Syrians, and there were two sides. The Franks overcame the Syrians, because part of the Syrians had betaken themselves to the Franks and the Franks solicited the king and nobles with presents to vex the Syrians.

But at that time came a faithful Amirol,[41] a just judge, the chief of the whole of India and Malabar, who extirpated all the Franks from Quqs'in (**Page 127**) and from all the towns roundabout India. So did Josua exterminate the Canaaneans and the other nations (*vs. 91.*)

From that time to this day joy was prepared for the side of the Syrians, and for the side of the Franks sadness. The Syrians obey the Syrian Fathers, who, by order of the Catholicus of the East,[41a] came from Jerusalem and Nineve and Bagdad, whereas the Franks obey the Frank bishops, who come from Rome and other provinces by order from the Pope of Rome.

Again, in the year 1705, by order of the Catholicus of the East, came lord Gabriel,[42] Syrian Metropolitan, and he saw both sides, and that there were many Syrians who had turned to the Franks, that they walked in all the abominable customs of the Franks and oblivious of the foundation and root of the Syrian priests, that the priests of the Syrians who had turned to the Franks did not, like their fathers the Syrian priests, take wives, but reprehended just marriages in the priests of both sides, and that, therefore, from those days onward and in future, (*vs. 101*) all the Malabar Syrians would adhere to the Franks, who day and night were exerting themselves. Therefore, lord Gabriel, the Syrian Metropolitan, embraced neither the Syrians his kinsmen nor the Syrians who had followed the Franks, but remained so to say in the middle between them, in the hope of bringing back the Syrian followers of the Franks. On that account, very many Syrians of both sides came to him, and of those who adhere to the Franks forty-two.[43] To-day, however, through the deceit and exertions of the Carmelites and Franciscans(?)[44], twenty churches have fallen away from him.

But, illustrious and blessed masters ours,[45] be pleased to learn that, provided the chief prefect [46] and blessed king of the whole of India and Malabar help this humble Syrian—the two sides will return to the Syrian fold and that the Franks will not for ever lord it in India.

Handwriting of Matthew, the poor, humble, and vile Syrian Priest.[46a] Amen.[a]

* * * *

Notes by Land.

(Page 179) About the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas see especially **(Page 180)** J. S. Assemani's *Bibl. Or.*, vol. IV, pp. 25 *sqq.* and 435 *sqq.*; Cl. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, 3rd edition, Edinburgh, 1812, p. 99 *sqq.*; Ch. Swanston, *A Memoir of the Primitive Church of Malayâla*, etc., in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, No. II, London, Nov. 1834, and No. III, Febr. 1835; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Bd. V, Berlin, 1835, pp. 601 *sqq.*, 945 *sqq.*, where most of the things said by others are carefully collected. As for my remark (at p. 8 of this volume) that the Amsterdam Public Library has another copy of our volume, I have found out that this was not very accurate: there are, however, rather long Syriac letters written by Bishop Thomas to Schaaf, of which I shall speak by and by.[b] I derived almost nothing for my purpose from *Missions in South India*, by the Rev. Joseph Mullens, London, 1854 (but printed at Calcutta).

1 *Vs. 1 sqq. In the year* 52. Whish, *Asiat. Journal*, New Series, VI (in Swanston, II, 177) says: "The Jews say St. Thomas arrived in India in A.D. 52, and themselves in the year 69."

2 *The lord Thomas.* On Thomas, the Apostle of India, see chiefly Ritter's discussion (*op. cit.*) after Neander (*Kirchengesch.* 1). Those who have written on this subject seem to have forgotten too much three things: 1. That in the first centuries there was a tendency to assign to each of the Apostles of Jerusalem a special country, whereas it seems to be clear from Paul's epistles that they were loth to spread the Gospel beyond the limits of Judaism. 2. That Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long before been connected by trade with India. 3. That the name and story of Thomas of Jerusalem could easily be confused by the Malabars with the story of the Apostle. But this is not the place for a fuller discussion of the Thomas legends.

3 *Mailapuram.* In the MS.[c] with pêtohed[d] with the lower dot (long ʿeçoç). After this, the same word is written 'Mailopû' with zéqoph. Lacroze (in Assem., *op. cit.*, 449): Meliapora; Buchanan (*op. cit.*); Melapoor; Swanston, II. 172: Mailápúr. However, Thomas is said to have come from the islands of Dioscoris [Sokotra] to Cranganor, next to have gone finally to Meliapor (Assem., 435, Buchanan, Swanston).

4 *Moljokare.* No vowel-points here; but at vss. 30 and 40 the vowels *o-o-a* are added. Lacroze: Mavelicare; Buchanan, 106: Mavelycar; Mullens, 129: Mavelikurray (*i.e.*, Mavelicarre).

[a] [Dr Mingana's translation of this and of the letter of Bp Thomas (f. n. *b* below) is given in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol 10, No 2, July 1926.—T. K. J.]

[b] Where Land does so, does not appear, though I have searched his four volumes of *Anecdota Syriaca*.

[c] *Nûn* [d] *Yâte.*

5 *KuTkijil.* Vowels shown : *ŭ-a-e.* Lacroze : Calicut a well-known town, the name of which is seen to be composed of the same element as KuThajel.

6 *IraPeli.* Vowels shown : *i-a-e-i.* Buchanan, 125 : Verapoli ; Lacroze : Ignapeli.

7 *GaKamaGlam.* Vowels shown : *ă-a-a-a.* The Mangalan of Lacroze ?

8 (Page 181) *Neranam.* Vowels : *e-a.* Lacroze : Naranam ; Swanston, II. 174, note : Neranam.

9 *TaribokaT.* Vowels [illegible]. The Tecancute of Lacroze ? Possibly, rather, Travancore (Swanston : Travancór) ?

10 *Malabar.* In the MS. everywhere Mihlbar.

11 *Vs.* 11 *sqq.* *ManiKbos[illegible].* Vowels : *a-i-o.* Others too speak of a persecution by the Brahmans and of a flight to the Malabar Coast. So, do not think of a Manichean.

12 *Truly Christian families.* *Batt'oye* ; perhaps we should understand communities or churches.

13 *Renounced the orthodox faith.* It seems therefore that Gnosticism or Manicheism or even Arianism crept in from Babylonia.

14 *vs.* 21 *sqq.* *The metropolitan of Edessa.* I hardly believe this, because the Edessan writers say nothing of it. For want of a name, they seem to have dragged in the name of the famous Edessa. Others have nothing about the dream.

15 *To the Catholicus of the East.* He ruled over Babylonia, Assyria, and the Christians subject to the Sassanians, and was said to have derived his dignity from the Apostle Thomas. Others (Swanston, II. 176) speak of Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch.

16 *And their merchants.* A picture of the Syro-Malabar community, which, besides clergy and merchants, people skilled in many things, comprised mostly husbandmen, and fishermen. I say Syro-Malabar, not as if it was chiefly composed of Syrians, but because it was imbued with Syrian Christianity : for it is certain that in that church a very large number of natives was mixed up with a few from in Babylonia and other countries.

17 *And they spoke together.* We should even write : his very words.

18 *Thomas of Jerusalem.* The 'Thomas Cana' of the Portuguese (Lacroze in Assem., *op. cit.*, p. 442 sqq.), 'Cama' (Swanston, *loc. laud.*) seems to be a misprint. Wrede (*Asiatic Researches*, VII) has 'Thome Cannaneo,' which he seems to have taken from other Portuguese writers; from this there is but a step to 'Cananæum' ('Cananæum' in Asseman. 27, quoting Basnage and Semedo), which may be compared with our 'of Jerusalem.' There is no question at all of Thomas, Manes' disciple (Assem, 28 sq and Flugel's *Mani, s. Lehre u.s. Schriften*, etc., Leipzig, 1862, 174 n. 62), though it is maintained that Manes himself wrote to the Indians [a] (*Fihrist al-'olûm* in Flugel, 73). Our Thomas is called Armenian and Arian (Swanston, 176). I do not know on what authority, unless perhaps *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* be corruptions for *Urslemoyo.* Surely, the Catholicus of the East did not send an Arian to India.

19 *vs.* 31 *sqq.* *from Jerusalem and Bagdad, and Nineve.* That is from all the Aramean countries.

20 *In the year* 345 *of the Lord.* " The native historians, however, from their own (Page 182) annals and traditions recount that, up to the year of Our Lord 345, after the first propagation of Christianity by St. Thomas, there were no foreign bishops or priests amongst the Christians of India, and that they had but a few places of worship, built after the form of Hindu pagodas of the country, till Mar Thomas, by the direction of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, assumed charge of their Church, and introduced amongst them several bishops and priests, as also many Christians, men, women, and children, from foreign countries." (Swanston, II. 176.)

21 *vs.* 41 *sqq.* *S[illegible].* The vowels shown are [illegible] *a*. Swanston (II. 18[illegible]) and Lacroze : Sharen Permaul (*i.e.*, Permál or Peramal).

22 *Karamcklûr.* One vowel *û*, at the end. Lacroze (in Assem. IV. 149) : Carandur

23 *Syrian Fathers.* First they belonged to the Catholic faith ; later, after the Eastern Syrians had embraced Nestorius' tenets, they became, as they are commonly called, Nestorians. However, the Metropolitan who ruled at the beginning of this century, condemned both Nestorius and Chalcedon in the profession of faith which he presented to the English (Buchanan, 117). Only a Monophysite could have done so.

24 *Catholicus of the East.* This title is assumed both by the Jacobite Maphrian (cf. Assem., *B O.* II, in his discussion on the Monophysites) and by the Nestorian Catholicus (*cf.*, IV. 620).

25 *vs.* 51 *sqq.* *The lord Sapor and the lord Pheroz.* They are called Sabûr and Pirûz, without vowel points. These are Persian names. Some say that Saul and Ambrose were sent by the Nestorian Patriarch, and were brought from Babylon to Quilon by one Job, a merchant, in the year 825 (Swanston, 178) ; others speak with our author of Sapor and Peroz (or Pheroz) ; but, to my knowledge, they are wrong in shifting the date to the year 922 (Assem. 442). Our author gives the year 823. The Job of other writers seems to be Sĕbarjesû.

26 *K[illegible].* Only the vowel *u* is marked. Coulan or Quilon is the common spelling.

27 *[illegible].* Vowels shown : *a*, and the second and third *i*. The King's name is [illegible] given by other writers.

28 *[illegible] for lands.* Add, where they might build a church and [illegible] for themselves.

29 [illegible] *days.* Better : after [illegible]

[a] Three words in Arabic type are omitted here by me.—H.H.

30 *About the year* 1500, *the deceitful Franks.* The name of the Franks was familiar to the Syrians at the time of the Crusades. Barhebraeus also uses it for 'Europeans'. Here it applies to the Portuguese, who in 1498 came to India under Vasco da Gama. For their history see J. de Barros, *Asia* (Venice, 1562, and often republished). Calling them deceitful (*snīc*) was already an old custom. (Cf. pp. 6, 82, 87.) On the other hand, about the year of the world 6121, a certain Athanasius is called in Theophanes κακοῦργος τῇ τῶν Σύρων ἐμφύτῃ κακουργίᾳ, and the fact is that, long before, the Syrians had been held in contempt by the Romans.

31 *vs.* 61 *sqq. Abraham.* Assemani tells us, however, (*B.O.*, IV. 447) that, as early as 1578, **(Page 183)** at the third Synod of Goa, he had condemned the Nestorians. Although he had formally acknowledged the Pope of Rome and had even been created by him Archbishop of Angamale, the Portuguese laid snares to him (Swanston, II. 184).

32 *A certain Frank Bishop.* Aleixo de Menezes, who in 1599 held the Synod of Diamper, where he burned the books of the Syrians, and ordered to change their rites and customs and even their doctrine.

33 *Qaqs'în.* With *û* *i.*[a] Commonly Cochin.

34 *Double gold pieces.* In Spanish : 'doblones de oro.'

35 *vs.* 71 *sqq.*—52 *years. I.e.*, from 1601 to 1653 (Assem., *B.O.*, IV. 447).

36 *Ignatius.* This is also the name given him in the Malabar documents seen by Swanston (189); others, he says, call him 'Attila'. Assemani (*loc. laud.*) calls him 'Ahatalla.' It is the same name as we saw already above (*ad Libr. Chal.* p. 53v), where add : "the slave Aithales" from the jurisconsult Scaevola I. 24. D. *de lege Corn. de falsis* 48 : 10. According to Assemani, "the Nestorians had heard that Bishop A., whom they had asked for from their Patriarch, had died while kept in prison by the Portuguese." Swanston (p. 190) writes : "The fate of Mar Ignatius was never known," etc.

37 *By means of the Syrian deacons.* Menezes had deposed all the native priests and bishops.

38 *Mûtums'erî.* Vowels : *û-ŭ-e-i.* Swanston (189 sq.) : Alanghát ; Assem. (*loc. laud.*) : "Making a conspiracy at Matanger, Rapolin, and Mangate, they proclaimed as Bishop the Archdeacon Thomas de Campo and had him consecrated by twelve priests."

39 *Nor those who sowed their seed.* Correct : nor their children.

40 *vs.* 81 *sqq. A Bishop of the Franks.* Francisco Roz, of the Society of Jesus. Here, for 'Bishop' we have the word *bîspe*, which is the Portuguese word 'Bispo'. The pronunciation with the letter ,[b] unless it be Portuguese also, may have come from the Sanscrit *viśpa*, 'lord.'

41 *Amirol.* Vowels : *a-o.* Not the Spanish word 'almirante,' but the Dutch word 'amiraal.' There is question of the Dutch Captain Ryklof van Goens, who took Cochin in 1663. Cf. Ph. Baldaeus, *Beschrijving der Indische kusten Malabar ende Choromandel*, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 120, and Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oostindiën*, IV, 368. The Indians of Batavia in their historical poems also apply wrongly the title 'amiraal' to other captains of those times.

42 *vs.* 91 *sqq. Gabriel.* Assemani (*loc. laud.*) says that Gabriel, Metropolitan of Adorbigana, went to that country ; see (*ibid.*, p. 299 sq.) his profession of faith in favour of the Roman Church ; he shuffled off this mortal coil (*larvam exuit*), as Assemani puts it, in 1716.

43 **(Page 184.)** *Forty-tuo.* Correct : forty-two churches.

44 *Of the Franciscans ? Vade Sampâlu.* No doubt 'San Pablo', *i.e.*, St. Paul is meant ; but I had not discovered whether the Franciscans or the Dominicans, or, perhaps, the Jesuits had a St. Paul's Church at Goa. At Rome, as far as I know, only the Benedictines and Cistercians have a church dedicated to St. Paul : but neither help our case. However, afterwards, I learned who they were from a codex in the Royal Academy (which see under No. 8 in Weyers' Catalogue lately printed by de Jong), J. H. Schaaf explaining the name Saint-Paulites by 'Jesuits' in his letter of April 12, 1732, p. 14. (Land adds in *Anecdota Syriaca*, II. 19 : "Nowadays, in Italy, the Jesuits are still called 'Paolotti'".)

45 *Masters ours.* He addresses the XVII Directors of the Dutch India Company. Already before 1729 he seems to have sent to Charles Schaaf a petition of the kind, addressed to them : for Schaaf, in his last letter of that year, tells the Bishop not to send copies of Malabar books, our scholars not understanding them ; however, a copy of a Malabar book was added to our document.

46 *Prefect. Kumadūr* : Portuguese 'Commodore'; Dutch 'Commandeur', the title of the prefect of Cochin

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(*To be continued.*)

[a] *Sic*—H.H. [b] Here comes a Syriac letter, which T. K. Joseph declares not clear.

DHARAVARSHA PARMARA OF ABU AND HIS INSCRIPTIONS.

BY R. R. HALDER.

DHÂRÂVARSHA was a famous ruler among the Parmâras of Âbu. He is popularly known in Râjputânâ as 'Dhâr Parmâra'. The word Parmâra denotes the name of the family and is derived, as has been supposed, from the name of the man, who arose from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vaśishṭha on Mount Âbû, and was considered by the latter as one who would take delight only in killing his enemies, and was thus named.[1]

Dhârâvarsha was a son of Yaśôdhavala, who was a feudatory of the Solaṅki ruler Kumârapâla of Gujarât. When Kumârapâla waged war against Mallikârjuna of northern Kauṅkaṇa, Dhârâvarsha led his forces and greatly contributed towards victory. In the *Tâju'l-Ma'aṣir*, we find that Dhârâvarsha and Râi Karan were the two commanders of the Hindu army, which had collected at the foot of Mount Âbû, when, in the middle of the month of Safar A.H. 593 (January, A.D. 1197), the world-conquering Khusrû [Quṭbu'ddîn I-bak] turned his face towards the annihilation of the Râi of Naharwâla (Anhilvâḍâ)[2]. Though the Hindus were defeated in this battle, nevertheless, in a previous one fought against Shihâbu'ddîn Ghûrî at that place in the A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178), they had won victory. "Tod asserts that it was at this very place [Nadole[3]] that 'Maḥmûd's arms were disgraced, the invader wounded and forced to relinquish his enterprise'".[4] It is also clearly written in the description of the battle with Quṭbu'ddîn Î-bak that "the Musalmâns did not dare to attack them [the Hindus] in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sulṭân Muḥammad Sâm [Shihâbu'ddîn] Ghûrî had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander".[5]

Dhârâvarsha was the contemporary of the four Solaṅki rulers of Gujarât, namely, Kumârapâla, Ajaipâla, Mûlarâja II and Bhîmdêva II. After the accession of Bhîmdêva II., many of his ministers and chiefs threw off his yoke, and became independent.[6] Dhârâvarsha was among them, but, when the Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa[7] of Deccan and Sultân Shamsu'ddîn Altamsh of Delhi attacked Gujarât, he prepared to render help to the king of Gujarât along with other kings of Mârwâṛ.[8]

Dhârâvarsha was also very brave and extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions. In the Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscription[9] of Saṁvat 1344 (A.D. 1287), it is mentioned that he could kill three buffaloes with one arrow. In support of this statement, we can still see on the margin of a big *kuṇḍa* (reservoir), called Mandâkinî, outside the temple of Achalêśvara on Mount Âbû, an image of Dhârâvarsha with bow in hand, drawn at three life-size stone buffaloes, standing in its front with a hole right across their bodies.

Up to the present, one copper plate and 14 stone inscriptions of the time of Dhârâvarsha have been discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, curator of the Rajputana

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VIII, p. 210, verse 32. 2 Eliot's *History of India*, vol. II, pp. 229-30.

3 It was not, however, Nâdole but Kâyadrâ, a village at the foot of Mt. Âbu. Kâyadrâ is also called Kâsahrada [*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 77, verse 36], which is wrongly identified by Prof. Buhler, see p. 73, *ibid*, and also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 229. See also *Ep. Ind.*, vol VIII, p. 206, n. 2.

4 Raverty's *Ṭabakâṭ-i-Nasiri*, p. 522 n.

5 See note 2 above. In *Ṭabakâṭ-i Nasiri* [*E.H I*, p. 294], Shihâbuddin's defeat is mentioned.

6 मन्त्रिभिर्माण्डलिकैश्च बलवद्भिः शनैः शनैः ।
बालस्य भूमिपालस्य तस्य राज्यं व्यभज्यत ॥

Someśvar's *Kirtikaumudi*, canto 2, verse 61.

7 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt II, p. 525.

8 *Hammira-mada-mardana* of Jayasimhasûri, p. 11. In it the Sultan is called 'Mlechchharâja', 'Milachchhrikâra', etc. The latter is a changed form of Amir-i-shikâra, an office assigned to his slave Altamsh by Qutbu'ddin Î-bak [note 4 above, p. 603].

9 एकबाणनिहतं त्रिलुलायं यं निरीक्ष्य कुरुयोधसदृशं ।

verse 15 (From original impression).

The Rajputana Museum *Report* 1909-10, p. 9.

Museum, Ajmer. The earliest is dated Saṁvat 1220 (A.D. 1163) and the latest Saṁvat 1276 (A.D. 1219), engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village Makâval in Sirohi State. From these, it is evident that Dhârâvarsha ruled at least for a period of fifty-six years.

He was succeeded by his son Sômasiṁha, who is said to have inherited bravery from his father and learning from his uncle Prahlâdana, younger brother of Dhârâvarsha.[10] It was this Prahlâdana, who was sent by Dhârâvarsha to the help of the Gurjara king Ajaipâla, (and not Bhîmdêva II, [11]), as shown in my former article,[12] when the latter was attacked by Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâr.

This long reign of Dhârâvarsha gives rise to a fact, which proves the story narrated in Forbes's *Râsmâlâ* relating to the rule of Jaitsî Pamâr at Âbû, the marriage of his daughter Ichchhanî with Prithvirâja, and the fight between Bhîmdêva II of Gujarât and Sômêśvara, to be utterly baseless. It will not be uninteresting to give here a summary of the story as given in the above book. It runs as follows :—

"Ajaipâla's younger brother, Bhîmdêva II, called also 'Bholo', ascended the throne in A.D. 1179 and reigned thirty-six years. In these times, Râjâ Bholo Bhîm Dêva was the ornament of Anhilpoor in Gûjar-land. He was like the deep ocean in power : he led an invincible four-limbed army : the three Lôks sought the protection of the Châluk Râe ; he possessed ships that sailed to Sindh : his military posts were in the land of Dhârâ.

"Jaitshee Parmâr at this time ruled at Abu. He has a son named Salakh and a daughter, Ichhani Kumâri, who was very beautiful and praised by every one. Bhîm-Dêva formed the design of marrying her. His dreams were full of visions of Ichhani. He sent Umar Singh [a servant of his] to Abu to demand the hand of the Parmâr princess, but she was already betrothed to the son of the Chohân.

"The ambassador [said] 'O ! Mountain-lord, Bholo Veer, the Châluk, having heard of Ichhani, forgets her not : he demands that you betroth her to him ; if you give her to the Chohân [Prithvirâja] he will cast you from the battlements of Abugarh'. Jaitshee also spoke, 'In the land of Maru there are nine millions of good warriors : eighteen royal seats belong to Abu-garh. It is well to maintain my royalty or else to die'. With this answer he dismissed the ministers of Bhîm. Writing a letter with his own hand, he sent to hasten the marriage of Ichhani with the son of Someśvara.

"When Bholo Bhîm heard of these occurrences, it was as if some one had struck him on the face. He sent for his ministers and bade them instantly prepare : 'Who is this that lays hold on the sleeping lion', [said he]. From Pattan he sent orders in all directions—to Kutch and to Sorath. A vast army assembled from all sides. Bholo Bhîm arrived at Abu and pitched his tents. He surrounded the fort on all sides. The armies of the Parmâr and the Châlûk joined battle ; for many days the contest raged : Salakh and Jait at length gave back ; but fighting as they retired, they reddened the earth with blood. Bhîm pressed on ; he beheld Achales'var ; the Parmârs fled to Maru-land, they left the fort to the Châlûk ; he ascended triumphantly to the summit of Abu.

"Then the Chohân was attacked. [In the heart of Bhîm], Somesvar of Sâmbhur rankled. 'Now will I take his land, the enemy crushing : I will make a rule under one umbrella'. From hither and thither the army collected as a river fed by dependant streams. The good warriors seemed full of joy, smiling as at sunset smiles the ocean ; they were eager to fight in company with their sovereign, as a wife is eager to burn in company with her lord.

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10 धारावर्षसुतोऽयं जयति श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः ।
पितुरिव शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाह्लादनमुभयमयं जगृहे ॥ ३० ॥
Ep. Ind., vol VIII, p. 211

11 *Ep. Ind.*, vol VIII, p. 202.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, vol LIII, pp 100-2.

" When the troops arrived in Someśvar's territories, the inhabitants left their houses and fled. The country was plundered. The armies joined battle,—Sôm, desirous of fight, and Bhîm, that never turned back in war. The drums sounded, swords began to rattle ; for three hours arrows and other missiles rained upon Kun [the Chohân] : at last, Bhîm's force fled. Someśvar Chohân and Bhîm fought a terrible fight. Many on both sides were wounded yet no one left the field or fled. Someśvar himself rushed on. The field of battle seemed like a dark and stormy night in the rains when a conflagration rages in the mountains. Someśvar Chohân fell in this field, hacked to pieces.

" Râjâ Prithvirâjâ heard of the battle ; he recalled the remains of his army. He determined on taking revenge for his father. He vowed a vow that he would wear no turban. He prepared an army to execute his purpose of revenge, but determined first to take his seat on the throne, and then to go to the war. In the prescribed manner, at Nigumbodh, where Yudhishṭhira received initiary rites, Prithvirâja's royal unction was performed. The women sung their solemn hymns. The cry of 'Conquer ! Conquer ' Prithvirâja ' sounded. It seemed as if Indra were assuming the throne of the celestial city. The dress of Ichhani was tied in a knot with his ; they shone like the King of Heaven and his spouse. Great joy reigned.

" In the heart of Prithvirâjâ, Bhîm continually rankled ; his rage was like fire, not to be extinguished but by the death of his foe. At sunrise the warriors assembled. Prithvirâjâ thus addressed them all : ' To take revenge for Somesh, let us prepare an army and fight with the Gûjar, king of men. Let us dig up Châluk from the roots'.

" The Chohân summoned his troops ; at the appointed hour the drum sounded. He led the troops outside the city. Troops arrived at Sâmbhur from all sides. War music roared. Prithvirâja advanced to destroy the houses of Gujarât. Evening came on : they pitched their tents on the ground on which they stood. Kun was near the Râjâ ; Jait and Salakh, the chiefs of Abu. When one watch of the night remained, they determined to follow the chase. [They looked for omens.]

" The sun arose. Prithvirâja said ' It is needless to look for omens—the day of battle is the day of pleasure to the warrior '. [The army] advanced to destroy the land of Pattan. Sixty-four thousand were they in number. Prithvirâja gave the royal umbrella to Kun, his kinsman.

" Hearing that the valiant warrior had arrived near Pattan to take revenge for his father, Bhîm raged like a snake. The two armies arrived within sight of each other, balls began to fly from the tubes ; fire arrows flew into the air. On one side Kun Chohân, on the other Sârang Makwâna fought like lions. Warlike men attained in a moment the place, which with painful labour, the devotee attains. At length the Châluk's army took to flight. The Sâmbhur Râjâ struck at Bhîm. Bhîm Dêva, seated in a celestial chariot, took the road to the city of the Soors. Thus Prithvirâjâ took revenge for his father".[13]

It is needless to dilate upon the whole story. It will suffice to consider only a few points in it.

Up to now, several inscriptions of Sômêśvara have been discovered of which the latest[14] is dated *s.* 1234 (A.D. 1177) and was found at Âmvaldâ in the Jahâzpur district of Mewâr. Similarly, among the several inscriptions of Prithvirâja, the earliest[15] is dated *s.* 1236 (A.D.

13 Forbes; *Râs Mâlâ*, pp. 161–77

14 ओं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नाराजाधिराजश्रीसोमेस्व(श्व)रदेवमहाराये(ज्ये) डोडरा-
सिंघरासुत . . . . संवत् १२३४ भाद्र शुदि ४ शुक्रदिने . . . . (unpublished).

15 संवत् १२३६ आषाढ वदि १२ श्रीपृथ्वीराजराज्ये वागडीसल्लखणपुत्र . . . . (unpublished).

2

1179) and was found at Lohâri in the same district. From these, we may infer that the death of Sômêśvara and accession of his son Prithvirâjâ took place between Saṁvats 1234 and 1236 (A.D. 1177 and 1179). We also know that Bhîmdêva II. of Gujarât ascended the throne in s. 1235 or 1179 A.D.[16] That is to say that the death of Sômêśvara had occurred before Bhîmdêva came to the throne. Hence, we cannot believe that Bhîmdêva fought a battle with Sômêśvara. So, also a battle between Prithvirâja and Bhîmdêva was not possible, as the former had no such cause for it as is described in the story. Next, we see that Dhârâvarsha ruled from Saṁvat 1220 to 1276 (A.D. 1163 to 1219). Consequently it was impossible for any other ruler to rule at Ābû during the period of his reign. Thus, it naturally follows that the story about Jaitsî Pamâr's rule at Ābû and the marriage of Prithvirâja (A.D. 1179–92) with his daughter Ichhani is fictitious. The names Jaitshî, Salakh, and Ichhani seem to be purely imaginary.

Hence, judging from the accounts of the story as well as from the period of Dhârâvarsha's rule, we cannot but conclude that the whole of the story is a myth.

This story is in all probability based on *Prithvîrâja-Râsâ*, which is composed of many such fabrications of the bards at a period much later than that of Prithvîrâja III, the hero of the book. They will be dealt with in my next paper.

Three Inscriptions of Dhârâvarsha.

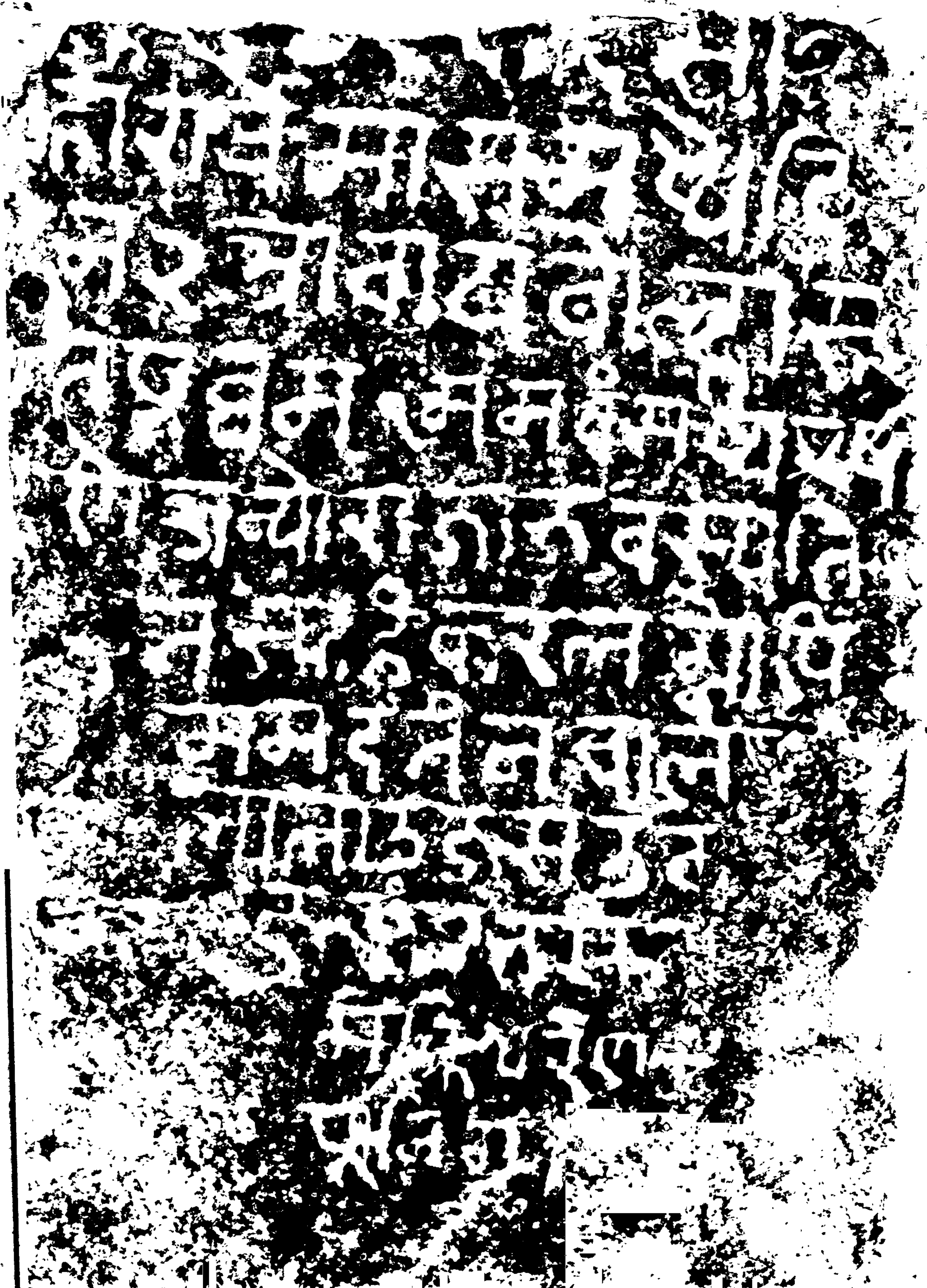
These inscriptions are now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and are important only for their dates, which have a bearing on the subject of this article. The surface of the inscriptions is broken at many places and, consequently, many letters are indistinct. The characters are Nâgarî of the thirteenth century A.D. Their text is a mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular, and is full of mistakes.

Inscription No. 1 contains fourteen lines of writing, of which lines 7 and 14 are indistinct. Lines 1–6 record that on Saturday, the 15th day of the bright half of Jyêshṭha, s. 1220 (A.D. 1163), Mahârâjâdhirâja Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, the illustrious Dhârâvarshadêva, granted a *śâsana* probably for the remission of taxes on Fulahalī (a village) belonging to Bhaṭṭâraka Dêvêśvara of the temple of Kâśêśvara by the prince Pâlhaṇadêva. Lines 6–7 show that something was granted by Bâl (Bâlnôt) Kelhaṇa, but nothing can be made out of it. Lines 8–9 contain the names of witnesses Vijayarâ (Vijayarâja), son of Vâhaḍa and Dedâ, son of Dejaâ. Then follows the usual imprecatory verse. Lines 13–14 say that a field was granted by Amâtya Śivasiṁha, an inhabitant of the village of Vâsana.

Inscription No. 2 contains only four lines, and is dated Monday, the 4th day of the bright half of Âsôj (Āśvina) Saṁvat 1271 (A.D. 1214). It records the grant of one *halarâha* of land (the area that can be tilled with one plough in a day) at the village Sâvaḍa Vriddha (now known as Baḍî Ânval) by Dhârâvarsha to a merchant named Ampa.

Inscription No. 3 is broken into two pieces, and is dated Mâgha Śudi Pûṇam Saṁvat 1274 (A.D. 1218). It was found in a temple of Siva. The purpose of the inscription is not clear, but it appears from its text that it probably records the vow of certain persons to observe festivity for two days on the day of Mahârâtri (Śivarâtri), during the prosperous reign of Dhârâvarsha, son of Yaśodhavaladêva, born in the family of Dhûmarâja (Dhûmarâja). The names of the persons are Râṇâ Vaijâ, son of Vijai[illegible]i, and Lakhamsi, Kamaṇa, Śovâ etc., sons of Râṭhauḍa (Râthôṛ) Ânâ, belonging to the family of Hathundi Râjputs (ll. 1–12). Then it contains the name of the Âcharya Bolhâ, who seems to be the *bhaṭṭâraka* of the temple. Lines 14–17 contain the imprecatory verse, while the lines that follow next seem to have been added later by some persons.

[16] Notes to Tod's *Râjasthân* in Hindi, by R. B. Pt. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, p. 435; *Ind. Ant.*, vol VI, p. 213





Text.

Inscription No. 1.

1. ओं || स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १२२० जेष्ठ[17] सु [शु] दि
2. १५ शनिदिने सोमपर्व्वे महाराजाधि-
3. राजमहामंडले[18]स्वरश्रीधारावर्षदेवे-
4. न शासनं प्रदत्तं[19] श्रीकासेस्वर[20]देवीयभ-
5. ट्टारकदेवे[21]स्वरस्य फुलहलीसत्कं[22]
6. मोचनीयः श्रीकुम्हरपाल्हणदेवेन || था-
7. ल० केल्हणेन प्रदत्तं[23] ||. . . .
8. – णीदायं मोचनीयं || भोमि[24] पंछ || साखि वा-
9. हडसुतवजयरा | देजआसुतदेदा साखि रे-
10. – साखि महाजन || जो (यः) प्रदत्त[25] स्वदत्त[26] वा[27] हे-
11. रे भूमीं[28] नराधिपं[29] | पुनः –मपि कालेन ||
12. तमाहु[30]ब्रह्मघातकं | मंगल (लं) महाश्री [ः] ||
13. वासणग्रामवास्तव्य[31] मात्यशिवसिंग श्री-
14. क्षेत्रं प्रदत्तं[32]. . . . . . .

Inscription No. 2.

1. संवत् १२७१ वर्षे आसोज सुदि ४ सोमे
2. महामंडले[33]स्वरश्रीधारावर्षदेवेन
3. श्रे०अंपदत्तं[34] सावडवृद्धभूमिहल[35]-
4. वाह १ प्रसादिन[36] प्रदत्ता

Inscription No. 3.

1. संवत् १२७४ माघ–
2. फाल्गुनयो[37] [म] ध्ये
3. [सो] मग्रहणपर्व्वे श्रीधो-
4. मराजसंतानजसध-
5. वलदेवसुत[38]श्रीधाराव-
6. र्षविजयराज्ये | विजेसीरा-
7. हसू (सु) तराणावइजा हा-
8. थिउंदीवंस[39]राउउडआ-
9. नासू (सु) तलषमसीहक-
10. मणसोभाकास-
11. . . . . . [म.]
12. हारात्रे मासमध्ये दि-
13. न २ आचार्यवोल्हासु-
14. त प्रथम [पूथम?] १ मम वंसस्य[40] [त्ती]
15. णे अन्यो राजा भवस्यति[41]
16. तस्याहंकरलग्नोपि [?]
17. मम दत्तं[42] न चाल . .
18. [लालाउजसुतव]
19. [ड. . . सुत]
    [महिधरेण] [पूनिग]

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17 Read ज्येष्ठ

18 Read श्वर°

19 Read प्रदत्तं

20 Read °श्वर°

21 Read °श्वर°

22 Read °सत्को

23 Read प्रदत्तं°

24 This and the following line is vernacular.

25 Read परदत्तां°

26 Read स्वदत्तां°

27 Read हरेद्

28 Read भूमिं°

29 Read °धिपः

30 Read आहुर्ब्रह्म°

31 Read °व्यामात्यशिवसिंहेन

32 Read प्रदत्त°

33 Read °श्वर°

34 Read °दत्ताय

35 Read °हल

36 Read प्रसादेन

37 Read फाल्गुनयोः°

38 Read °सुत°

39 Read वंश

40 Read वंशस्य

41 Read भविष्यति

42 Read दत्तं

BRAHMA-VIDYÂ AND SUFISM.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

VON KREMER in his book on Islamic Culture (Khuda Buksh's Translation, p. 108), makes a bold statement about the influence of Brahma-vidyâ or Vedantism on Sufism. He says: "I wish to show that the real Sufism, as it finds expression in the various orders of the Dervishes, which I sharply distinguish from the simple ascetic movement which appeared in the earliest Christianity and even in the earliest Islam, owes its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy, which is known as that of the Vedanta School."

And how does Von Kremer proceed to prove it? "The proof that I will adduce," he goes on to say, "is based upon enquiries and research." These 'enquiries and research' are, however, nothing more than a parallel discovered between the practices followed by certain orders of Dervishes and similar '*yoga*' practices of the Vedanta School. "With the growth of the ecstatic and rapturous tendencies," we are told again, "numerous orders of Dervishes sprang up in Islam. Every one of these orders of Dervishes had its own secret rules and procedures disclosed only to the initiated. They were mainly concerned with the mode of bringing about mystic ecstasy." There are, of course, noticeable differences in these rules in the different orders: One, for instance, enjoins meditation in a separate, dark room. 'accompanied by severe fasting and castigation'; another prescribes chanting of litanies until the senses are exhausted and visions present themselves to the benumbed mind; and a third advises 'dances and movements of the body'. 'with musical accompaniments and singing of hymns'.

About these secret rules of the various orders, however, Von Kremer goes on to say, "there is very little trustworthy information". Happily he has lighted, he says, "upon a text which contains the rules of the Naqshbandi Order". Precise information is given there as to how spiritual exercise is to be conducted for the purpose of bringing about the desired ecstasy in the mind of the Dervish.

These rules are principally rules for the regulation of the breath just as it was practised among Hindu *yogins*, technically called by them '*prâṇâyâma*' (including the threefold process of *pûraka*, *kumbhaka* and *recaka*). Into the details of these rules we need not enter, the fact of similarity has been generally admitted and need not be disputed; but the question is:—Were they borrowed from the Hindus by the Sufis, as Von Kremer suggests?

Similarity in itself does not indicate borrowing either way, nor does it even prove that one system was acquainted with the other. In religion and philosophy, remarkable parallels are often found which are of independent origin. The mere fact of similarity, therefore, does not warrant us in holding that Sufism borrowed from Hinduism. Authentic, historical information is necessary to justify a conclusion like this.

Von Kremer quotes a passage from "the great encyclopaedic work *Nafa'isu-l-funun*," where a direct reference to the Indian *yogi* is found. The passage runs as follows: "The sciences of breathing and imagination . . . . The Indians value these two sciences very highly, and whenever any one attains perfection in them, they call him a *yogi* and reckon him among the holy spirits. The founder of these two sciences, they say, is Kâmâk Dyw. They call spiritual beings Dyw . . . ."

'Dyw' is apparently the Sanskrit word *deva*. But who is this Kâmâk? No matter who he was, it is obvious that the author of *Nafa'isu-l-funûn* took him to be an Indian and possibly a Hindu. And a knowledge of the so-called science of breathing is also attributed to the Indians: and, by implication, it is perhaps also suggested that such knowledge, in the same degree at least, was not to be found anywhere else.

Von Kremer quotes yet another authority in support of his contention that Yoga practices migrated from Hindu India to the Islamic world. His own words are: "In the *Dabistán*

it is said of the Indian *yogis*: 'Among them the restraining of the breath is held in great esteem, such as was practised among the Persians by Azar Hushang and by the kings of those people.' "

This is practically all the proof that Von Kremer has to produce in support of his theory. But one has to confess that the passages are not conclusive as to borrowing by the Sufis from the Indian philosophers. The authors quoted by Von Kremer were obviously acquainted with Hindu *yoga* practices; and we may even assume that the Islamic world at large also, at the time of these writers, was aware of the fact that the Hindus practised *yoga* and that they had a knowledge of *yoga*. But our authorities do not categorically state that these practices were borrowed by the Sufis from Indian sources. The second of these writers is even less conclusive than the first; he no doubt mentions the Indian '*yogis*', but at the same time compares them with the Persians, leaving the question of borrowing absolutely undecided. If the practices were in existence among people nearer home, would the Sufis really go abroad to learn them?

Of course, in a matter like this, we should not always expect direct evidence. And we should not forget that the value of any piece of evidence depends upon the cumulative effect, when it is taken jointly with other evidence. From the evidence adduced by Von Kremer, we find, in the first place, that Muhammadan writers referred to India as the place where the practices in vogue among them were held in high esteem. The so-called sciences of breathing, we are told, were very widely cultivated in India. In the second place, we find a remarkably close similarity between the Islamic and Hindu practices. And this similarity is found not only among certain external and auxiliary practices, but extends deeper down into the very heart of their teachings. Like the Indian *yogi*, the Sufi also not only practised a regulation of breath—something quite akin to Hindu *prâṇâyâma*—but he even believed, like the Hindu Vedantist, in the identity of the individual with the Infinite. He, too, was a pantheist. And so far as external practices were concerned, the similarity was not confined to the regulation of breath only; the Sufi also appears to have had a theory of *âsana* (or, form of sitting), and seems to have preferred the lotus-form of sitting (*padmâsana*) to any other.

Now, all these similarities in doctrine and in practice, are, Von Kremer would say, too close to be regarded as accidental. So there must have been borrowing; and in so far as an express mention is found of Indian *yogis* in Musalman writers, and in view of the fact that, in India, the science of breathing and its practices were developed almost to perfection, the conclusion cannot be escaped that it was the Musalman Sufi who borrowed from Hindu India

Primâ facie, therefore, we have a plausible case that Hindu *yoga* ideas and some of the concepts of Vedantism found their way into an important branch of Islamic culture. But it should not be forgotten that the authorities quoted by Von Kremer belong to a later period of the history of Sufism. The first authority is the author of *Nafa'isu-l-funûn*, who has been supposed to be "Mahmud Amuli who died in 753 A.H.", *i.e.*, one who belonged to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The Muhammadans had already come to India as conquerors and rulers and Sufism was already a developed system. Any Muhammadan record of that time about the practices of the Indians need not imply more than an interest taken by the conquerors in the life and habits of the people under them

The author of the *Dabistân* belonged to a still later period and was perhaps an Indian Musalman. Much earlier than they, Al-Beruni had written his monumental work on India; Von Kremer does not refer to him; he can expect little support from him either, as we shall see later on. The authorities quoted by him, however, are no evidence that Brahmavidyâ had any influence on the development of Sufism in its earlier stages, even though it be conceded that some of its ideas were grafted on to the other system in its later history; and much less do they prove Von Kremer's contention that 'Sufism owes its *origin* mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy.'

Von Kremer no doubt distinguishes "real Sufism as it finds expression in the various orders of the Dervishes" from "the simple ascetic movement which appeared in the earliest Christianity and even in the earliest Islam". But even the 'various orders of the Dervishes' date their origin much earlier than the fourteenth century A.D. The 'origin', therefore, of Sufism is not shown to have been due to 'the school of Indian Philosophy'.

There is another inaccuracy in Von Kremer's theory. He connects the regulation of breath and *yoga* practices more or less exclusively with the Vedanta system. Though not unknown to the Vedanta system, these were much more elaborately dealt with in the Yoga Philosophy, specifically so called. The most characteristic Vedantic doctrine that may be traced in Sufism is the ecstatic vision of the identity of the individual soul with the Universal. The regulation of breath is not a special feature of Vedanta, but rather of the Yoga Philosophy. And Von Kremer's omission of all reference to the Yoga Philosophy is rather surprising, especially in view of the fact that Al-Beruni, writing in the eleventh century, had pointed out some of the more striking similarities between that system and Sufism. Of course, we must admit that Von Kremer's omission of reference to Patañjali is a lesser mistake than Al-Beruni's omission of all reference to the Vedanta.

Now, so far as Von Kremer is concerned, he may be regarded as having shown that, after the conquest of India by the Musalmans, Hindu culture became known to them, and, possibly, some branches of their own culture were influenced at that time by Hindu thought. His contention that Sufism owed its origin to Hindu philosophy is not proved by the evidence that he has cared to produce here. We are not suggesting that it could not have been the case ; we are only pointing out the want of sufficient proof.

To show that Sufism was indebted to Hindu thought, it is not enough to show that after their conquest of the country, the Musalmans acquired a knowledge of Indian thought ; for, even before this conquest was complete, a knowledge of India was not altogether absent from the Islamic world. And when the Muhammadans came to India as conquerors, Sufism was no longer in its nascent condition ; it was then fully grown. So Von Kremer's authorities not only do not prove anything about the origin of Sufism, but they even fail to prove that Brahmavidyâ exercised any influence on it in its earlier stages. For his purpose, it is necessary to show that Hindu philosophical ideas had travelled beyond the borders of India and had penetrated into the heart of western Asia—Arabia, Syria, and Persia—and also into Egypt, where Sufism had its rise and its early development ; and it is also necessary to show that these ideas had been in existence in those places, exercising an active influence, before the rise of Sufism. Von Kremer has not shown all this ; but can it be shown ?

The following facts are relevant in this connection :—

(*i*) That from the earliest times, a more or less continuous intercourse has been maintained between India and the western world.

(*ii*) That Hindus from India sometimes went abroad and even established colonies in western Asia, among other places.

(*iii*) That Buddhism had been in existence in and about the places where Sufism arose, before and even after the appearance of Islam.

(*iv*) And that even the Court of the Khalifs of Bagdad was an important seat of Sanskrit culture, especially in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.

(i) That India had been connected with the western world from very early times, has been proved by a number of facts. (Rawlinson : *Intercourse between India and the Western World*). "From pre-historic times, three great trade-routes have connected India with the West." And it cannot be said that, in view of this trade-connection, India could not influence the culture of any of these countries even indirectly. (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.) Nor was this intercourse very limited in scope and in area. One of the trade-routes "linked India not only to the gold-fields and the fabulously wealthy incense-country of Southern Arabia and Somaliland,

but to Egypt and Judæa." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.) Dion Chrysostom " who died in or after 117 A.D. mentions Indians among the cosmopolitan crowds to be found in the bazaars of Alexandria," (*ib.*, p. 140). And in Damascius' Life of Icodorus, as preserved by Photius, there is an " account of some Brahmins who visited Alexandria and lodged in the house of Severus, Consul, A.D. 470 ". (Priaulx, *Apollonius of Tyana*, &c., p. 189.)

In one of the Buddhist *Jâtaka* stories, " we hear of Indian merchants who took periodical voyages to the land of Baberu (Babylon) "—(Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 4). And Bardesanes is said to have derived his information about India from " an Indian who *came* with an embassy to Syria to welcome the Emperor Elagabalus to the throne in 218 A.D. " (*ib.*, p. 143).

Even Greece was not altogether outside the pale of this intercourse, though perhaps the ' intercourse between India and Greece, before the days of Alexander, was of an indirect nature '. Between India and the great nations of Asia Minor, however, ' there had been a long and continuous intercourse '. " Persia, of course, was in close contact with India for nearly two centuries, and the Punjab was a Persian satrapy for that period ".

Now all these facts shew that people of the West came to India, and Indians also went to the western world : and that this connexion had been maintained for a very long time. The connexion that was thus maintained was not merely a commercial one : commerce and culture often go hand in hand : and thus there was a possibility of Indian culture migrating to the west with Indian commerce. Even Brahmans went to the west, we are told. So, even if we suppose that the Brahmans were the sole repository of all philosophical learning, it was not impossible for Indian philosophy to travel to the west at that period. The place where Sufism was born, therefore, was not inaccessible to Hindu influence, even before its birth.

(ii) This was not all. Indians established colonies in western Asia, and vestiges of such colonies have been traced in Armenia. (*JRAS.*, 1904, p. 309.) Whether these Armenian Indians were strictly speaking Hindus or not, is not certain. Kennedy thinks " we may conclude with considerable probability that the Armenian Indians came of the same aboriginal stock from which many of the western Rajput clans were subsequently developed ". And the gods which these Armenian Hindus worshipped were " not Brahmanical ". But at the same time, we are reminded that " the westward migration of these Indians cannot have been the first of its kind". No doubt, such migrations " have been comparatively rare ; " but they have taken place, making possible the migration of Indian culture also to the west (B.C. 130—A.D. 300). And it is also a known fact that, for a long period in history, Hindu kingdoms extended as far as Kabul and even farther (*vide*, Al-Beruni, ch. xlix ; Elliot's *History of India*, etc.). Hindu culture thus maintained a proximity to the birth-place of Sufism for a considerable time—long enough to leave influences behind.

(iii) Another fact that requires notice in this connexion, is the presence of Buddhism in the area where Sufism was either born or had its early development, at and about the time of its birth. " Buddhism flourished in Balkh, Transoxiana and Turkestan before the Muhammadan conquest, and in later times Buddhist monks carried their religious practices and philosophy among the Moslems who had settled in these countries ". (Nicholson : *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. *Sufism*).

(iv) In the fourth place, we may remember here that Indians held appointments as body-physicians to the Khalifa Hârûn- ar-Rashîd, and that at the time of Khalifa al-Mâmûn, Sanskrit was already well-known at the Court of Bagdad. (Elliot's *History of India*, v. 570).

All these are well-known facts. But what do they prove ? We certainly cannot doubt that, both before and after the rise of Islam, the very seat of Islamic culture—the very nursery of Islamic philosophy—had been fully accessible to Indian influences, Hindu as well as Buddhist. Both Hindus and Buddhists went to those territories, and people from those places also came to India. Indian merchandise found its way, now by one route, now by another, to all of these places. And it is needless to point out that ideas also sometimes

follow in the wake of men and merchandise. Wherever, therefore, Indians and Indian goods went, Indian ideas also might have gone. It is therefore just possible that in the regions where Sufism had its rise and first development, Hindu philosophical ideas may have been floating about long before the appearance of Islam. And it is equally possible that Sufism found some ready-made formula of belief and practice, which it quickly adopted and assimilated. But it was only possible: whether it actually so happened or not, is not proved.

It is interesting to note that among certain writers there is a tendency to under-rate the possibility of Hindu influence on Islamic philosophy. The claims of Buddhism are recognised on a more generous scale. Vedantism is no doubt frequently mentioned as a possible source from which Sufism may have borrowed; but some people are so enamoured of Buddhism that even this Vedantism is spoken of as a part of it. Without in any way depreciating the claims of Buddhism, we are bound to point out that the claims of Brahmavidyâ ought to receive special treatment in this connection, so great indeed is its resemblance with Sufism.

Prof. Goldziher has shewn that Islam in general and Sufism in particular, have been profoundly influenced by Buddhism among other foreign influences (*JRAS.*, 1904, p. 126). The Buddhist doctrine of *karma* finds its parallel in the Islamic dogma of *kismat*; the Sufi conception of *faná* is similar to the Buddhist conception of *nirvâṇa*; Moslem monastic orders are closely akin to those of the Buddhists: and so on. Of course, fatalism or the doctrine of *kismat* is not exclusively a Buddhist idea: it is found in orthodox Hinduism also; so are monastic orders and the rest. On the face of it, therefore, there is nothing to show that these things were not borrowed from Hinduism, if they were at all borrowed by Sufism. But it is to Buddhism rather than Hinduism as distinguished from it, that these influences are usually traced. We are not suggesting that this is all wrong. Buddhism was present in the vicinity of the home of Sufism which, therefore, had perchance a closer contact with it than with Hinduism. Yet the presence of Brahmavidyâ was not altogether impossible in that area; and in view of the fact that there is such a close similarity between it and Sufism, we ought to consider if there was no direct borrowing from it by Sufism. In any case, to regard 'the ancient Vedanta Philosophy' as something 'which the Buddhistic system so successfully developed' (*cf. JRAS.*, 1904, p. 135), is a confusion of thought. The two are not the same and ought to be kept separate.

There is another point which should be considered here. The similarity between Vedantism and Sufism is fully recognised and the possibility of the indebtedness of Sufism to Vedantism also is not altogether ignored. But it is rather striking that, except Vedantism, nothing else in Hinduism is considered to be a likely source of influence on Sufism. Even Von Kremer, who has said so much about the 'science of breathing', overlooks the possibility of this being borrowed from the Yoga Philosophy. Al-Beruni, curiously indeed, is one of the few writers who has fully realised the very close similarity between Sufism and the system of Patañjali. Yet the historical facts which make the presence of Vedantic ideas possible in the birth-place of Sufism, may also be regarded as making possible the presence of Yoga ideas in the self-same place. In a way, the presence of Yoga ideas were more likely than that of Brahmavidyâ: wandering mendicants or *sannyâsis* know more of the *yoga* practices than they know of Brahmavidyâ, and among Hindus these men travel more than others. So, if it is a question of the migration of Hindu ideas to western Asia, Yoga ideas were not less likely to go thither than ideas of Brahmavidyâ. Yet, so far as Hinduism is concerned, our scholars have shown a preference for Vedantism as against Yoga; and as between Hinduism and Buddhism, they see more of Buddhist influence on Sufism than they are prepared to admit of any other Indian system. It is a question of history, and perhaps they stand on unassailable ground. But the fact is important for our purpose and must be pointed out.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE VISION OF VASAVADATTA (SVAPNAVASAVADATTAM). Edited by LAKSHMAN SARUP. Lahore, 1925.

In his preface Dr. Lakshman Sarup has a remarkable paragraph on the subject of transliteration from Sanskrit works, which is worth repeating: "It has been noticed that Indian students are unable to transliterate Sanskrit correctly in Roman, even after their graduation. Nor do they find it easy to read Sanskrit texts transliterated in Roman characters. Their inability puts them at a disadvantage, for they cannot utilise several texts of Pali and Sanskrit works, which are published in Roman characters only, and are not available in Devanagari and other Indian characters. The result is that the sphere of their scholarship is considerably narrowed. The fault, however, is not theirs. They seldom receive any training in transliteration. Indian text books, prescribed for them, generally do not use any diacritical marks at all. Nor do the teachers insist on correct transliteration. The students thus never learn the use of diacritical marks. A suitable text book, using diacritical marks correctly, is therefore a desideratum. The object of the present volume is to supply their need."

On p. vii Dr. Sarup makes another statement worth noting: "I had translated all the plays of Bhâsa into English in 1921. The MS. is still awaiting publication." This is a great pity and let us hope it will soon be remedied.

The *Svapnavâsavadattam* of Bhâsa is based on the story of Vâsavadattâ, made available to all kinds of modern readers through Tawney's translation of the *Kathâ-aritsâgara* of *Somadeva*, now being so worthily handled by Mr. Penzer. In his introduction Dr. Sarup goes into what is known of Bhâsa, "a mere wandering though distinguished name," and takes up the questions raised in the controversy round this name of ancient India. The first point—are the plays that are attributed to Bhâsa the work of one or several authors?—he decides on page 20: "All these plays, in my opinion are the work of one and the same author." The second point is—who is the author? "The conclusion is (p. 35) that the present play is a genuine play. It is the *Svapnavâsavadattam* mentioned by various writers. It is the work of Bhâsa." This conclusion is arrived at after a real plunge into the controversy on the point. The third point is—what is the age of the plays? Here again scholars have differed widely, and after discussing opinions Dr. Sarup arrives at the conclusion: "The play may therefore be assigned to the beginning of the second century A.D." (p. 41).

Dr. Sarup then discusses the legend of Udayana "the king Arthur of Indian Literature; the fascinating hero of romance, the Prince Charming of the fairy tales," one of whose wives was Bhâsa's heroine Vâsavadattâ. He shows that Bhâsa "utilised the same materials, the same floating mass of oral tradition, which served as the original sources of Guṇâḍhya, p. 57" *i.e.*, of the stories told in the *Brihatkathâmañjari* and *Kathâsaritsâgara*.

Finally, Dr. Sarup discusses the question: "What is Drama?" This he discusses in true Indian philosophical fashion, arriving at the conclusion "It may therefore be stated that the main function of drama is to employ dialogue in order to represent a harmonious action such as may spring from the circumstances of life, actually or conceivably real' (pp. 59 & 60). He then discusses "the Law of Brunetière," and accepting that law which lays down that volition is the soul of drama. Dr. Sarup is of opinion that *The Vision of Vâsavadattâ* "will indeed be regarded as a dramatic masterpiece p. 62)." Finally he winds up (p. 77) with an enthusiastic admiration of the play. "*The Vision of Vâsavadattâ*" is a great play. The principal characters are magnificent human portraits. Each personage is invested with an individuality of its own. The poet has made profound psychological studies and painted them with a rare skill, such as is found in the works of master playwrights only. The critical situations are managed with a delicacy of art which a genius alone could show. It is indeed a masterpiece. Bhâsa is therefore entitled to claim our attention and his plays deserve a closer study."

Then follow a text and translation and some very useful notes.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE ORIGIN AND CULT OF TARA, by HIRANANDA SHASTRI. Memoirs, Archæological Survey of India with four Plates. Calcutta, Government of India Press, 1925.

The object of this valuable monograph is to ascertain by direct research what the orgin of Târâ was: whether she was of "Buddhist or Brahmanical origin, whether her cult arose in India or elsewhere and what was her chief function." Mr. Hirananda Shastri has done his work well and conscientiously and arrives at likely conclusions that are not at all subversive of previous ideas, for which old scholars must be thankful. To sum them up, his conclusions are that Târâ was probably Buddhist in origin and non-Indian and most probably arose in the Indo-Tibetan borderland or in Indian Tibet itself, as the goddess who helped the people to cross the large lakes there. She was thus originally a water-goddess, just as Al-Khiḍr was originally a similar water-god in another part of the world. As a Buddhist deity Târâ of course belonged to Mahâyâna Buddhism and does not

date further back than the fifth century A.D., and here Mr. Shastri makes a useful observation: "as is apparent from the titles and names of the twenty-one Târâs I do not think they should be taken as distinct forms of the goddess; they are rather the attributes which a votary has in view while worshipping the divinity who is one throughout." In form Târâ is either pacific or angry—a typical primitive goddess.

R. C. Temple.

International Law in Ancient India, by S. V. Viswanatha. 1925. Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay.

This book deals with "International Law" in India up to A.D. 500, and the writer intends to compose a companion volume on Mediæval Indian Diplomacy. He explains that by the term International Law he means a "body of custom," and indeed that is the most that can be claimed for a condition where man-made law is not enforceable by any authority. He is also aware of the difficulty of using terms applicable to modern society to describe the conditions that obtained in the ancient world, and he seeks to clear the air by setting himself three questions (pp. 5, 6):

(1) Whether there were nations in ancient India,
(2) Whether there was a general code of laws to regulate their dealings with one another,
(3) How far this body of doctrine was actually carried into execution.

He answers the first in the affirmative. As to the second question, he says that International Law—*i.e.*, the body of custom which we now call International Law—"was accepted by all Indian States—for it was based on Dharma [duty; that which should be done], which regulated also the conduct of the individual society." In dealing with the third question he replies that in theory it was—at any rate in as great a part as now—carried into practice, running through the stages of *śruti* (revelation) and *smriti* (tradition), and visible in the *Epics* and the *Purâṇas*, in the secular writers of *arthaśâstra* (administration) and the like, in the Asokan Edicts, and in the accounts of Megasthenes and Yuan Chwâng.

Here we have the author's position, on which he has built his remarks, with a wealth of reference to ancient authorities which cannot but rouse the admiration of his readers. The nature, however, of such authorities as have survived through the ages only permits him to make remarks of a general description on all the many points which he has taken up.

It is a thoughtful and impartial book of great learning, honestly compiled, and shows once more that the ancient civilisation was in its essentials very like that of modern times.

R. C. Temple.

Djawa, Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut 5e Jaargang, No. 3 en 4, Mei-September 1925. Secretariaat van het Java Instituut, Weltevreden.

These numbers of *Djawa* give a full report of the Congress of that body held at Jogjakarta, 24-27 December 1924. During the Congress an exhibition of Javanese architecture and furniture was held, and an exceedingly interesting lecture was given by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch on "The Prambanan Temple," to which there are two beautiful illustrations, one of the temple before restoration, the other of the restored south door. The lecturer, after examining the question of the date of the temple and its purpose, speaks of its architecture and carvings.

Another paper was read by Thomas Karsten on the value of recent Javanese architecture. There were also papers and discussions of matters of less general interest, *e.g.*, Old Javanese Monuments in connection with Javanese culture of the present and future, and native culture in Javanese education.

M. J. B.

Annales du Musée Guimet. Trois Conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta, par A. Meillet. Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1925.

This little book will be of much interest to Parsis and students of ancient Iranian culture. It contains three lectures delivered at the Upsala University, Sweden, by M. Meillet, who was a former pupil of James Darmesteter. Indeed he dedicates the book to the memory of his teacher, though, as he is careful to point out in the preface, his views on the subject of the *Gâthâs* differ widely from those of Darmesteter. The subject-matter of the lectures are (*a*) the date of Zoroaster, (*b*) the composition of the *Gâthâs*, (*c*) the character of the teaching of the *Gâthâs*. The author claims to have followed Darmesteter's advice in two directions, *viz.*, first, he has tried to formulate clear and definite conclusions, easily capable of refutation, if they are erroneous; secondly, he has sought to envisage the facts from the standpoint of the historian, who, not content with mere words, strives to evoke the actual character of past events and clothe them with reality. I leave it to Iranian scholars like Dr. J. J. Modi to decide how far M. Meillet's views deserve acceptance.

S. M. Edwardes.

Bibliographies of Indian Art, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. (London). Boston, Massachusetts, 1925.

This work is stated in the preface to be a partial reprint, with additions, from the first, second, and fourth parts of the *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, published in Boston; and the author to some extent disarms criticism by an admission that none of the bibliographies

except, perhaps, those on painting, are complete. There are one or two points, however, which seem to deserve comment. On page 10, the 1914 reprint of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities* is entered, whereas a later and better edition is that prepared by the late William Crooke and published by the Oxford University Press in 1920. There are other important omissions from the general list. On page 17 Sir J. H. Marshall's *The Monuments of Ancient India* in the Cambridge History of India is mentioned twice running for no apparent reason; while under the main heading of Mughal architecture and decoration there is no mention of a recent Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India on the geometrical patterns in Saracenic art. The author claims to have included under "Sculpture" a few of the more important works on coins. But only three works are mentioned, and the list might have been augmented by the inclusion of other well-known publications on Indian numismatics. On page 34, in the section on Textiles, Brandon is a mistake for Brendon, author of the *Woollen Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency*; and as author of *Silk Fabrics of the Bombay Presidency*, I may point out that I do not spell my name in the way adopted in this bibliography. Useful as the volume is, it seems to me to require careful revision before appearing in a second edition.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SAMARANGANASUTRADHARA OF KING BHOJADEVA, edited by MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA T. GANAPATI SÂSTRÎ: volume II. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXII; Baroda, 1925.

This second volume of king Bhoja's work contains descriptions of "*prasādas* pertaining to Devas, statues made of gold, silver, etc., the art of painting, 64 kinds of *hasta* beginning with *pataka* and other topics. The editor repudiates the view that the quaint machines mentioned in the poem—the elephant machine, door-keeper machine, flying-machine, etc.—are mere products of the poet's imagination, and suggests that they may once have existed, but have fallen into disuse owing to their costliness or intricacy. His arguments on this point do not strike one as overwhelmingly sound: but otherwise the work performed by the editor on the original is doubtless worthy of his scholarly reputation.

S. M. EDWARDES.

ANNUAL REPORT, WATSON MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES, RAJKOT, 1926. Rajkot, Kathiawar.

There is little of special interest mentioned in this annual report. In a well at Gopanatha an inscription was discovered, recording that the well was built by a Dakshini Mahârâshtra Brahmachâri at a date long before the Marâthâs had any political connection with the province. Two or three inscriptions were discovered at Vav, the capital of a small but very old State in Palanpur; they refer to the wife and a descendant of king Mahipâladêva, who apparently ruled the modern Tharad in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji. The Gujarat Râshtrakuta plates, mentioned in the report for the previous year, clearly prove that the main Râshtrakuta dynasty regarded their Gujarat brethren as mere vassals.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL: vol. IX, No. 1, pp 1–26, and vol. X. No. 1. pp. 1–32. Calcutta 1925.

The first of the two publications mentioned above, entitled "The Geography of the Andaman Sea Basin," forms Part I of the main subject of "Geographic and Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters," by R. B. Seymour Sewell, M.A., I.M.S., Director of the Zoological Survey of India. The Andaman Sea, which is here described, is the name of the part of the Indian Ocean which lies between the Burmese coast and the Malay Peninsula on one side, and between the chain of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Sumatra on the other: and the author, after a survey of existing facts and data, arrives at the conclusion that this sea-basin was first formed at the beginning of the Tertiary Epoch, when the great Alpine-Himalayan system began to rise. Though at first shallow, this basin underwent subsidence at the close of the same epoch, and this process continued at intervals as late as the Pleistocene period, thus incidentally giving rise to the shallow channel which we to-day call The Straits of Malacca. The paper is of interest, as dealing with an area that has long been known to geologists as specially rich in both shallow and deep water fauna.

The second Memoir is entitled "The Santals and Disease" and forms the first part of "Studies in Santal Medicine and Connected Folklore," by the Revd. P. O. Bodding. It describes the general attitude of the Santals to life and death, their beliefs in the origin of disease, the qualities of the *bongas* or supernatural influences which they recognise, their medicine-men and *ojhas*, their methods of divination, their witch-finding, and a variety of other matters concerned with the onset and progress of disease and the Santal method of combating it. The paper is full of carefully garnered information and represents the fruits of a prolonged and intensive study of the habits and ideas of one of the most numerous and most primitive of Indian forest tribes. Anthropologists and folklorists alike will find Mr. Bodding's memoir of great value.

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE BIRTH PLACE OF THE PHYSICIAN SUSHENA.

On the 9th February 1913 I visited a village named Chandkuri 16 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of a District of the same name in the Central Provinces. While going over the old ruins, the villagers pointed out to me some stones which they worshipped as Baid Sukhena on an island in the centre of a tank known as Jalasena *tarái*. They told me that not long ago people used to fetch a certain herb growing on that island and administer it to a patient suffering from any disease, in the name of Sukhena, and this was sufficient to cure him. All they knew about him was that he was a great physician, and that is why he has been deified and their village is known as Baid Chandkhuri, to distinguish it from other villages of the same name.

Can it be that this Sukhena is identical with Sushena mentioned in the *Rámáyaṇa* as physician of Sugriva? Kishkindhâ, where Sugriva lived has been recently located somewhere near Matin Zamindari in the Bilaspur District, which is about a hundred miles north of Chandkhuri. Chandkhuri is considered to be a very old village and to have been very wealthy in ancient times. That it was so is indicated by the remains of temples built in the Mediaeval Brahmanic style, one of which is still standing and has the figure of Mahâlakshmî at the door. On the jambs are depicted the Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ on their respective *váhanas*, the *makara* and tortoise. There is also a much worn inscription here, the characters whereof appear to belong to about the eighth or ninth century A.D. Tradition has it that there were 120 tanks, of which 22 still remain, and their Sanskritic names such as Sâgara, Jalasena (*Jalaśayana*) [1] etc appear to indicate the occupation of that place by Aryan colonists.

Sushena appears to have been a very popular name as no less than 18 individuals are mentioned in Wilson's Dictionary as bearing that name, taken from various Sanskrit works like the *Mahábhárata*, *Rámáyaṇa*, *Bhágavatá*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Vásavadattá*, *Vájasaneyisamhitá*, *Váyupuráṇa*, *Kathá-saritságara*, *Raghuvaṃśa*, and *Harshacharita*.

HIRA LAL.

BHARUKACHCHA.

In "Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad," an account has been given of Bharukaccha (*I.A.*, Sep. 1925). It is Bhrgukṣetra or Bhrgupura, named after the Hindu sage Bhrgu. It would perhaps be interesting to learn the legendary account given by the Buddhists of the origin of this city. The following information is contained in the *Divyávadána* in the story of Rudrâyaṇa (Cowell and Neil: XXXVII, p. 544 *et seq.*).

King Rudrâyaṇa's capital was Roruka. His queen was Candraprabhâ, his heir, Kumâra Śikhaṇdî, and his ministers, Hiru and Bhiru. At that time the king of Râjagṛha was Bimbisâra. The merchants of Roruka used to trade with Râjagrha and those of Râjagrha with Roruka. Through them the two kings exchanged greetings and presents. King Bimbisâra sent his friend a portrait of the Buddha. Afterwards the *thera* Mahâkâtyâyana and *bhikṣuṇî* Śailá arrived at Roruka to preach religion to the king and the inmates of the harem. Queen Candraprabhâ was converted by Śailâ, and she died seven days later. The king also left his kingdom, came to Râjagrha and turned an *anágárî* (homeless *bhikṣu*). Kumâra Śikhaṇdi became king and at first listened to the precepts of his father's ministers, Hiru and Bhiru. But he soon took to evil ways and turned them out, and allowed himself to be guided by two evil counsellors. The merchants of Roruka, who had gone to Râjagrha, informed *bhikṣu* Rudrâyaṇa of this, and the latter proposed to proceed to Roruka to wean his son from his evil life. The evil ministers advised the new king to intercept Rudrâyaṇa and even to murder him, which was done. At another time Śikhaṇdi incited his subjects to throw dust on Mahâkâtyâyana till he was buried in it. But nemesis was not long in coming. For this gratuitous insult to the monk the city of Roruka was to be buried in dust on the seventh day. The monk had warned the two faithful ministers of the impending retribution. They fled the city on the sixth day, when jewels rained from the heavens. The new city founded by Hiru was called Hiruka; that founded by Bhiru was called Bhiruka and also Bhirukaccha.

The following passage occurs on p. 576 of the *Divyávadána*:

"..*tatra Hirukeṇânyatamasmin pradeśe Hirukaṃ náma nagaraṃ mâpitaṃ | tasya Hirukaṃ Hirukam iti saṃjñâ saṃvrttá | Bhirukeṇânyatamasmin pradeśe Bhirukaṃ nâma nagaraṃ mâpitaṃ | tasyâpi Bhirukacchaṃ Bhirukaccham iti saṃjñâ saṃvrttâ* |"

Dust rained on the seventh day and buried the city of Roruka.

KALIPADA MITRA.

[1] This tank is exactly like what are known as *Teppa Kulams* in the south, containing a temple in the middle, to which the idols of gods on certain occasions are taken for water-pleasure. The *Jalaśayana* (lying-in-the water) apparently derives its name from this practice.

There used to be a temple said to be dedicated to Kauśalyâ, and it would thus appear that it was probably Râmâ's idol that was taken for *Jalaśayana* there.

523. The Abbé Rochon (*Voyage to Madagascar*, p. 768) says that the slave trade was introduced into Madagascar by retired pirates, but we have seen (*para*. 285 *above*) it was a regular mart for slaves in the first half of the 17th century.

524. The expression 'on the Account' always meant 'engaged in piracy,' so Captain Robert Hyde referring to a suspicious vessel writes:—"She must certainly be on the Account or else she would not have had so much time [to follow us] for she dogged us eighteen days" (*Log of the Duke of York*, 23*rd July* 1721).

525. In 1709 Captain Woodes Rogers (*Cruising Voyage*, p. 293) before fighting a Manila ship "ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ship's company, having no spirituous liquor to give them: then we went to prayers" The 'tot of rum' before a fight was probably a very ancient institution at sea. Sir Richard Hawkins wrote in 1594:—'In fights all receits which adde courage and spirit are of great regard to be allowed and used: and so is a draught of wine to be given to every man before he come to action, but more than enough is pernicious, for exceeding the meane it offendeth and enfeebleth the senses, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakness, it dulleth and blindeth the understanding and consequently depraveth any man of true valour" (*Observations*, p 177).

526. In 1711 when Captain Woodes Rogers was at the Cape he was told by an Englishman and an Irishman, who had both been some years in Madagascar, that the pirates who had settled there were now reduced to 60 or 70, were very poor, and despised even by the natives from among whom they had taken wives. As they then were, they were no real menace to trade, but unless cleared out, might form a nucleus for fresh bands of desperadoes (*Cruising Voyage, p*. 293). In April 1716 one Eaves, mate of the *Rochester*, with 14 of her crew, plundered the ship and turned pirates in the Straits of Malacca (*Bombay to Court, 7th Jan*. 1716–17).

527. In 1715 Governor Edward Harrison of Madras sent the *Anne* (Captain Jones) to Amoy to trade. The Chinese merchants, who had taken up goods to the value of some 15,000 tael (or £6,700) refused payment. Captain Jones could obtain no redress from the Governor of the Province and was finally turned out of the harbour, whereupon he seized a junk belonging to the Barkalong of Siam bound for Batavia. The Chinese thereupon sent out a number of war-junks with orders to burn the *Anne*, but Captain Jones having been warned by a friendly Chinaman, escaped with his prize to Malacca. There he put some 70 Chinese ashore on an island, where they were seized by the Malays and sold as slaves at 10 dollars a head, but were soon ransomed by one of their countrymen. Captain Jones carried his prize to Madras. Meanwhile both sides had made complaints to the Emperor; an enquiry was instituted and the Chinese officials having been found in fault were punished (*Factory Records, China*, vol. VIII; Hamilton, II, 188).

528. A still more striking instance of the high-handed methods of English seamen may (though in advance of its proper date) be mentioned here. On the 18th October 1721 at Tonquin, Captain Richard Pearce in a ship from Bengal, bought some copper from the native merchants. Such purchases being prohibited under pain of death, the local Mandarins sent 24 armed junks to capture his vessel, but he made good his escape after sinking one junk, burning another and killing forty men (*Factory Records, China*, vol. VIII).

529. On the 4th November 1712 the Angrians took the *Anne* Ketch. Among the passengers was a Mrs. Chown, whose somewhat lively story is appended to Colonel Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar* (See also Downing, pp. 7-9, 24). They were less successful when on the 20th December 1712 they impertinently attacked the Company's ships *Somers* (Captain Eustace Peacock) and *Grantham* (Captain Jonathan Collet) off Vingurla. The English indeed boarded one of their grabs, but it was so strongly manned that they were beaten back with the loss

of two men killed and fourteen wounded (*Logs of Somers and Grantham* ; Downing, p. 9). By 1713 Kanhaji Angria (*See para.* 468 *above*) was virtually independent of the Marathas and commanded the whole coast from Bombay to Vijaydurg (*Bomb. Gaz.* I, ii, 87). In 1714 the Marathas made over the island of Henery (*i.e.* Underi) to him and in this year Angrians unsuccessfully attacked the Company's ships *Arabella* (Captain Read), the *Blenheim* (Captain Abraham Parrott) and the *Godolphin* (Captain Ingram). Downing (pp. 10-14) says that the pirates on this coast were the "Mollwans [*i.e.*, Marathas, *see para.* 307 *above*) a people to the northward of Carwar, the Kempshews [*i.e.* pirates of Savantvadi] and the Sangarians [*i.e.* the Sanganians], a people northward of Gogo, who are troublesome to the Surat and Bombay traders."

530. In the Bombay Consultations of the 30th December 1713 is mentioned a letter from Carwar of the 17th November, saying that a Surat ship at anchor in Carwar Cove had been surprised and seized by seven Malwan gallivats and that the Portuguese, being informed of the fact, had sent one of their ships to retake her. Having done this, the Portuguese refused to restore her to her former owners. As a matter of fact (*See para.* 517 *n above*), at this time there was no law, national or international, which required the return of a ship retaken from pirates or national enemies to the former owners, and complaints were now and then made that cruisers sent to protect commerce sometimes allowed their countrymen's ships to be taken only in order to recapture them and claim them as prizes.

531. On the 24th October 1715 Mr. Stephen Strutt was sent by the Bombay Government on a special mission to the English Settlements on the Malabar coast. He sailed on the *Catherine* with the *Anne* in company. Off Carwar he found a small Portuguese cruiser, nominally engaged in protecting commerce, but really doing a little piracy on its own account. At Goa he was politely received by the Viceroy, but failed to obtain the return of the *Monsoon* (*See para.* 517 *above* ; Low, I. 93). It was in this year that Mr. Charles Boone assumed the Governorship of Bombay. He was a man of great energy and absolutely disinterested, but ignorant of the means necessary to success, destitute of competent advisers and almost always unlucky in his choice of commanders. His first effort towards the suppression of indigenous piracy was the construction of a suitable fleet. He therefore had built the *Britannia* of 18 guns and 140 men (Captain Weeks) and the *Fame* of 16 guns and 120 men (Captain Peter Passwater), each with a company of marines in addition to the crew. To these he afterwards added the *Defiance* (Captain Matthews) and the *Victory* of 24 guns and 180 men, of which he gave command to Captain Alexander Hamilton as Commodore of the whole fleet (Downing, p. 14).

532. Early in 1716 Angria took, under pretence they were Moors, two English ships, the *Otter* of Bengal and one belonging to Mr. Bennet. The arms of the Englishmen on board were broken and they were so ill used that there was little chance of their recovery. The Governor wrote that he was helpless to check these outrages unless he received reinforcements of four or five hundred Europeans (*Bombay to Court*, 18th *March* 1716-17). In 1716 an attempt made by a British force under Captain John Stanton to take a fort of the Khem Sawant (? Vingurla) met with no success (Downing, pp. 11-14).

533. In 1717 Kanhoji Angria's ships took the *Success* under English colours. This is said to have been his first overt act against the British. Apparently previous attacks, such as I have mentioned, were either unauthorised or disavowed. Governor Boone immediately initiated reprisals, against which Angria protested, threatening "From this day forward what God gives I shall take &c. &c.," to which Boone replied :—"The trade you carried on formerly and that you have since the peace with us you well know, and for the future will know the difference if you break with us. Whilst there is an amicable agreement it is necessary to observe it mutually on either side, and when broke it will be necessary to be more circumspect, and on these two heads do you consider and accept of which you please, for in the same manner you act I shall too without dissimulation" (*Bomb. Cons.*, 13th *April*, 1718).

Unfortunately the only result of this Roman declaration was an unsuccessful attack on Gheria (15th April 1717), that fortress proving impregnable (Downing, p. 26 ; Low, I. 97).

534. In 1718 the Desai of Sawunt Waree (known to the English as the Kempshaw or Kempsaunt) seized, according to old Indian custom (*See para.* 45 *above*) the cargo of an English ship that had been wrecked near Carwar and so came into conflict with the English Agent at that Factory, which last he besieged. Captain Alexander Hamilton, now Commodore of the Bombay naval forces, soon reduced him to reason (Low, I. 94-5). Downing, however, (pp. 15-20) gives the date as September to December 1716.

535. Governor Boone now thought it opportune to expel the Angrians from the Island of Khanderi, but his plans were betrayed by one Rama Kamattee and the expedition, which was made in October, was unsuccessful. Rama Kamattee was convicted on this and other charges in the following April and sentenced to imprisonment for life (*Bomb. Gaz.* XXVI. i. 148). According to the *Log of the Addison* (Captain Zachariah Hicks, 6th November 1718) the Angrians flew *red* flags during the fighting. Another attempt to take Khanderi in 1719 was equally unsuccessful (Downing, pp. 34-36 ; Low, I. 98-99).

536. Early in 1720 an expedition from Bombay, in combination with a Portuguese force, attacked Gheria and burned 16 of Angria's vessels. It then returned to Bombay as if victorious, but Angria claimed that the British had been defeated. In April four of his grabs and ten gallivats attacked and captured the English ship *Charlotte*, after a gallant defence in which she exhausted her ammunition, and carried her into Gheria (Low, I. 99.100). The Dutch chaplain Visscher noted about this time (*Letters from Malabar*, p. 22) that the English at Calicut used to give notice to the local pirates when richly-laden Muhammadan merchant vessels were about to leave port. He also says (p. 65) :—" Geringal Namboori [? Nambudiri] is a spiritual lord, whose lands extend from Balenoor (which contains several nests of robbers, as Tirtambiere, Bergaree, Moetingal, Tjombas and Magillie) in the Kingdom of Colastri [North of the Zamorin] to the River Cottesal. The most famous pirates inhabit his territories, who make prey of vessels engaged in the inland navigation between Calicut and Cannanore and even advance beyond Calicut to the borders of Cochin. They are called Cotta Marrekarre." (*See para.* 506 *above*).

537. In 1715, according to Hamilton (I. 74), the Arabian fleet comprised a ship of 74 guns two of 60, one of 50 and eighteen small ships of from 32 to 12 guns, together with some trankeys or rowing boats of from 4 to 8 guns. Hamilton is evidently referring to the Muscat fleet. With these vessels they terrorised the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the Red Sea (Low, I. 91).

538. In a letter, dated Cairo 1st May 1716, Father Sicard, a missionary in Egypt, describes Arab robbers on the Nile, who, armed only with a knife, used to swim off to ships, floating on a kind of leather bag fastened under the stomach (*Lettres Édifiantes*, V. 125). This reminds us of the Asciae mentioned by Pliny (*See para.* 11 *above*).

539. In 1715 the Dutch East India Company employed a small squadron of three cruisers to watch the pirates of the Malay Archipelago. Supported by vessels belonging to the Princes of Cheribon, they attacked and defeated 17 corsairs off the coast of Java. One of the largest of the pirates was so disabled that it could not escape, whereupon the crew set it on fire. Only 16 men could be induced to surrender; all the others died fighting (*Parl. Papers*, 1851, LVI. i. p. 65)

540. In 1717 Spanish garrisons were established at Zamboangam in Mindanao and at Lalo in the Island of Paragua to hold in check the pirates of Mindanao and Sulu (Zuniga II. 20-21). De Morga (*App.* 361) says that Zamboangam was not re-established until 1719 and that between 1719 and 1734 the Spaniards sent seven expeditions against the Mindanaos, but the latter never ceased their raids into the Philippines. It is said that they carried off from eight to fifteen hundred captives annually.

541. In 1717 Captain Curtis, Commander of a Dutch ship, was ordered to give passage to a Javanese Chief and his family and followers from Madura. The Chief's wife, coming on board last, Captain Curtis greeted her in European fashion by a kiss. She, thinking that he meant to insult her, screamed for help to her husband who had been taken below. The Chief, rushing on deck, cut down Captain Curtis with his kris and then, with his followers, ran amok. Every one of them was killed by the Dutch crew (Raffles, *Java*, II. 201). This story illustrates the fatal results of European ignorance of their customs in dealing with Orientals. In the same year a Sumatran adventurer, Raja Kechil of Siak, made himself master of Johor and, though already 53 years of age, ruled there until 1745. He was the only Chief who could hold his own against the Bugis pirates, whom he repeatedly defeated. When the Bugis took Rhio his wife fell into their hands and, when he tried to secure her liberation by negotiation, sent him word that he should come and liberate her himself by force. This he did in 1727. In 1728 he made an unsuccessful attack on Rhio, but when, in 1729, the Bugis attacked Siak, he drove them out (Wilkinson, *Hist. of Pen. Malays*, pp. 76–81).

542. The mutinous reputation of Malay seamen as well as a common Malay superstition are illustrated in an entry in the *Log of the Hester* (John Gordon Commander) dated June 1717. Some seamen having been stabbed in the night, three Javanese sailors were suspected and were tortured with lighted matches between their fingers to force a confession. As soon as they were set free, to escape further ill-treatment, they all jumped overboard. Two of them were drowned, but the third came safely to shore, having swum five leagues, whilst for eight or nine hours a great shark swam alongside of him without attempting to do him any harm. This, according to the Malays, was a certain proof of his innocence (*Ind. Off., Marine Records*).

543 In 1719 Hamilton visited Johor, and speaking of the Island of Redang says :— "They are uninhabited but sometimes the Saleeters or Malay freebooters frequent them, and when they meet with trading vessels that they are able to master, they make prize of them and carry the men into other countries than where they belong to sell them for slaves, and when they meet with no purchase [a piratical euphemism for booty, *see para.* 447 *above*] at sea, they go ashore in the nights and steal all they can get. Men, women and children go all into the booty, but the Chinese vessels afford them the most prizes" (Hamilton, II, 159).

544. In 1720 Dulasi, King of Butuy, with aid from Sulu and Mindanao, attacked Zamboangam. Though he failed to take the fort commanded by Don Sebastian Amorrera, he ravaged the country (Zuniga, II. 44). During the siege a Spanish frigate being surrounded by forty of the pirate galleys, the Captain, a young and inexperienced officer, lost his head and began to weep, but Father Jean Nonet rallied the crew and allowing the enemy to approach, suddenly fired a broadside into them, which did so much damage that they fled in confusion. The siege lasted more than two months and the fort was saved only by the valour of the garrison (*Lettres Édifiantes. Letter from Père Gilles Wibault, Manila, 20th December* 1721).

Sanganian Piracy.

545. In 1716 the English made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the Warrels (Vadhels) of Chance, near Diu. These Warrels occupied about thirty leagues of the coast from Diu to Dand and often associated with the Sanganians in their piratical enterprises (Hamilton, I 140). On the 20th March 1716-7, whilst in command of the *Morning Star* and on his way from Gombroon to Surat, Hamilton was attacked by eight Sanganian vessels, one of which boarded him, when 11 of his lascars deserted and he was himself wounded in the thigh by a lance. They were however driven off and apparently opened negotiations, for some native merchants went on board the enemy to try to arrange terms. These failing, the attack was renewed on the 22nd by five of the Sanganians but was again repulsed, two of the pirate vessels being so disabled that they seemed unlikely to reach port. The *Morning Star* also was on fire, and though the flames were extinguished she was forced to put into Bombay. Beside his

lascars Hamilton had only 17 Europeans (six being members of his crew and the rest passengers) who were able to fight. The Sanganians were estimated to number 2,000 men. The merchants who had gone on board the enemy had been detained and carried off as prisoners. They were forced to pay a ransom of £500, but the Sanganians were so dissatisfied that they put their commander to death (Hamilton I. 133: *Bomb. Cons.*, 25*th March* 1716-7; Low I. 101-2).

Threat of Piracy.

546. On the 30th November 1716 the Court of Directors warned its Settlements in India of the likelihood of ships appearing in the Indian Seas with commissions (to protect them from arrest as pirates) from various European Powers, notably from the Knights of Malta "who are always at war with the Turks, to fight against the Muhammadans" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 258). As far as I know this threatened invasion of Eastern Waters never materialised.

Anglo-Americans.

547. Robert Drury (p. 305) who was wrecked on the coast of Madagascar in the *Degrave* (1701) and was for some fifteen years a slave amongst the natives, says that when he left (20th January 1717) there were a number of ex-pirates and castaways of all nations, chiefly English, French and Dutch, settled amongst the natives at St. Mary's, Massalege, St. Augustine's, Port Dauphin and other places. Amongst others he mentions at Massalege one named Thomas Collins, who had been carpenter on the *Degrave* and, with his associates, had built a kind of fort. A letter from Virginia, dated 26th November 1721 (*Misc. Letters Received*, XII, No. 256), says that the pretence of buying slaves put forward by New York shippers and others trading to Madagascar was a mere pretext for trading with pirates. In 1718 among a number of such ships, trading in this way under the Company's licence, was the *Prince Eugene* of Bristol (Captain William Stratton) which went to Port Dolphin, (Dauphin) where they found an old pirate of Every's crew established under the style of General Collins, who, in return for a present of £100, gave them a licence to trade with the natives. In 1720 the *Henrietta* (Captain Thomas Hibbert) went there without any licence from the Company, but Collins was dead and his European companions had gone to St. Mary's. The trade in slaves had other dangers than the chance of the ship being seized by pirates for their own purposes. On the 3rd June 1719 the ship *Elizabeth* arrived at the Cape with 600 slaves from Madagascar for Barbadoes and Jamaica. . She reported a mutiny of the slaves during the voyage, in which they had killed the boatswain and some others of the crew, so that the latter were forced to kill and throw overboard a number of them (Leibbrandt, *Précis*, p. 277).

548 I have already mentioned (*See para.* 522 *above*) Captain Lewis' visit to St. Mary's in July 1719. He was short of water and most of his men were down with scurvy. Probably the men he mentions as having come aboard were amongst the Kings of whom Clement Downing (p. 114) speaks, though one does not recognize the names. Such of the pirates as came on board or met the watering parties ashore, tried to seduce Lewis' seamen to join them, and he had to set a watch and keep men ready armed to prevent the ship from being surprised, for the pirates living near by had large well-manned and well-armed whale boats, and he had been warned that such an attempt would be made by the Dutchman John Pro (he was there in 1703 when the *Scarborough* visited St. Mary's, *see para.* 503 *above*, and is mentioned by Drury, p. 304), who was dying of consumption and in a penitent state of mind. At last, his sick men being a little recovered, but his own foremastmen very discontented and ready to listen to the doctor's mate Stephen Lee, who was inclined to join the pirates, he consulted with his officers and put to sea on the 28th. Lee, having claimed his discharge, was left ashore, and two or three men, who were in the longboat towing astern, cut her adrift and regained the land. From St. Mary's Captain Lewis went to St. Augustine's Bay, where a man called Captain John Rivers,[113] acting as Deputy to the King, in consideration of a present, allowed him to trade

[113] A man of this name is mentioned as having been a trader at St. Augustine's when Capt. John Tyrrel visited the place in 1685, but he was then already 50 or 60 years old (*Sloane MS.* 854).

for provisions and refit his ship (*Log, 4th September* 1719). After "a long and dangerous voyage" (17th December 1717 to 24th March 1719-20) Captain Lewis arrived in England, but on the 13th March, when already in the Thames, Captain Delwall of H.M.S. *Gospright* "prest most of our men in lieu of which he sent 25 from their own ship to carry us up the river" (*Log of the King George*). With such treatment to welcome their arrival home, one can understand the temptation of the foremastmen, when they were at St. Mary's, to postpone their return indefinitely.

549. The menace to trade presented by the pirates settled in Madagascar was so great that both France and England were forced to consider measures for putting an end to it. In their letters of the 11th December 1719 and 20th January 1719-20 the English East India Company requested the despatch of a squadron of King's ships, whilst the French East India Company considered the advisability of an actual Settlement in agreement with the pirates (*Letter from Mr. D. Pulteney, Paris, 10th February* 1720, *Col. Office Records*, 28-13). This however came to nothing. From the *Calendar of the Stuart Papers* (VII p. 362) it appears that on the 24th June 1718 Charles XII of Sweden granted a Patent to Captain William Morgan as Governor of Madagascar and a Pardon to the Pirates on condition that they should give up Piracy and with ships and money assist the Stuart cause.

550. In 1719 the Portuguese at Macao were compelled to arm two brigs for defence against the local pirates (Ljungstedt, p. 109).

551. At this time the port of Amoy was celebrated for the roguish behaviour of its officials. On any foreign ship arriving it was first disarmed, then enormous port charges were imposed, provisions were sold at very high prices, and lastly presents were made to the officers, for which a bill was sent in and had to be paid before the ship's arms and munitions were restored (Kerr, X. 427). In other Chinese ports official villainy took another form. In November 1721 Captain John Clipperton of the *Success* Privateer, having been forced by a mutiny and the bad condition of his ship to sell her in Macao, sent one of his mates, Mr. Taylor, to Macao in an armed boat along with a Mandarin. On the way they saw a pirate take a boat, but the Mandarin made no effort to protect it. "This plainly showed that the Government winks at these things, perhaps deeming it good policy to raise thereby a considerable revenue, partly by presents from the pirates and partly by sums paid by the merchants and passengers for protection" (*Ibid.*, p. 431).

552 When the *Henrietta* visited St Mary's in May 1720 she found there a prize which had been sent in by a certain Captain Condon, who was then out on a cruise, but who had recently come to settle in the island. This was Captain Condent, a New England pirate who, off St. Jago, had taken a Dutch privateer, which he renamed the *Flying Dragon* When Captain Woodes Rogers was appointed Governor of the Bahamas and in July 1718 summoned the New England pirates to surrender under an Act of Grace, Condent was one of those who refused to come in and sailed for the East Indies (Biddulph, p. 156 n.). Nothing much of him is recorded beyond the fact of his joining the more famous pirates, England and Taylor It was these latter who brought the *black flag with the skull and crossbones*, afterwards known as the Jolly Roger, to the East.

553. The earliest instance which I can find in any contemporary record of the use of the *black* flag by professed pirates[114] is in the fight of the 5th to 9th July 1700 off the Island of St. Jago between the French pirate Emmanuel Wynne, hailing from Domenico, and Captain St. John Cranby of H M S. *Poole*. Captain Cranby says that Wynne fought under "a sable ensigne with Cross-bones, a Death's head and an hour glass" (*Admiralty Records*, 1589 No 25). He makes no remark on either the colour or the character of the flag, so that it seems hard to

114 The instance of the use of the black flag in 1581 (*See para.* 131 *above*) is not quite in point as no mention is made by Faria of the skull and cross-bones The same is true of the doubtful case of Red Hand (*See para.* 410 *above*)

suppose that such a flag was then seen for the first time. On the other hand, there seem to be very few contemporary references to the *black* flag for the next twenty years. Its use was certainly not universal, for the *Paris Gazette* of the 7th January 1719, quoting news from Lisbon, dated the 1st December 1718, says that the Comte de Vimieyro, Governor designate of Bahia de Todos Santos, had been attacked on his voyage to his Governorship by a pirate, which at first hoisted Dutch colours, but on its approach put out a *black* flag. "'Tis believed that it was one of those pyrates who have taken so many ships of England and other nations in the American seas, some of them having carried *black* flags" (*Daily Courant 3rd January* 1718-19 O.S.). This would show that the black flag was now well known in that part of the world, but not always used even there. That it was well known to British seamen is shown by the fact that Defoe in his *Captain Singleton* (published in 1720) mentions "a *black flag with two cross daggers* in it on our maintopmast head" as an indication of piracy. (He also speaks of "the *black* flag or ancient in the poop and the *bloody* flag at the topmast head"). The Boston *News Letter* of the 25th July 1723 describes the execution of a number of Anglo-American pirates taken by Captain Solgard as having been carried out under their own *deep blue* flag which had pourtraied in the middle of it an Anatomy [*i.e.* a skeleton or figure of Death.] with an hour glass in one hand and a dart in the heart (*sic*) and three drops of blood[115] proceeding from it in the other . . . . which flag they called Old Roger and often used to say they would live and die under it" (Samuel Sewall's *Diary*, III 325). The *Weekly Journal* or British Gazetteer of the 19th October 1723 describing the same execution, differs only in saying the pirate flag was *black*. The first instance of the use of the name Jolly Roger occurs, I believe, in a letter from Captain Richard Hawkins, dated 12th August 1724, in which he says that on an occasion of rejoicing, his captors "hoisted Jolly Roger (for so they call their *Black* Ensign) in the middle of which is a large white skeleton with a dart in one hand, striking a bleeding heart, and in the other an hour glass . . . . When they fight under Jolly Roger, they give Quarter, which they do not when they fight under the *red* or *bloody* flag" (*British Journal, 22nd August* 1724). The skeleton with its dart, and the dart and bleeding heart soon disappeared and were replaced by the chaster skull and cross-bones. This had been used as the Ecclesiastical symbol of Death for over two centuries and is to be found depicted on the tomb of Thomas Montfort knight of St. John, who died in 1502 at Rhodes (See F. de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 59). Soldiers also had used it as a badge. It is stated that the Pomeranian horse have carried it on their high fur caps ever since the days (1594-1632) of Gustavus Adolphus (*Notes and Queries, 5, S.I.* 141). Motley (*John Barneveld, II.* 449) says that William Barneveld, Seignior of Stoutenberg, entered Antwerp (subsequently to 1623) "in black foreign uniform . . . , waving a standard with a Death's head embroidered upon it and wearing like his soldiers a sable scarf and plume." The earliest representation of a flag with the skull and crossbones that I have found is that attached to the trumpet carried by Death in the picture of Death and the Maiden in H. Frolich's *Todtentanzen Basels und Berne* (1637). Here the flag is bound in a weft, which was the sea sign of distress. However, the skull and crossbones, the Ecclesiastical symbol of Death, alone, or with the other Ecclesiastical symbols of the Sword (*i.e.* Judgment) and the Hour Glass (*i.e.* Time), were from this time on, almost always the recognised emblems of piracy. According to Falconer (*New Universal Dictionary of the Marine*, 1769) the pirates said that the Hour Glass indicated the time during which the prisoners might deliberate whether to join the pirates or die. If they chose to die the sword indicated the means and the skull and crossbones the result of their decision. There is no certainty as to the origin of the name Jolly Roger, but my personal opinion, *absolutely unsupported by any documentary evidence*, is that French pirates naturally referring to the *red* flag as *le rouge* (pronouncing the final e)

115 One of the angels seen by Sir Galahad (*Morte d' Arthur*, XVII. Cap XX) held "a spear, which bled marvellously that three drops fell within a box which he held with his other hand."

English sailors called it Roger or old Roger and when the *black* flag became the professional emblem transferred the name, which was meaningless to them, to it. In Schenck's *Schouwpark aller Scheefs Vlagen* (1711) the earliest representation of the pirate flag is a *red* flag with the three emblems which I have mentioned, and this is reproduced in J. Millan's Signals for the Royal Navy (1746). I think that this may well have been the original *joli rouge* and that English sailors, again copying the French, called this decorated specimen the Jolly Roger. The only other solution of the origin of the name which appears possible to me is that it is an English perversion of Ali Raja, the Tamil title (*See para.* 641 *n. below*) of the Mapila Chiefs of Cannanore. This title meant King of the Sea and was often assumed by pirates. The chiefs of Cannanore belonged to the family of Mammali and its members were the Marakkars, whose piracy was notorious. All the pirates on this coast flew the *red* flag (*See para.* 535 *above*). In the 17th century the word Raja was invariably rendered by the English as Rodger or Roger and Ali Raja would certainly have been rendered as Ally or Olly Rodger. Here again however, I have no documentary evidence to offer.

Anglo-Americans.

554. According to Johnson (I. 113) Edward England (*See para.* 552 *above*) was the impudently assumed name of an Irishman, mate of a Jamaica sloop, which had been taken by the New England pirate, Captain Winter, about 1716. According to Downing (p. 109) he had been mate of the *Onslow*, taken off the coast of Guinea by the pirate ship *Terrible* of Rhode Island (Captain John Williams Commander, Bartholomew Roberts Quartermaster). His real name seems to have been Jasper Seager. The pirates burned the *Terrible* and went on board the *Onslow*, of which England was made Captain. By 1719 he and Roberts had become the most popular commanders amongst the pirates on the Guinea coast. To prevent quarrels between their partisans they agreed to separate. Roberts sailed for the American coast in the *Onslow* (renamed the *Royal Fortune*) and England for the Indian Seas in a Dutch Interloper (originally the *Merry Christmas*, a Dutch built vessel of about 300 tons. *British Journal 14th September* 1723), which he had renamed the *Fancy* (? after Every's famous ship). England took with him the *Victory* or *Victoria* (Captain Taylor), a ship variously stated to have been the *Prosperous* of London (Captain James) and (See Johnson, I. 117) the *Peterborough* of Bristol (Captain Owen), and also the Brigantine *Unity*, which they had renamed the *Expedition*. On the 11th December 1719 he with three other pirate ships under 'black flags and death's heads,' had, off old Colabar, taken the *Colabar Merchant*, Captain Thomas Kennedy (*Col Office Records*, 5-1319), and it was probably he who vainly attempted the capture of a Dutch ship which came into Table Bay on the 20th February 1719-20, reporting that she had beaten off a pirate (a Dutch ship which the pirates had exchanged for an English ship) which "could not have less than 250 men on board her and threatened if they did not strike they would give no quarters, with their black flag at masthead with Death's head in it. They made great use of their small arms so that the Dutchmen left their commander on the Quarter-Deck by himself, the small shot flew so briskly about." The fight lasted for seven or eight glasses one day and for six or seven the next and the pirate was only beaten off when her flying jibboom was 'within one foot of his [the Dutchman's] ensign staff' by the gunroom guns of the chase raking her fore and aft. A few days later another Dutch ship came in and reported a similar escape, but had seen the pirates take a small ship flying a blue English ensign (*Log of the Prince Frederick, 20th February* 1719-20). Apparently they went straight for the Red Sea as they took a rich Moor's ship at its mouth, which they carried to St. Mary's, where they murdered their prisoners. Probably this was the rich ship bound from Jeddah to Surat which was reported in the Bombay letter of the 20th August 1720 as having been taken by a pirate with two tiers of guns and carrying 300 men (C. R. Wilson, *Annals*, III. 285-6).

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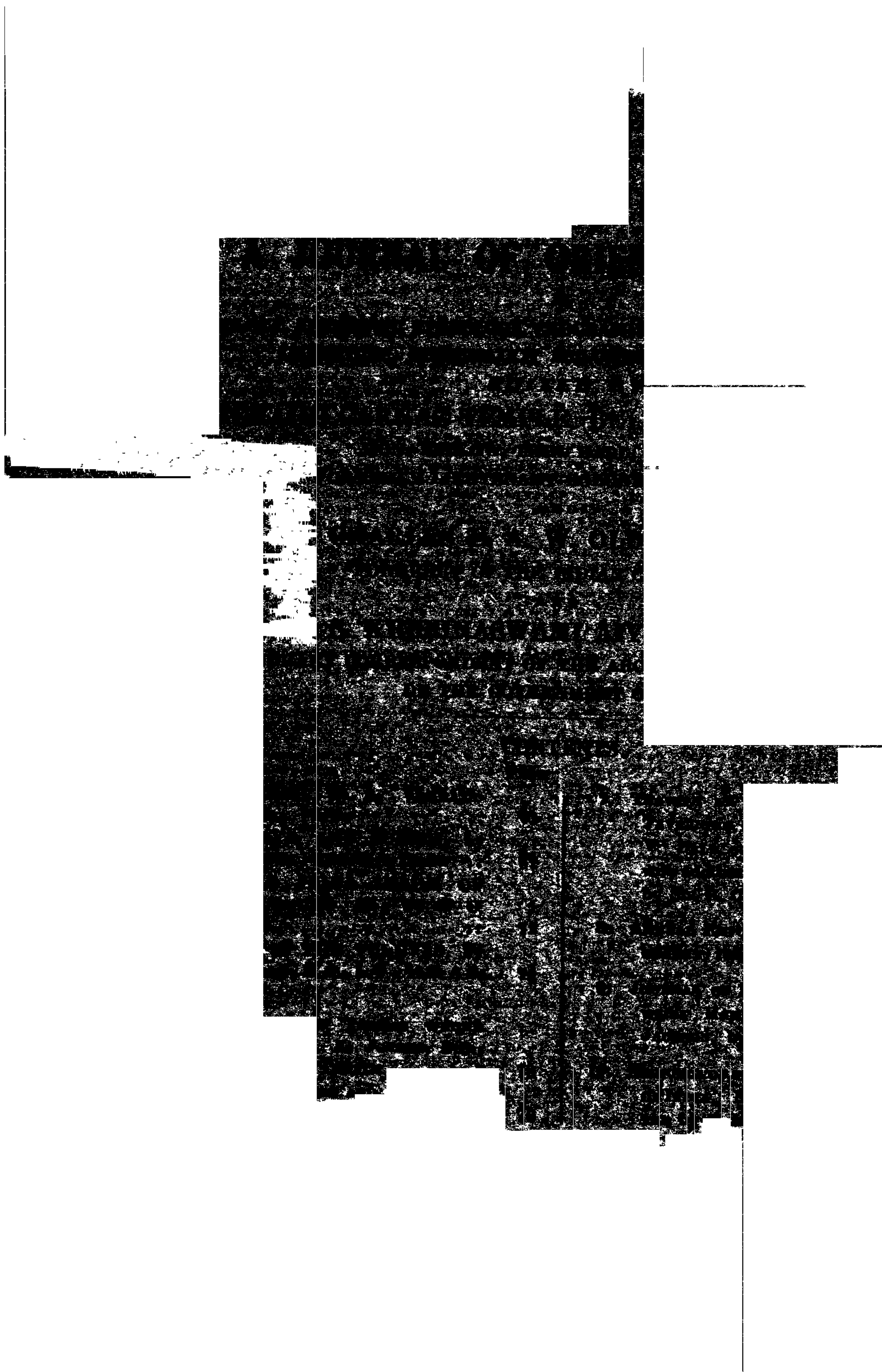
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VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 38.)

2. Śunam.

Amongst the words *nitya, sva, nija, priya, vâma,* and *jushṭa* that have been mentioned in the preceding article as signifying both (1) own, *svîya,* and (2) dear, pleasing, etc., *priya,* should be included the word *śuna* also.

This word is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst the synonyms of *sukha.* happiness ; and this meaning *sukha* or the derived meaning *sukhakara* is repeated by Sâyaṇa in the course of his commentary on all the RV. passages where the word occurs. In 3, 30, 22, however, he has in addition explained *śunam* as *śûnam utsâhena pravṛddham,* thus connecting the word with the verb *śû* or *śvay,* 'to swell.' This derivation is given in the PW by Roth who explains the word as '(adv.) glücklich, mit Erfolg, zum Gedeihen ; (n.) Erfolg, Gedeihen' and by Grassmann who explains it as '(1) Wachsthum, Gedeihen ; (2) Gedeihen, Wohlergehen, Glück, Segen ; (3) (adv.) zum Gedeihen, zum Wohlergehen, zum Segen.' Geldner, on the other hand, has suggested (*RV. Glossar.*) that the word is related to *śivam,* and has explained it as 'Heil, zum Heil (*svastaye*).' And this suggestion seems to have found favour with Hillebrandt who has translated *śunam* as 'zum Heil' in *Lieder des Ṛgveda,* p. 106. Later, however, Geldner himself has translated (*RV. Übersetzung*) the word in this passage by 'gedeihlich, zum Gedeihen' and in 3, 30, 22 by 'mit Erfolg' and seems therefore to have abandoned his suggestion and gone back to the meanings proposed by Roth.

None of the above-mentioned meanings, however, suits the context in a passage of the Maitr. Saṃ. (1, 4, 11 ; p. 60, l. 3 f.) which reads as follows :

na vai tad vidma yadi brâhmaṇâ vâ smo 'brâhmaṇâ vâ | yadi tasya va ṛsheḥ smo 'nyasya vâ yasya brûmahe | yasya ha tv eva bruvâṇo yajate taṃ tad ishṭam âgacchati netaram upanamati | tat pravare pravaryamâṇe brûyât | devâḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje | yo 'smi sa san karomi | śunaṃ ma ishṭaṃ śunaṃ śântaṃ śunaṃ kṛtaṃ bhûyât | iti tad ya eva ka ś ca sa san yajate taṃ tad ishṭam âgacchati netaram upanamati ||

The mantra *devâḥ pitaraḥ. . . .* occurring in this passage is found in the Ait. Br., Tait. Br., and Kâṭhaka-saṃhitâ also, but in a slightly different form, namely, as *devâḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje yasyâsmi na tam antar emi svaṃ ma ishṭaṃ svaṃ dattaṃ svaṃ pûrtaṃ svaṃ śrântaṃ svaṃ hutam* in Tait. Br. 3, 7, 5, 4 and Âp. Śr. Sûtra 4, 9, 6 and as *devâḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vaḥ prabravîmi tasya me vitta svaṃ ma ishṭam astu śunaṃ śântaṃ svaṃ kṛtam* in KS. 4, 14. The word *śunam* in the MS. reading of the *mantra* is thus parallel to the word *svam* in the TB. reading of it, and is obviously equivalent to it. The above passage from the MS. therefore means : "We do not know whether we are Brâhmaṇas or not Brâhmaṇas, whether we are (the descendants) of the *ṛshi* whom we name or of another. But (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to (the descendant of) him who is named and to no other. Therefore when the lineage (*pravara*) is being proclaimed (?), he should recite : 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be (that is, whosesoever descendant I may be), that sacrifice ; it is I, whoever I may be, that perform. Let (this) sacrifice of mine be (my) own, (this) work (my) own, (this) act (my) own.' In this way, whoever he be who sacrifices, (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to him and to no other."

Similarly, it is equally obvious that *śunam*=*svam* (with which it is parallelly used) in the KS. reading of the *mantra* : *devâḥ pitaraḥ pitaro devâ yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vaḥ prabravîmi tasya me vitta svaṃ ma ishṭam astu śunaṃ śântaṃ svaṃ kṛtam* : "O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be, that sacrifice ; this I declare unto you ; bear witness to this

on my behalf. Let (this) sacrifice be (my) own, (this) performance (my) own, (this) work (my) own."

On the other hand, this meaning *svam*, 'own,' is unsuited to the word *śunam* in the passages of the RV. and other texts where the word occurs. And I therefore infer, from the analogy of the words *priya*, *vâma* and *jushṭa* or *nitya*, *sva* and *nija*, that mean both 'dear' and 'own,' that *śuna*, too, has these two meanings, and that it has, in the passages referred to, the meaning *priya*, 'dear, pleasing, agreeable.' This meaning *priya*, as I shall now show, suits the context well and yields good sense in these passages.

Sâṅkh. GS. 2, 10, 6 : *agnih śraddhâṃ ca medhâṃ câ 'vinipâtaṃ smṛtiṃ ca me* |
îḷito jâtavedâ ayaṃ śunaṃ naḥ samprayacchatu ||

"May Agni bestow faith and intelligence, not falling off (unforgetfulness ?) and memory on me. May this Agni Jâtavedas, praised (by us) bestow pleasing things on us." Compare the similar use of *priya* and *vâma* in *TS.*, 4, 7, 3, 1 : *priyaṃ ca me 'nukâmaś ca me* . . . . (*yajñena kalpantâm*), *RV*. 4, 30, 24 : *vâmáṃ-vâmaṃ ta ádure devó dadâtv aryamá'* | *vâmáṃ pûshá' vâmáṃ bhágo vâmáṃ deváḥ kárûḷatî* ; 10, 56, 2 : *vâmáṃ asmábhyaṃ dhá'tu śárma túbhyam*.

RV. Khila 10, 128, 4 : *śunam ahaṃ hiraṇyasya pitur nâmeva jagrabha* |
tena mâṃ sûryatvacam akaraṃ pûrushu priyam ||

"I have invoked the dear name of *hiraṇya* (gold) that is as dear as that of the father. I have therewith made myself sun-skinned (*i.e.*, bright as the sun to look at) and pleasing to many." Compare 7, 56, 10 : *priyá' vo ná'ma huve turá'ṇâm* ; 10, 84, 5 : *priyáṃ te ná'ma sahure gṛṇîmasi* where the epithet *priya* is applied to *nâman*. Compare also, with regard to the invoking of the father, 2, 10, 1 : *johû'tro agníḥ prathamáḥ pitéva* ; 8, 21, 14 : *á'd it pitéva hûyase* ; 6, 52, 6 : *agníḥ suśáṃsaḥ suhávaḥ pitéva* ; 1, 104, 9 : *pitéva naḥ śṛṇuhi hûyámânaḥ* ; 10, 39, 1 : *pitúr ná nâ'ma suhávaṃ havâmahe*, etc.

10, 160, 5 : *aśvâyánto gavyánto vâjáyanto*
havâmahe tvópagantavâ'u |
âbhû'shantas te sumataú návâyâṃ
vayám indra tvâ śunáṃ huvema ||

"Desiring horses, cows, and riches, we call on thee to come here. Desiring to be in thy new (*i.e.*, latest) favour, O Indra, we invoke thee that art dear." Compare the verses 8, 98, 4 : *éndra no gadhi priyáḥ* and 1, 142, 4 : *índraṃ citráṃ ihá priyám* where the epithet *priya* is applied to Indra.

3, 30, 22 : *śunáṃ huvema maghávânam indram*
asmín bháre nṛ'tamaṃ vâ'jasâtau |
śṛṇvántam ugrám ûtáye samátsu
ghnántaṃ vṛtrâ'ṇi saṃjítaṃ dhánânâm ||

"We invoke in this battle, in the winning of booty, dear Indra, liberal, most valiant, fierce, who hears (our cries) for protection, kills enemies in fights, and is the winner of wealth."

6, 16, 4 : *tvá'm îḷe ádha dvitá'*
bharató vâjíbhiḥ śunám |
îjé yajñéshu yajñíyam ||

"Bharata again, also, with the sacrificers has praised thee (sc. Agni) that art dear, he has offered worship to thee that art worthy of worship in sacrifices." Compare 1, 128, 8 : *agníṃ hótâram îḷate vásudhitiṃ priyáṃ cétishṭham* ; 1, 128, 7 : *agnír yajñéshu jényo ná viśpátiḥ priyó yajñéshu viśpátiḥ* and the other passages referred to on p. 202 in vol. LV above where Agni is called *priya*, *purupriya*, *preshṭha*, etc.

10, 126, 7 : *śunám asmábhyam utáye*
váruṇo mitró aryamá' |

śármа yacchantu saprátha
âdityâ'so yád i'mahe áti dvishaḥ ||

"May the Âdityas Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryamâ grant us for our protection (their) dear wide-extended shelter which we pray for (and carry us) across enemies." Compare 10, 126, 4: *yushmâ'kaṃ śármaṇi priyé syâ'ma*; 7, 95, 5: *távа śárman priyátame dádhânâ úpa stheyâma śaraṇáṃ ná vṛksháṃ* in which the epithet *priya* is applied to *śarman*.

1, 117, 18: *śunáṃ andhâ'ya bháram ahvayat sâ'*
vṛkî'r aśvinâ vṛshaṇâ nárêti |
jâráḥ kanî'na iva cakshadânáḥ
ṛjrâ'śvaḥ śatáṃ êkaṃ ca meshâ'n ||

"'(May) that which is pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable) (happen) to the blind man, O ye bulls, valiant Aśvins,' cried the she-wolf, 'like a youthful lover has Ṛjrâśva cut up a hundred and one goats.'"

Maitr. Saṃ., 2, 7, 12: *śunaṃ naro lâṅgalenânaḍudbhir*
bhagaḥ phâlaiḥ sîrapatir marudbhiḥ |
parjanyo bîjam îrayâno dhinotu
śunâsîrâ kṛṇutaṃ dhânyaṃ naḥ ||

"May the men (give) pleasure with the plough and oxen; may Bhaga with the ploughshares and the lord of the plough with the Maruts (give) pleasure. May Parjanya, impelling the seed (to sprout and grow) delight us; may Śuna and Sîra confer grain on us." One has to supply the word *kṛṇotu, dadâtu* or similar word after *śunam* in the first half-verse. Note the parallelism of *dhinotu* in the second half-verse with *śunam* (*kṛṇotu* or *dadâtu*) in the second.

Kauśika-sûtra, 46, 54: *śunaṃ vada dakshiṇataḥ śunam uttarato vada* |
śunaṃ purastân no vada śunaṃ paścât kapiñjala ||

"Say what is pleasing to the right, say what is pleasing to the north; say what is pleasing in front; say, O partridge, what is pleasing behind." That is to say, whether you cry to our right or to our left, in front of us or behind us, O partridge, may such cry portend and bring to us what is pleasing or favourable.

RV., 4, 57, 8: *śunáṃ naḥ phâ'lâ ví kṛshantu bhû'miṃ*
śunáṃ kînâ'śâ abhí yantu vâhaiḥ |
śunáṃ parjányo mádhunâ páyobhiḥ
śúnâsîrâ śunám asmâ'su dhattâm ||

"May our ploughshares plough the land pleasingly; may the ploughers proceed pleasingly with the draught-animals. May Parjanya with waters and honey do us favour; may Śuna and Sîra confer pleasing things (favours) on us." The word *śunam* in the first half-verse is used adverbially and denotes 'pleasingly; in a pleasing manner; well,' while in the second half-verse, it is a substantive as in the above passages. In the third *pâda* one has to supply a word like *kṛṇotu* or *dadhâtu* on the analogy of the fourth *pâda*. Compare also 4, 2, 8: *priyáṃ vâ tvâ kṛṇávate havishmân* and the phrase *raṇaṃ dhâḥ* and *raṇaṃ kṛdhi* in 8, 96, 16: *vibhumádbhyo bhúvanebhyo ráṇaṃ dhâḥ* and 10, 112, 10: *ráṇaṃ kṛdhi raṇakṛt satyaśushma.*

4, 57, 4: *śunáṃ vâhâ'ḥ śunáṃ náraḥ*
śunáṃ kṛshatu lâ'ṅgalam |
śunáṃ varatrâ' badhyantâṃ
śunáṃ áshṭrâm úd iṅgaya ||

"Pleasingly (*i.e.*, well) may the draught-animals, the men, (and) the plough plough; may the straps be tied well; well may the goad be applied (*i.e.*, may the ploughing of the draught-animals, men and the plough, the tying of the straps, and the application of the goad, all bring pleasing results to us)."

10, 102, 8 : *śunám ashṭrâvy àcarat kapardî'*
varatrá'yâṃ dâ'rvâ náhyamânah |
nṛmṇâ'ni kṛṇván bahúve jánâya
gâ'ḥ paspaśânás távishîr adhatta ||

" Being goaded, he (*i.e.*, the bull), who was wearing cowries and who was hitched in the strap (*i.e.*, harness) with the wood. moved pleasingly (*i.e.*, well). Performing valiant deeds before many people. he put on mettle when he saw the bulls."

The hymn to which this verse belongs has been much discussed by the exegetists and been interpreted in many ways ; for literature connected with it. see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 318 and also my article on *Indrasenâ* in vol. XLVII. *ante*, pp. 280 ff. I agree with Oldenberg (*l.c.*) that the hymn neither concerns a 'drame qui se joue au ciel et sur terre durant l'orage' (Bergaigne) nor reveals the 'methode de la devinette primitive' (Henry), but that (as believed by Geldner, *Ved. Studien* 2), it deals with the story of a Brâhmaṇa couple and a chariot-race.

The subject of *acarat* in pâda a above is the bull, *vṛshabha*, that is mentioned in the previous verse as running—*áramhata pádyâbhiḥ kakúdmân*. And hence I interpret *kapardî* as 'wearing cowries' instead of as 'wearing a braid, *zottig*' (Roth. Geldner, Oldenberg, etc.) as this latter epithet is unintelligible to me in connection with a bull. The custom, on the other hand, of ornamenting bulls and oxen with strings of cowries fastened round the neck is fairly wide-spread in India, and I concieve that this must have been the case with Mudgala's bull also. *Dâru* in the second pâda refers, of course, to the *drughaṇa* or block of wood mentioned in the next verse.

It has been suggested by Oldenberg (*l.c.*), perhaps with a view to get over the difficulty caused by the word *kapardî* (which he interprets as 'wearing a braid. *zottig*'), that the subject of *acarat* is not the bull but Mudgala. This does not seem to be correct ; for I believe with Geldner that Mudgala was too old to take part in a chariot-race and that the chariot was in fact ridden by Indrasenâ with Keśinî as charioteer (see my article in vol. XLVII. *ante*, referred to above).

4. 3. 11 : *ṛténá'driṃ vy àsan bhidántah*
sám ángiraso navanta góbhih |
śunáṃ náraḥ pári shadann ushá'sam
âvíh svàr abhavaj jâté agnaú ||

" Properly did they burst open the rock. shattering it. The Aṅgirases lowed with the cows. Pleasingly (*i.e.*, with pleasing results : well) did the men worship the Dawn ; the sun made himself manifest when Agni was born." The explanation of *parishadan* as 'umlagerten' by Roth, Grassmann and Geldner (*RV. Übersetzung*) seems to me to be hardly satisfactory ; and I prefer to follow Bhaṭṭa-Bhâskara who has paraphrased *parishadyam* in TB. 3. 1, 2, 9 as *parita upâsyam* (*cf.* also Mahîdhara on *VS*. 5. 32) and regard *parishadan* here as equivalent to *paryupâsâṃcakrire*. Compare 7. 76, 6 : *práti tvâ stómair îḷate vásishṭhâ usharbúdhah subhage tushṭuvá'msah* | *gávâṃ netrî' vá'japatnî na ucchá shah sujâte prathamâ' jarasva* ; 7. 78, 2 : *práti shîm agnír jarate sámiddhah práti víprâso matíbhir gṛṇántah* | *ushâ' yâti jyótishâ bâ'dhamânâ víśvâ támâṃsi duritá'pa devî'* ; 7, 80, 1 : *práti stómebhir ushásaṃ vásishṭhâ gîrbhir víprâsah prathamá' abudhran*. The expression 'the men worshipped the Dawn' indicates that the Dawn showed herself at that time when Agni was born, that is, was kindled before daybreak. The kindling of Agni, the coming of the Dawn and the rising of the sun are referred to in other verses also of the RV, for instance, in 7, 72. 4 : *ví céd ucchánty aśvinâ ushá'sah prá vâṃ bráhmâṇi kârávo bharante* | *ûrdhváṃ bhânúṃ savitá' devó aśred bṛhád agnáyah samídhâ jarante* ; 7, 77, 1-3 : *úpo ruruce yuvatír ná yóshâ víśvaṃ jîváṃ prasuvántî caráy ai* | *ábhûd agnih samídhe má'nushâṇâm ákar jyótir bá'dhamânâ támâṃsi* || *víśvaṃ pratîcî' saprátha úd asthâd rúśad vá'so bibhratî śukrám*

aśvait | *hiraṇyavarṇâ sudṛ'śîkasaṃdṛg gávâṃ mâtâ' netry áhnâm aroci* || *devâ'nâṃ cákshuḥ subhágâ váhantî śvetáṃ náyantî sudṛ'śîkam áśvam* | *ushâ' adarśi* ; 7, 78. 2—3 : *práti shîm agnír jarate sámiddhaḥ práti víprâso matíbhir gṛṇántaḥ* | *ushâ' yáti jyótishâ bâ'dhamânâ víśvâ támâṃsi duritâ'pa devî'* | *etâ' u tyâ'ḥ práty adṛśran purástâj jyótir yácchantîr usháso vibhâtî'ḥ* | *ájîjanan sû'ryaṃ yajñám agním apâcî'naṃ támo agâd ájushṭam* : 1, 113. 9 ; *úsho yád agníṃ samídhe cakártha ví yád â'vaś cákshasâ sû'ryasya.* But while these passages represent Agni as showing himself (as being born) after the Dawn, the verse 4, 3, 11 makes out that Agni was born first and the Dawn afterwards ; compare also 7, 9, 3 : *citrábhânur ushásâṃ bhâty ágre.*

AV. 3, 15, 4 : *imá'm agne śaráṇiṃ mîmṛsho no*
yám ádhvânam ágâma dûrám |
śunáṃ no astu prapaṇó vikrayáś ca
pratipaṇáḥ phalínaṃ mâ kṛṇotu |
idáṃ havyáṃ saṃvidânaú jushethâṃ
śunáṃ no astu caritám útthitaṃ ca ||

'Sprinkle, O Agni, this our path, this road which we have followed from a distance. May our bargain and sale be pleasing (*i.e.*, turn out favourable) : may the barter make me abounding in fruit (*i.e.*, may the barter be fruitful to me). Do ye two enjoy this oblation in concord. May our transaction and trading be pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable)." *Śaraṇi*=road, path, and not *hiṃsâ*, offence or *Verdruss* ; see Apte. Accordingly I take the verb *mṛsh* in the sense of 'to sprinkle,' a meaning which the author of the *Dhâtupâṭha* assigns to it, but of its use in which no example has been up to now met with. The expression 'sprinkle this our path' means probably 'make our path smooth and easy to travel'; compare the expressions *tánûnapât pathá ṛtásya yâ'nân mádhvâ samañján svadayâ sujihva* in *RV.* 10.110,2; *â' no dadhikrâ'ḥ pathyâ'm anaktu* in 7, 44, 5 : and *madhvâdya devo devebhyo devayânân patho anaktu* in *TB* 3. 6. 2, 1.

RV. 7. 70. 1 : *â' viśvavârâ 'śvinâ gataṃ naḥ*
prá tát sthâ'nam avâci vâṃ pṛthivyâ'm |
áśvo ná vâjî' śunápṛshṭho asthâd
â' yát sedáthur dhruváse ná yónim ||

"Come, O ye Aśvins that have all desirable things ; this your place in the earth has been praised. Like a powerful horse, it stood up with pleasing (*i.e.*, pleasure-giving ; comfortable) back on which you sat as if settling permanently in a house." *Śunapṛshṭhaḥ=priyapṛshṭhaḥ* or *vîtapṛshṭhaḥ* which is used many times in the *RV.* as an epithet of *aśva, atya, hari*, etc. ; see Grassmann *s.v.* This word does not signify 'schlichten Rücken habend' (Roth in PW.) or, 'dessen Rücken eben ist' (Grassmann) but means 'having a pleasing (*i.e.*, comfortable) back'; compare the word *sushadaḥ* 'easy or comfortable to sit upon' that is used as an epithet of *arvan* in VS. 11, 44 : *âśur bhava vâjy arvan pṛthur bhava sushadas tvam.* Compare also *śagmâso aśvâḥ* in RV. 7, 97, 6 : *táṃ śagmâ'so arushâ'so áśvâ bṛ'haspátiṃ sahavâ'ho vahanti* and *śagmâ harî* in 8, 2, 27 : *éhá hárî brahmayújâ śagmâ' vakshathaḥ sákhâyam.*[6]

6 This word *śagma* too has been wrongly understood and explained by Roth and other exegetists. It does not mean 'hilfreich, mittheilsam, entgegenkommend, gutig' as explained by Roth (PW), or vermögend, stark, kräftig' as explained by Grassmann, or *śakta* as alternatively explained by Sâyaṇa in 7, 97, 6, but *sukha* or *sukhakara* as explained by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* and by Sâyaṇa himself in 7, 97, 6 and other passages. *Śagmaiḥ pâyubhiḥ* (in 1, 130, 10: 1, 143, 8) means 'by happiness-conferring protections' and is the equivalent of *ajasraiḥ pâyubhiḥ, asredhadbhiḥ pâyubhiḥ, adabdhebhiḥ pâyubhiḥ* or *arishṭebhiḥ pâyubhiḥ* (for references see Grassmann, s.v. *pâyu* ; compare *mayobhûr ûtiḥ* in 1, 117, 19; and 1, 94, 9); *śagmo rathaḥ* (6, 74, 8) means a 'chariot that gives happiness or comfort; a comfortable chariot' and is the equivalent of *sukho rathaḥ* (for references, see Grass. s.v. *sukha*): *śagmâ harî* and *śagmâso aśvâḥ* in the above-mentioned passages mean 'horses that carry one comfortably: *śagmâsaḥ putrâ aditeḥ* (7, 60, 5) is equivalent to *śaṃbhuvaḥ âdityâḥ* in 1, 106, 2 and means 'the happiness-conferring Âdityas'; and *śagmâ vâjâḥ* in 10, 31, 5 means 'happiness-conferring riches.' Similarly, *śagma* has the meaning of 'happiness-conferring' in the three other verses where it occurs as an epithet of Indra and the Soma juice (6, 44, 2), of *vâk* or speech (5, 13, 11) and of *samsad* or company (7, 54, 3).

2. 18. 6 : *â'sîtyâ' navatyâ' yâhy arvâ'ñ*
â śatêna háribhir uhyámânaḥ |
ayáṃ hí te śunáhotreshu sốma
índra tvâyâ' párishikto mádâya ||

"Come here drawn by eighty, by ninety, by hundred horses. This Soma-juice, O Indra, has been poured out for thee, for thy pleasure, by (the priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices."

2. 41. 14 : *tîvrố vo mádhumâñ ayáṃ*
śunáhotreshu matsaráḥ |
etáṃ pibata kâ'myam ||

"For you is this exhilarating, sweet, and sharp (Soma-juice) with the (priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices; drink this beloved (drink)."

2. 41. 17 : *tvê viśvâ sarasvati*
śritâ'yûṃshi devyâ'm |
śunáhotreshu matsva
prajâ'ṃ devi didiḍḍhi naḥ ||

'On thee, O goddess Sarasvatî, depends all longevity. Delight thou with (the priests) who have pleasure in sacrifices; confer children on us."

The exegetists have explained the word *śunahotreshu* in all the above three verses [7] as a proper noun (Sâyaṇa does so in 2, 41, 14 and 2, 41, 17 only; in 2, 18, 6 he interprets *śunahotreshu* as *sukhena hûyate somo yebhir iti śunahotrâḥ pâtraviśeshâḥ*)—an explanation for which there does not seem to be any necessity. For, just as the word *śunapṛshṭha* is equivalent to *vîtapṛshṭha*, in the same way does the word *śunahotra* (*śunaṃ hotrâyâṃ yasya*) seem to be equivalent to the word *vîtihotra* (*vîtiḥ hotrâyâṃ yasya*) ' he who has pleasure in sacrifices,' *i.e.*, 'he who takes delight in offering sacrifices to the gods,' which occurs in 1, 84, 18 : *kố maṃsate vîtihotraḥ sudeváḥ* and 2, 38, 1 : *áthâ'bhajad vîtihotraṃ svastaú* with the signification of 'priest'. This meaning, 'priest' suits *śunahotra* also in the above verses, and there is thus no necessity to regard it as a proper name.

The word *śuna* occurs further in the compound *ducchunâ* which means 'unpleasantness,' *vipriya* or *duḥkha*, and in the denominative verb *ducchunây*, formed from the above, meaning 'to cause unpleasantness or discomfort.'

The word *śuna* that forms part of *abhiśunatara* in T.Br. 1, 7, 1, 6 : *tau samalabhetâm* | *so 'smâd abhiśunataro 'bhavat* means, as explained by the commentator Bhaṭṭa-Bhâskara, *balena abhivṛddhaḥ* and is clearly derived from the root *śû*, *śvay* 'to swell.' It is thus quite a different word and unconnected with *śuna* meaning 'dear; own.'

Śuna thus signifies originally, as I hope is clear from the foregoing, *priya*, 'dear, agreeable,' etc., and secondarily, *svîya* or 'own'. The meaning *sukha* assigned to it by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* seems to be but an approximate equivalent of the original *priya*, and, like all approximations, not quite accurate.

(*To be continued.*)

[7] The word *śunahotra* does not occur elsewhere.

BRAHMA-VIDYA AND SUFISM.

By UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

(*Continued from page* 56.)

In myths and legends and also in practices, a good deal in Sufism is considered to be only a copy of similar things in Buddhism. "Besides these legendary and practical indications, we find an affinity between Sufism and the fundamental thoughts and the lessons of Buddhism. The tone of mind, and the spiritual tendency of Sufism seem as if the Buddhistic way of thinking had been transferred into the frame of Islam and adapted to it." (*JRAS.*, 1904, p. 135).

Nicholson seems to think that in the beginning Sufism was not indebted to any external influence (*JRAS.*, 1906, p. 305). Yet even he concedes that, in its later development—specially in the development of the conception of *fanâ*, Sufism was indebted to Buddhism (*ib.*, p. 330). We should not forget that this doctrine of *fanâ* or self-annihilation has an apt parallel in the Vedantic conception of the merging of the individual into the infinite self. But so far as the idea is present in Sufism, it is more usually traced to Buddhism than to Hinduism.

So far, therefore, as admissions go, and so far as admissions are a part of proof, not much is found in favour of *Brahmavidyâ*. Sufism's indebtedness to Vedantism is vaguely hinted; but what is proved or admitted as proved, is a contact of Sufism with Buddhism. It is obvious that contact with Buddhism cannot be taken as evidence of borrowing from Vedantism; yet this is just what we have to examine. Direct contact with Vedantism was not inherently impossible for Sufism; rather, we may suspect on historical grounds that it had taken place. And the grounds are not materially different from those in the case of Buddhism. But this possibility of contact with Vedantism has not been sufficiently stressed, and is not even admitted by all. And naturally, it has not been explored to the same extent as the possible relation of Sufism with Buddhism. With regard to other systems of Hindu philosophy, such as the Yoga, even the suggestion of a possible relation of Sufism with them, is rarely made. We see, therefore, that, with regard to the nature and extent of the indebtedness of Sufism to foreign influences, scholars are more generally inclined to admit borrowing from Buddhism than from Vedantism. The possibility of borrowing from the Yoga is noticed by very few, of whom Al-Beruni, however, is one.

The similarity between Vedantism and Sufism in some important respects has been always admitted. Von Kremer quotes from the *Vedânta-sâra* to establish the fact that there are parallel lines of thought and practice in Sufism and Vedantism. But as we have pointed out before and as Nicholson justly remarks (*JRAS.*, 1906, p. 315), "the question whether Sufism is derived from the Vedanta cannot be settled except on historical grounds, *i.e.*, (1) by an examination of the influence which was being exerted by Indian upon Muhammadan thought at the time when Sufism arose; and (2) by considering how far the ascertained facts relating to the evolution of Sufism accord with the hypothesis of its Indian origin". Nicholson is of opinion that a chronological study of the evidence will not prove this hypothesis; nor will it prove "the alternative form of 'Aryan reaction' theory, namely, that Sufism is essentially a product of the Persian mind". "It seems to me", he says again, (*ib.*, p. 305) "that this type of mysticism was—or at least might have been—the native product of Islam itself, and that it was an almost necessary consequence of the Muhammadan conception of Allah, a conception which could not possibly satisfy the spiritually-minded Moslem".

In his *Literary History of the Arabs* (p. 381), Nicholson seems to modify this view somewhat, and is prepared to admit that all the theories about the origin of Sufism contain 'a measure of truth'. Now, Vedantism is one of the supposed sources of Sufism (*vide* Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 418). Nicholson is obviously more favourably inclined to it now than before (*JRAS.*, 1906). But he does not appear to have discovered any new proof.

Nicholson's attitude in this matter is rather hesitating and indefinite. In the first place, he is inclined to hold that Sufism had an independent origin within Islam ; but at the same time, he is not blind to the possibility of foreign influence. There, however, he warns us that if Sufism had a foreign origin, it must be " sought in Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism ", rather than in any Indian system. It may be that Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism were, in their turn, influenced by Indian thought ; " but this is a large question which has not been, and perhaps never can be, definitely settled ". (*JRAS.*, 1906, p. 320.) On the other hand, apart from this possible *indirect* influence, he is willing even to admit *direct* influence of Indian thought on Sufism ; but he would not admit that this was possible during the initial stages of Sufism. " The direct influence of Indian ideas on Sufism ", he says, " though undeniably great, was posterior and secondary to the influence exerted by Greek and Syrian speculation ". (*JRAS.*, 1906, p. 320).

So far we have seen that, though in its beginning Sufism is regarded as of independent origin, yet in its subsequent history the possibility of Vedantic influence is admitted in a general way. There is not much proof, but the hypothesis is not ruled out. Browne, however, is categorically against even such an hypothesis (*Literary History of Persia*, p. 419). He says : " Though in Sasanian times, notably in the sixth century of our era during the reign of Nushirwan, a certain exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India, no influence can be shown to have been exerted by the latter country on the former during Muhammadan times, till after the full development of the Sufi system, which was practically completed, when Al-Beruni . . . . wrote his famous memoir." Browne, therefore, is not only unwilling to trace the *origin* of Sufism to Indian thought, but he is not prepared even to admit Indian influence on the *subsequent* history of this branch of Islamic culture

On the whole, therefore, the idea of Vedantic influence on Sufism is not very favourably received by European scholars. (*Cf.* also, Margoliouth, *Early Development of Muhammadanism*, Lectures V and VI.) Similarity between the two systems is not denied : but to prove indebtedness either way, something more than mere resemblance is necessary. And this is exactly what is not found, so far as Vedantism is concerned. With regard to Buddhism, as we have already seen, opinion is more favourable. This is no doubt due to the fact that it was a living religion in the neighbourhood of Sufism even after the rise of Islam. As to Vedantism, it cannot be shown that it was being cultivated in that territory before and after the rise of Sufism ; nor can it be shown that Sufism had any direct connection with it. Browne, therefore, is right in maintaining that ' no influence can be *shown* to have been exerted ' by India on Sufism.

But at the same time, it seems to be going too far not to allow even the possibility of such an influence. We cannot get over the fact of political and commercial intercourse between India and the west for a fairly long period, from pre-historic times up to a date posterior to the rise of Islam. And there is the fact of Indian colonies in western Asia Even Browne admits that ' in the sixth century of our era ' an exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India. And then again, we have the further fact that during the eighth-ninth century A.D., the court of Bagdad patronised Hindu learning. The ministerial family of Barmak " engaged Hindu scholars to come to Bagdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology, and other subjects. Still in later centuries Muslim scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissaries of the Barmak." (Sachau ; English Translation of Al-Beruni ; *Introduction*, pp. xxxi xxxii.) As to this family of Barmak, or the Barmakides, we are told that they came from a Buddhist temple (Nava-Bihara) in Balkh

The position then is this : In the sixth century, an exchange of ideas took place between Persia and India, even according to Browne ; and in the eighth century, Hindus were expressly

invited to the court of Bagdad and were commissioned to translate books from Sanskrit into Arabic, and these books included books on *philosophy*, too. *Brahmavidyâ*, therefore, was not without a chance. We have no evidence, it seems, that this contact between India and the west was maintained during the seventh century also: but this was a period when Islam was busy consolidating itself and, perhaps had not much time to attend to outside realities. But if Hindu philosophical ideas had been travelling to the west up to the sixth century, and if they were again honourably received at court in the eighth century, is it likely that they were completely banished from the Islamic world in the seventh? Buddhism continued to live a vigorous life even after that: was Hinduism alone, if it had already been there, doomed to complete expulsion?

Thus there is no inherent improbability in the supposition of Vedantic influence on Sufism. The presence of Hindus at the very centre of Islam—at the court of the Khalifs at Bagdad, makes it rather probable. They wrote books on philosophy, we are told; but even if they had done nothing of the kind, they might still have left some influence behind. In modern times, almost every important seat of learning has foreign teachers; it cannot be said that they exert no influence, unless they leave behind some permanent and enduring record of their activity. The Hindus at Bagdad, however, did more solid work than merely holding conversations on diverse subjects: they wrote books. And it is not conceivable that books which were written under royal patronage in those days, were not read. It is unlikely, therefore, that Hindu ideas which were in existence in the western world in the sixth century A.D., all disappeared with the beginning of the seventh century: and it is difficult to imagine that the Hindus who went to the court of Bagdad on invitation, were men of so little worth that they could produce no impression at all.

All this is true. But all these facts put together do not allow us to do more than hazard a guess that Vedantism *may* have exerted some direct influence on Sufism. It was just possible: but whether it became actual or not, is more than can be proved. The opportunities were there; but it cannot be shown that they were utilised. The hypothesis is not *disproved* that ideas of *Brahmavidyâ* may have found a lodgement in those distant countries and in those far-off days. But the existence of floating ideas of Vedantism in those regions does not warrant us in ascribing the origin of Sufism to that system, any more than the presence of Vedantic missionaries in America, and even an acquaintance with their system of thought and belief on the part of William James, will warrant us in ascribing his philosophy to this source.

To assert the indebtedness of one philosophical system to another, more direct evidence than mere resemblance and even acquaintance is necessary. We know that Kant was indebted to Hume and we also know why. We know also that mediæval European philosophy was indebted to Aristotle: the evidence there is so palpably direct. The debt of Avicenna and Averroës to Aristotle is also proved by evidence other than mere resemblance. Neo-Platonism is easily traced to Plato in spite of differences. But in spite of parallels that may easily be drawn between Plato and, say, the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, it would be rash and extravagant to affirm that Plato borrowed straight from India. In the same way and for similar reasons, we cannot justifiably conclude that Sufism owed its origin to Vedantism or to any other system of Indian philosophy. The historical facts brought to light up to now make it just possible; but we can do no more than European scholars have done, namely, hint at this possibility and wait for more knowledge. A definite and final conclusion appears to be yet premature.

The only people who could really help us in arriving at a satisfactory solution of this problem, are Muhammadan and Hindu writers on the subject. Von Kremer no doubt quotes two Muhammadan writers; but they are hopelessly modern, and are too near our own time to be of much use. A much earlier writer is Al Beruni, who wrote in the beginning of the eleventh

century A.D. His evidence deserves careful consideration in this connection. In his book on India he refers more than half-a-dozen times to Sufism (Sachau's Translation, vol. II, p. 431); and draws parallels between it on the one side and Greek, Christian and Hindu thought on the other. But nowhere does he suggest more than a mere similarity of thought. For instance, (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 57), while discussing the doctrine of metempsychosis, he refers to Mânî, Patañjali, Plato and Proclus, and says that the same doctrine is professed by some Sufis also. He does not suggest that there was borrowing in any way. And (vol. I, p. 62), he compares Sâṃkhya with Sufism and notices a difference also between the two. Again, in discussing the conception of *mokṣa* according to Patañjali, he compares it with Sufism and also says that "from these and similar views the doctrines of the Christians do not much differ" (vol. I, p. 69). Further on, (p. 83), he again refers to the idea of liberation or *mokṣa,* according to Sâṃkhya and Patañjali and says that "similar views are also met with among the Sufi". All these similarities between Indian thought and Sufism attracted his attention. But at the same time, he notes that the Sufi in developing his theory, proceeds by an explanation of Koranic verses (*cf.* also, vol. I, p. 88; also compare Margoliouth, *Early Development of Muhammadanism,* Lect. V and VI).

Al-Beruni appears to have been a careful student. If he had known that the Sufis were indebted to Indian philosophy, would he not have mentioned this fact? He does not refer to the possibility of Buddhist influence on Sufism either, which European scholars are more willing to admit; but that is perhaps due to the fact that he knew little about Buddhism (Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. xlv). And "in the first half of the eleventh century, all traces of Buddhism in Central Asia, Khurasan, Afghanistan and North-Western India seem to have disappeared." (*Ibid.*) Al-Beruni's knowledge of Hindu philosophy, however, was more accurate and extensive. It is likely, therefore, that if Vedantic influence on Sufism could be traced at that time, he would have known it; and from his veracity as a historian, it seems fairly certain that had he known it, he would have said so. With regard to Mânî, he has not omitted to tell us that "he went to India, learned metempsychosis from the Hindus, and transferred it into his own system" (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 54). Of course, he had no partiality for Mânî (*cf.* ch. XXVI), and so had no motive against exposing foreign influences on his doctrines. But he had shown no partiality for the Sufis either anywhere; and there was, therefore, no reason why he should not disclose the origin of their teachings, if he only knew it to be the Vedanta or any Indian system of thought.

He has not been slow in acknowledging even the debt of purer Muslims to Indian thought. For instance, he has told us that the numerical signs which they use "are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs" (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 174). He has also admitted (ch. XXXII) that Muslim authors followed the example of the Hindus in describing a certain duration of time; and that "the theory of Abû-Ma'shar that a deluge takes place at the conjunction of the planets" is derived from the *kalpa*-theory of the *Viṣṇu-Purâṇa* (vol. I, p. 325). If such an author only knew that Sufism owed its origin to Vedantism, would he have concealed this by no means insignificant fact?

Al-Beruni has been careful to note a good many important parallels between Sufism and Indian thought; but he speaks of Sâṃkhya and Patañjali and makes no mention of Vedanta. The points which he discusses in Sufism are just some of the points where Vedantism could have influenced it, if at all. The omission of any reference to Vedanta on his part, is significant; it seems to suggest that Vedantism was not as accessible to him as the other systems; *i.e.*, it was farther away from north-west India to which the Moslems had access. If so, the hypothesis of Vedantic influence on Sufism becomes less probable.

In Al-Beruni, then, we find two things. Although he compares Sufism with some of the Indian systems, he does not suggest that it was indebted to any of them in the way supposed

by some ; and in the second place, he omits to refer to the Vedanta. Of course, he does not speak of the indebtedness of Sufism to Christianity or to Neo-Platonism either ; and his omission to mention such indebtedness does not prove that it did not exist. In the same way, his omission of reference to the Vedanta or its influence on Sufism, does not necessarily prove that such a thing could not have taken place. But here we had an opportunity where proof of such an influence might have been found, and yet we have not found it. So, although a hypothesis is not yet ruled out, we cannot *prove* that *Brahmavidyâ* or Vedantism exerted any direct influence upon Sufism.

Our review of the problem would remain incomplete without at least a passing reference to Hindu sources. Unfortunately very little is to be found there. We may note that the period of the Abbaside Khalifs in Bagdad almost synchronised with the revival of Vedantism in southern India and the great impetus given to this culture by Śankarâcâryya is well-known. An account of the many missionary activities of this great Vedantist has been preserved, though not unalloyed with myths, in Ânanda-Giri's *Śankara-Vijay* and Vidyâraṇya's *Śankara-Digvijay*. Many men and many sects, we are told, were converted to Śankara's absolute monism ; and quite a good number of places, also, did he and his disciples visit in search of conquests. But there is not the slightest hint of any communication between them and people outside the pale of Hinduism, except perhaps the reference to Bâhlika or Balkh (*Sankara-Digvijay*, XV, 142).[1] But even there it is the Buddhists again who were fought and conquered. We are no doubt told that there were in Bâhlika also those who wanted to learn the great *Bhâṣya* of Śankara ; but it is not even hinted that they were other than his ordinary pupils or disciples.

However that may be, it is, on the whole, extremely difficult to place much reliance on an account like this. The author is not endowed with the historical sense ; and his accounts of Śankara's intellectual and physical exploits are so mixed up with myths and fables, that it is impossible to believe on the testimony of a writer like this that Śankara ever visited Balkh, or even that any of his remote disciples ever did so.

One thing, however, seems certain : Balkh was known at the time, and known too as a seat of Buddhism. That Balkh was an important centre of Buddhism is proved by other evidence also. But whether Śankara or any one else ever carried *Brahmavidyâ* to that stronghold of Buddhism, is more than can be proved by this author's testimony.

There is another point : In a manuscript, the difference between Bâhlika and Bâhika is not much ; but in latitude and longitude, it is certainly a considerable one. Therefore from this single mention of Bâhlika, it is not even safe to suppose that Balkh was meant and not a country much nearer home, namely, Bâhika in the Punjab.

Besides, even if the conjecture is allowed that *Brahmavidyâ* was carried up to Balkh, at the time of the Abbaside Khalifs, it is still a far cry from Balkh to Bagdad and the fountain-head of Sufism.

The author of the *Śankara-Digvijay*, it seems, was aware of the existence of the Turks, if not also of the Musalmans ; and he also knew the fact that the Turks killed cows (I, 10 : . . . *Dhenuṣ-Turuṣkair-iva*, etc.). If he had any information about Vedantism spreading beyond the borders of India, beyond Balkh and Afghanistan,—if he had even ever heard of such a thing,—was it not natural with such an author to seize such an opportunity, and add to the list of his hero's achievements by narrating either a fact or a fable of the conversion of Musalmans to Vedantic monism ?

1 *Pratipadya tu Bâhlikân maharṣau vinayibhyah praviveṇvati svabhâṣyam avadann-asahiṣṇavah pravîṇâh samaye kecid-atha-rhatâbhidhânâ*, etc.

From the evidence of Ânanda-Giri and Vidyâraṇya it appears that the activities of Śankara and his disciples were mainly directed against the Buddhists and other minor sects within the fold of Hinduism. Still that was the period of the most triumphant career of *Brahmavidyâ* ; and it was not impossible for her influence to travel beyond the borders of India at that time. If Sufism was influenced by *Brahmavidyâ*, that was about the time when such influence may have been exerted. It is rather striking, therefore, that there is no reference to any such foreign conquest by Śankara and his disciples. Of course, there were possibly other Vedantists too in the land who could have achieved such conquests ; and the absence of any mention does not necessarily disprove the possibility of such influence in other lands. But here again there was an opportunity where evidence of Vedantic influence on Sufism might be found ; yet we do not find it. Now, if all possible sources of positive proof fail us, what else can we do save cling to fond hypothesis ?

The final conclusion to which we are led, therefore, is this : So far as Von Kremer is concerned, he makes an exaggerated claim on behalf of Vedantism, which has not been established ; and, as to whether *Brahmavidyâ* ever exerted any influence on Sufism, and if so, to what extent, no definite conclusion can be drawn, though certain historical circumstances were quite favourable for such influence. We may just suspect, as Dr. Margoliouth points out (*op. cit.*, p. 199), that Sufism was influenced by Vedantism at some stage or other of its existence ; but unfortunately we have not data enough to prove it.

A MEDIÆVAL JAINA IMAGE OF AJITANÂTHA—1053 A.D.

BY N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

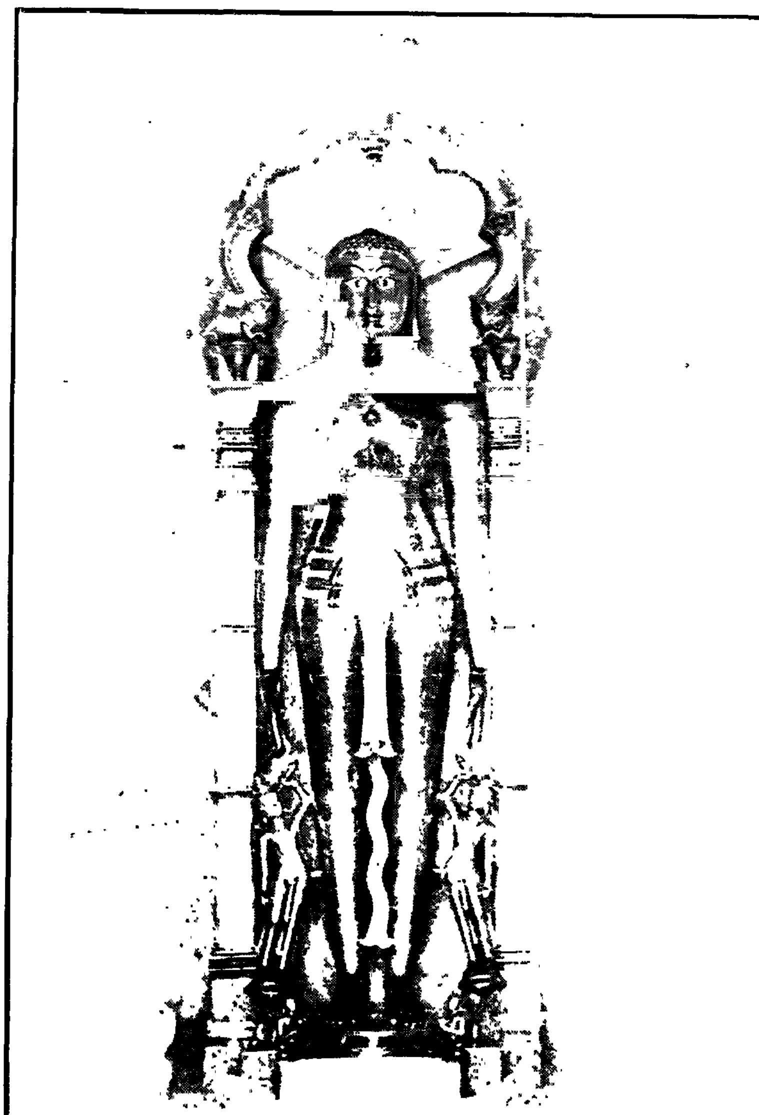
THE focus of Jaina glory seems to have shifted from South India northwards during mediæval times. Jainism appears to have suffered an eclipse in the south after the sixth century A.D. as a result of the revival of Shaivite worship, the full force of which was felt about the ninth century A.D. Jainism reached its climax during the reign of Kumârapâla (1142–73 A.D.), who was converted to the gospel of Mahâvîra Vardhamâna by the greatest and the most versatile of mediæval scholars—Hemachandra Sûri. Jainism may be said to have achieved its greatest triumphs in Western India under the Solanki rulers of Gujarat (960–1243 A.D.). The most notable monuments of this period are the Delvâdâ temples ; the celebrated Vimalavashâhi temple, constructed in 1023 A.D. and named after its founder Vimalashâha, the Daṇḍa-Nâyaka or Governor of Abu, and dedicated to Âdinâtha, the first Tirthaṁkara , and the Luṇavashâhi shrine dedicated to Neminâtha—the twenty-second Tirthaṁkara and constructed by Tejapâla in memory of his son Lûṇasinha in 1230 A.D. This was also the period of great literary activity, specimens of which are still preserved in the various Jaina *bhandars* or libraries,—at Pâtan, Jaisalmir and other places.

The beautiful figure illustrated here was executed during the reign of Bhimadeva I (1023–1063 A.D.), the patron of Vimalashâha. The inscription engraved at the foot of the pedestal consists of three verses, the first in the metre Shardûl Vikriditam, the second in Sragdharâ, and the third in Ârya, and runs as follows :

थारा पद्रपुरीयगच्छगगनोद्योतैक भास्वानभूत् सूरिः सागरसाम विश्रुतगुणः श्रीशालिभद्राभिधः ।
तच्छिष्यः समजन्यज्ञानवृजिनासंगः सतामग्रणीः सूरिः सर्वगुणोत्करैकवसतिः श्रीपूर्णभद्राह्वयः ॥
तस्य श्रीशालिभद्रप्रभु रलमकृतोच्चैः पदंपुण्यमूर्तिः विद्वच्चूडामणेः स्वेश सि [शि] विस [श] दयशो व्यानशे यस्य विश्वम् ।
स्थाने तस्यापि सूरिः समजनि भुवनेऽनन्यसाधारणानां लीलागारं गुणानामनुपम महिमा पूर्णभद्राभिधानः ॥
श्रीशालिसूरिनिजगुरुपुण्यार्थमिदं विधापित तेन । अजितजिनबिंबमतुलं नंदतु रघुसेन जिनभु [भ] वने ॥

संवत् ११?० चैत्र सुदि १३

A JAINA IMAGE OF AJITANATHA.



N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

It may be thus translated :—

1. "[There was] the saint by name Shâlibhadra, the solitary sun among the stars of the monastic firmament of Thârâpadra town,[1] of learning as wide as the limits of the seas. His pupil was one by name Pûrnabhadra, free from ignorance and sin, the foremost amongst the virtuous, and the veritable abode of the climax of all good qualities.

2. "The fame, spotless like the moon, of this very learned man (literally, the crest-jewel among the learned) spread by itself throughout the whole world. When his master Shâlibhadra of godly appearance attained peace (*lit.* did honour to his high status, *i.e.* died), Pûrnabhadra even took his place in the world,—of incomparable greatness, who enshrined within himself all the exceptional virtues unattainable by the ordinary run of men.

3. "May this incomparable statue of Ajita Jina set up by him in memory of his preceptor, the saint Shâlibhadra, rejoice in the house of the Jaina Raghusena, 13th Chaitra Sudi Samvat 1110."

Nothing is known about Shâlibhadra or his distinguished pupil Pûrnabhadra, nor is there any information available as to how the image came to Ahmadâbâd from its original home in Thârâpadra town. The image executed in 1053 A.D. measures 51 inches, or with the pedestal 63 inches in length. It is still worshipped in the Ajitanâtha temple in Zaverivâdâ at Ahmadâbâd ; and but for the inscription which is a part and parcel of the pedestal, one would hardly have credited the great antiquity of the figure, so polished and in such a perfect state of preservation is it to-day. The image must contain a large amount of gold, judging from the exceptionally bright and yellow lustre of the body. The characteristic emblem of the Tirthaṁkara—the elephant—is missing.[2] Unlike the bulk of Jaina statuary, this mediæval statue is remarkable for its æsthetic qualities. The apostle is standing in the characteristic pose of a Jaina *kevali*—*scil.* one who has attained the Peace born of perfect knowledge and of absence of attachment to things mundane. The face is that of a young man strikingly handsome, with the various limbs beautifully modelled and of pleasing proportions. The loin cloth is attached to an elaborately carved girdle of fine design. The expression on the face is not one of contemplation, but of *naiveté*, of innocence, almost boyishness, with the eyes wide open. The *ushnîsha*, the symbol of enlightenment, is just indicated, while the jewel of illumination is prominently shown on the forehead, as is also the *shrivatsa* mark on the chest. Every single anatomical detail is suppressed without in the least sacrificing the dominant quality of form. The image is fitted in a simple but effective frame,

1 I am indebted to Muni Jinavijaya Ji for the following information —

Thârâpadra is the modern village of Tharâd about thirty miles from Deesa in the Pâlanpur Agency. It appears to have been an important town—especially a notable Jaina centre in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The following verse given on pages 132–133 of the *Fifth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, by Prof. P. Peterson refers to both Shâlibhadia and Pûrṇabhadra. It should be noted that the Pûrṇabhadra mentioned here is not the same as the author of ***Panchâkhyânaka*** (**पंचाख्यानक**) written in 1198 A.D.

थारापद्रपुरीयगच्छनलिनीखंडैकचंडद्युतिः
सूरिः पंडितमूर्धमंडनमणि श्रीशालिभद्राभिधः ।
आसीत्तस्य विनेयतामुपगतः श्रीपूर्णभद्राह्वयः
तेषां शिष्यलवेन मंदमतिना वृत्तिः कृतेयं स्फुटा ॥
एकादश वर्षशतैर्नवाधिकत्रिंशकैर्याते ।
विक्रमतोऽरचयदिमां सूरिः शीलभद्राख्यः ।
सहस्रद्वितयं सार्धं ग्रंथोऽयं पिंडितोऽखिलः ।
द्वात्रिंशदक्षरश्लोकप्रमाणेन सुनिश्चितः ॥

The author of the above verse is one Shilabhadra Sûri who wrote in *Samvat* 1139 (1082 A.D.).

2 See my note on *Two Images from Bharatpur* in *Rupam*, pp. 98-99, April, 1924.

with two figures standing on smaller pedestals and waving the whisks round the deity. It is possible that the figures may represent Shâlibhadra and his pupil Pûrnabhadra.[3]

Ajitanâtha is the second Tirthaṁkara, born like Ṛishabhadeva, the first Tirthaṁkara, and most of his successors in the royal house of Ikshvâku, to which the hero of the *Râmâyaṇa* also belongs. According to Hemachandra Sûri, the greatest of the mediæval Jain scholars, Ajitanâtha was the son of Jitashatru and Vijayâdevî and was born at Ajodhya on 8th day of the bright half of the month of Mâgha. It appears to have been a tradition of Jaina theology that Ajitanâtha was a contemporary and a cousin of the mythical prince Sagara, just as Ṛishabhadeva is said to have been a contemporary of the sovereign Bharata. It is absolutely impossible to find out what kernel of truth such traditions possess, for they have been overlaid with an impossible amount of myth, legend and fairy tale. Hemachandra devotes a lengthy chapter of some 150 printed pages to the description of the life of the second Tirthaṁkara, which has little of interest, notwithstanding the enormous mass of verbiage and hyperbole. Jaina theology has not even the merit of originality or of imagination, for it usually borrows wholesale from the Hindu *Purâṇas* and re-edits the material somewhat clumsily, changing of course the emphasis from the Brahmanical deities to the gods of its own pantheon.[4]

It would appear that the art of casting metallic images reached a high standard of æsthetic merit in mediæval Gujarat, the traditions of which were somewhat different from those of the South-Indian artists. A very large number of good specimens representative of the mediæval school of Gujarat can still be seen, principally in the Jaina temples scattered throughout the length and breadth of Gujarat and Rajputana (the major portion of which formed a part of the old kingdom of Pâtan). The subject however needs to be systematically studied and surveyed in detail. It would seem that, unlike the development of graphic art, the course of Indian sculpture in Northern India continued to be even and produced works of great merit for many centuries after the death of Harshavardhana; and the plastic art of mediæval India has nothing to lose by comparison with the great epoch of the Guptas.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE TULUVAS.

By B. A. SALETORE, B.A., L.T., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 17.)

The following song is sung by the Muṇḍâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk when they bury their dead:—

5. *Text.*

Le le le le le le lâ koḍe le le le,
Le le le le le le lâ koḍe le le le,
Aithumukhariye, le le le le le,
Nala mara danna mudetta Aithumukharige,
Mallavonji mudetta Aithumukhariye ;
Kela malla kattonḍenâ Aithumukhariye,
Uruvadâ grâmoḍu, Aithumukhariye.
Andabanda maltonde, Aithumukhariye.
Jâtipolikeda, Aithumukhariye,
Nitimaltonḍena, Aithumukhariye.
Kankanâḍi nileḍada, Aithumukhariye.
Kotaradanna mudetta, Aithumukharige
Ponnu malla tûvonḍenâ, Aithumukhariye
Radda kare sangâterena kûdovonde, Aithumukhari.

3 I am indebted to Mr. K. P. Modi of Ahmadâbâd for getting the image adequately photographed.

4 The details about Ajitanâtha have been taken from the dreary *Mahâkâvya-Tri-Shashti-Shalâkâ-Purusha Charitram*, by Hemachandra Sûri, canto 2, Gujarati translation, published by Jaina Dharma Prachârak Sabhâ, Bhavnagar.

Jâtiniti maltondenâ Aithumukhariye.
Kallmulla guddenâ Aithumukharige,
Jâtigalâ sangâde, Aithumukhariye.
Uḷḷayaga mânanâye Aithumukharige ;
Jâtigela kulludu Uḷḷayaga untudu,
Pande Aithumukhariye.
Deverenâ buttibulega phovandenâ Aithumukharige,
Bhumiga beripâḍye. Aithumukhari ;
Akâshogu puggenâ Aithumukhariye.
Jâtipolikena buḍdu Aithumukharige,
Deverenâ chakarigâ, Aithumukhariye,
Deverâṇḍa lettonderâ Aithumukharina ;
Devere kaḍekka Seronḍenâ Aithumukhariye.
Le le le le le le lâ Aithumukhariye,
Le le le le le le lâ Aithumukhariye.

Translation.

Le le le le le le lâ. Yesterday, le le le,
Le le le le le le lâ, Yesterday, le le le,
O Thou, Aithumukhâri, Le le le le le,
The shade of the good old tree is fit for Aithumukhâri,
Near the great tree is the place for Aithumukhâri ;
A great house he had built, Aithumukhâri,
In the *grâma* of Urvâ, Aithumukhâri.
Beautiful he made it, and guarded it well, that Aithumukhâri.
In the interests of his caste, Aithumukhâri,
He did much justice, (that) Aithumukhâri.
In the settlement of Kankanâdi, Aithumukhâri,
In one of its store-rooms, Aithumukhâri,
He saw his bride, did Aithumukhâri.
Two companions of his caste, he banded together, did Aithumukhâri,
To do justice in the interests of his caste, Aithumukhâri.
The hill with its stones and thorns, Aithumukhâri,
He did cultivate for his caste, Aithumukhâri.
He served his land-lord as a farmer and as a messenger, Aithumukhâri.
To the castemen, sitting ; to the land-lord, standing, Aithumukhâri ;
(He) used to talk, Aithumukhâri.
(And now) He is gone to requite the compulsory labour of God, Aithumukhâri;
He has put his back to the earth, Aithumukhâri ;
He has entered the Akâsa, Aithumukhâri.
Leaving aside the welfare of his caste, Aithumukhâri,
He is gone to do the Service of God, Aithumukhâri ;
And God has called him, Aithumukhâri ;
He has joined the side of God, Aithumukhâri.
Le le le le le le lâ. O ! Thou, Aithumukhâri,
Le le le le le Lâ, O ! Thou, Aithumukhâri.

The following is sung by the Mundâla Holeyas of Udipi Taluk.

6. *Text.*

Le le le le lâ Nâyeremâro, Le le le le la Nâyeremâro.
Tânunchelya, bâlenâye, Nâyeremâruḍâ,

Tânunchelya'bâlenâye. Nâyeremârudâ.
Tenakâyi deshadugo. Nâyeremâro.
Tenakâyideshadu puttiyena. Nâyeremâro
Edurulâ ,utundinâ, Nâyeremâruda :
Bâle podu balamanâye. Nâyeremârudâ ;
Mundogulâ muttilâganda. Nâyeremârudâ.
Tegalega shirilâganda. Nâyeremârudâ,
Le le le le lâ Nâyeremaro. Le le le lê la Nâyeremâro.
Madhyâna porutuguyâ. Nâyeremâro,
Kerekalâ povendenâ. Nâyeremârudâ.
Pâlêda korumbudiyâ. Nâyeremârudâ,
Tareka maika mîyyondenâ. Nâyeremârudâ :
Tundu bhairasada. Nâyeremârudâ.
Taremai orosondenâ. Nâyeremârudâ.
Tarekudutu pâdondenâ. Nâyeremâruda.
Gandadâ korada pattada, Nâyeremârudâ.
Kallagala taretondenâ. Nâyeremâruda.
Mundogula muttilâganda. Nâyeremâro.
Tigelega shirigandha, Nâyeremâro.
Dangagal ladda ganda. Nâyeremârudâ
Gandanâma tirondena Nâyeremârudâ.
Madhyâna bojanala, Nâyeremâro.
Tirondenâ. Nâyeremâro.
Le le le le lâ Nâyeremârâ. Le le le le lâ Nayeremârudâ.

Translation.

Le le le le lâ, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste ! Le le le le lâ, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste !
He is a fine little child.
He is a fine little child !
In the southern kingdom,
In the southern kingdom was he born. Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste !
He has worn his clothes crosswise.
From a child he has grown into a man. Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste
He has got sandal-paste on his forehead.
And on his arm, too, Oh, the young man of the Nâyar caste !
Le le le le lâ, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste ! Le le le le le lâ, the man of the Nâyar caste !
During afternoon time,
He goes to the tank, the man of the Nâyar caste.
He has got an umbrella made of the dammer tree.
He has taken a bath on his head and body ;
With a piece of upper-cloth,
He has rubbed his head and body ;
And he has flapped his hair. Oh, the young man of the Nâyar caste !
With a large *slump* of sandal-wood,
He is rubbing (it) against a stone.
Over his forehead, sandal paste,
Over his neck, sandal paste,
Over his arm, sandal paste,—

Has he finished smearing all the sectarian marks.
And his mid-day meal,
He has finished it, Oh, the young man of the Nâyar caste !
Le le le le lâ, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste ! le le le le lâ, Oh, the man of the Nâyar caste !

(*Note.*—Why the above song, which deals with a man of the Nâyar caste of Malabar, should be popular with a section of the Holeyas seems strange. The significance of this song cannot easily be made out.)

II. **The Songs of the Pombadas.**

The following song is sung when the bride is bedecked with flowers and new clothes, before presentation to the bridegroom.

1. *Text.*

Hari Nârâyana, Hari Nârâyana Swâmi, pado yedde yedde.
Tudâra yedde, tudâra yedde Kudipu devere.
Tudâra Bali yedde, Bali yedde Kadro devere Bali.
Ballanda ballanda pattere Swâmi sarpoda bila.
Vonasuyedde vonasuyedde Polela devera sthalatâ.
Padayedde padayedde Rama Swâmi smarane yedde smarane.
Hari Nârâyana, Hari Nârâyana Swâmi, pada yedde yedde.

Translation.

The song of Hari Nârâyana is excellent.
Illumination in the temple of Kudipi is excellent.
The Bali in Kadri temple is excellent.
The Lord held the tail of a snake, mistaking it for a rope.
Dinners are excellent in the temple of Polali.
That song in which the name of Lord Râma has to be recited is excellent.
The song of Hari Nârâyana is excellent.

The following is a funeral song sung by the Pombadas.

2. *Text.*

Angâre Orodâni tarenira sankata koltunde marana pattada phondeyâ.
Kutumbastora notonpere, guddanpere, marana pattada phondeyâ.
Gandâdâ kûto kutâdera, punân vonja mîpatere, pirano kondodu shingâra maltere.
Kannadâ porlutunâgâ, pulyakâloda bolleye.
Monedâ porlutunâgâ, punnamedâ devere.
Gindyâtnîra pattere, tolashida gaddi padere.
Kutumbastera sorgoda nîru budiyere.
Dumbutu aggi pattâdere.
Pira votu punânu tumbâdere.
Mûgi suttu bali battere.
Pedambugu tu dîyere,
Pottutu sudu sukkâri phondere,
Marana pattada pondeyâ. Marana pattada pondeyâ.

Translation.

" Alas ! the man is dead and gone ! On Tuesday he died of dropsy in the head. Those near and dear to him beat themselves on their foreheads and breasts. A funeral pyre was made of sandal-wood. The body of the deceased was washed and taken to the back of the house to be decorated. If we looked at his eyes, they spread light like that of the dawn ; if we looked at the face, it shone like a full moon. They then brought water in a bell-metal vessel,

and put tulasi leaves in it. Then a member of his family poured the sacred water into his mouth. After this the firepot was taken in advance, followed by the dead body. The body was taken round the pyre three times, fire was applied to it at its left side, and it was reduced to ashes. Alas! The man is dead and gone!"

The following song is sung by the Pombadas of Mangalore during a marriage ceremony :—

3. *Text.*

Ḍenâ ḍennâ ḍenâ ḍennâye (*Chorus*).
Aḍikanchige melkanchige kanchigaḍagenda aramane.
Âra Yekanandâ Sâlera boṇtu bovorgu phovodundu phaṇpere (*Chorus.*)
Nâyidâ Mallâḍikare bontu bovorgu phovere,
Mannu paikudendâ maleka phovodu phanpere (*Chorus*).
Derenâkudu deroḍu vachanâgundi vochodu
Bontu bovorgu Sâde maltadera âra Yekkânalere.

Translation.

"That Yekkana Sala, who has built a two-storeyed palace known as the palace of seats, gave orders for going on a hunting party. The Mallâdikara, who has the charge of dogs, will go for hunting. They say that we should go to the forest called Manna paikude or Hill of Mud, a forest never as yet entered by man for hunting. They say that we should go to those depths for spreading our nets, where never before man fished. They have made a way for the hunting party to go. Yekkana Sale is the man who does all this."

(The above song is sung when the bridegroom comes to the hut before he takes his seat with his bride.)

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

WHAT THE APOSTLE THOMAS WROTE FROM INDIA, by T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T. Reprint from *The Young Men of India*, May 1926.

A very interesting pamphlet on the fresh evidence as to this Apostle culled by Dr. Farquhar, taking up certain points. The first is that Gondophares, Guda and the Apostle were all contemporaries in the middle of the first century A. D., a fact leading "to the belief that St. Thomas was the Apostle of North West India," which was under Gondophares. The second point is the examination of a weak link in the chain of the argument. All modern scholars are agreed that the Syriac work, *The Praksis of Judas Thomas*, c. A.D. 200, on which the argument depends, is not an entirely faithful record. The third and fourth points are that while the St. Thomas–Gondophares synchronism is certainly a fact, the question arises : can the connection of the two be so regarded? Mr. Joseph thinks that very probably it can. The direct answer may be recorded in a genuine *Acts of St. Thomas* extensively circulated about A.D. 200, if it could be found. As regards this point Mr. Joseph adduces some remarks of Dr. Farquhar in his *Apostle Thomas in Northern India* regarding "circumstantial evidence that there was in the Edessene Church a letter of St. Thomas sent to it from India." The sixth point deals with a statement by Origen (c. 185-254) that St. Thomas was sent to Parthia, which Dr. Farquhar shows was a mistake, based on the fact that Gondophares of North India was a Parthian by race. The seventh, eighth and ninth points are all concerned with the fact that while Gondophares must be regarded as a North Indian king, all Malabar and Coromandel traditions place him in South India; just as, by the way, all Burmese traditions place the holy land of the Buddhists in Burma and Siamese traditions allot it to Siam. There is a controversy still in progress in Malayalam as to this consideration. All this makes one hope to see Dr. Farquhar and Mr. Joseph produce something further of equal value in collaboration as to the South Indian legend.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM, by R. E. ENTHOVEN in Folklore, vol. XXXVI, No. III, September 1925. London, William Glaisher.

In this important paper Mr. Enthoven has descanted on Sir James Campbell's well-known theory, on which he expended so much research, and after all never completed. I had the privilege of being well acquainted with him, and it was owing to that acquaintance that he was induced, after a long talk over the matter with me during a flying visit to Bombay, to start on his voluminous printed, but not published, *Notes in this Journal*. He insisted

on re-editing them, and so the publication was slow, and long before he could complete it he died. After his death those in charge of his MSS. thought it best to leave them where they were, to the great loss of scholarship in India and indeed in the world. Since then his former Assistant, Mr. Enthoven, has done something to retrieve his researches from oblivion, and has again attacked the subject in the paper under discussion, "actuated mainly by the hope that some member of the Folk-lore Society may be moved to undertake the task of revising and issuing the *Notes* in a form adapted to the use of those interested in primitive religion." It is in the further hope that some reader of the *Indian Antiquary* will be fired to do as Mr. Enthoven desires that attention is now drawn to this remark.

As to the manner in which this should be done Mr. Enthoven writes: "I am of the opinion that, if use is to be made of Campbell's *Notes*, it would be an advantage to concentrate on the references to India and omit the rest," and he gives his reasons. Then he observes that Campbell "never really developed in a comprehensive statement his conclusions on the meaning of the immense volume of primitive practice which he has recorded for us in his *Gazetteers* and *Notes*. The raw material for the student, however, exists. It seems to me of great importance that it should be made more accessible."

On this I would remark that the publication of Campbell's *Notes* would thus become "evidence" for an anthropologist to work up into a "judgment," and from that point of view all the evidence available is of value. As regards value, old evidence is as good as that which is newer, and it would be a misfortune if the judge—as I presume our assumed anthropological researcher would constitute himself—is to be deprived of any part of it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

TRAVELS IN INDIA, by JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER translated and annotated by V. BALL, edited by WILLIAM CROOKE, with additional notes by H. A. ROSE: 2 vols., 1925. Oxford University Press.

The six voyages of Tavernier, first printed in 1676, have indeed been presented in an edition worthy of his invaluable work. The very names of the editors are a guarantee of the excellence of the work put into the two volumes under discussion. We have, besides, first of all Dr. Ball's preface and his introduction, which is really a life of Tavernier after Prof. Charles Joret's French life of the great traveller, and a bibliography of the various editions of Tavernier's *Travels*. Then we have an introduction by Dr. Crooke, characteristically short and full of information, and in addition a large number of notes, involving immense research, on Tavernier's history and geography by Mr. Rose. So that before he gets to Tavernier's text, the modern student will find much food for his mind and very much that his predecessors missed. In this part of the book, however, there are some misprints which might have been avoided.

Tavernier's *Travels* are so well known and he travelled so far and observed so very much that it is inadvisable, and indeed impossible, to go into the story of his wonderful journeys in a review. Suffice it to say that the notes on, and the illustrations of, the text are wonderfully full and illuminating, as three scholars have put all the wealth of their learning into them, and when one of them was the late Dr. Crooke one knows how great and wide that learning has been, and how thoroughly —though not quite exhaustively after all—modern books on the subject have been searched.

Not content with the notes before the text commences, the annotators of Tavernier have added a series of valuable appendices on diamonds and precious stones. The first is on "the Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-Nur," containing a large amount of useful information, culled from many sources; followed by the story of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond and on the weights of other diamonds. Appendix II contains an extraordinarily valuable list of all the diamond mines in India, followed by Appendices III, IV, and V on Diamond Mines in Bengal and Burma, the Ruby Mines in Burma and the Sapphire Washings in Ceylon. Finally there is an abstract of an extremely rare work, Chapuzeau's *Histoire des Joyaux*.

Altogether we have now a work on Tavernier's *Travels*, creditable to all concerned therewith.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT ON SOUTH-INDIAN EPIGRAPHY, 1924. Government Press, Madras, 1925.

There are many points of interest in this Report, which gives an account of good work done in 1924. There are lists of 9 copper-plates examined in the year, of 256 stone inscriptions copied in 1923, and 452 in 1924, besides 94 photographs of antiquarian objects. Considering that all the inscriptions mentioned have been read and their contents and dates ascertained, the above is a good record of work done. But perhaps the most important list in this Report is that in Appendix E, giving the dates of the inscriptions read, where such dates occur, and from this list we see that they belong to the following Dynasties: Pallava, Chagi, Kakatiya, Pandya, Chola, Vijayanagara I, II, and III, Madura Nayaka and Pudukottai Tondaman. There are besides a number of miscellaneous inscriptions with dates recorded. The volume thus contains a great mass of real historical information for the enquirer.

Part II of the Report contains special accounts of certain valuable inscriptions, including a Brâhmî Inscription at Allûru in the Kistna District, a Ganga Inscription giving an important genealogy, a record of Râjâdhirâja II (Chola) producing evidence of the war of the Pandya succession, an

early Vijayanagara inscription of Harihara II, and a notice of the coronation of Achyuta at Kâlahasti and of many of his officers. The inscriptions of the Chagi chiefs are of great interest and so is one of Sarfôjî Mahârâja of the Marâtha kings of Tanjore, containing an account of a trial by ordeal. It records an agreement that "if any one of the respondents," in a temple dispute, "dipped his fingers in boiling ghee in the temple unscathed" the appellant would wave his rights. "This was agreed to and one of the respondents did dip his fingers in the boiling ghee and remained uninjured, and the appellant then made over the said land to the respondents as agreed." There is, morever, an enormously long inscription of the Bhonsle family, giving a very valuable genealogy, and a remarkably ornate Musalman inscription at Suruguppa translated by Mr. Yazdani "for the peculiar style and high sentiments that it is clothed in." Finally an account is given of those inscriptions that allude to the ancient administration of criminal justice in South India.

Altogether one must congratulate the Superintendent of the Epigraphical Department on producing a volume of real value to all searchers in South Indian history.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN (afterwards HAMILTON) kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-12. Edited with Notes and Introduction by. V. H. Jackson, Superintendent, Government Printing. Bihar and Orissa, 1926.

This Journal, which is published for the first time, forms a small portion of the manuscripts relating to Buchanan's great Statistical Survey of Bengal, carried out between 1807 and 1815. It represents the official daily journal which he kept during his tour of the Patna and Gaya districts, and must be distinguished from the corresponding official reports which he submitted as the outcome of his survey. As Mr. Jackson, the present editor, points out in an excellent Introduction, Buchanan's Journals form a very useful supplement to his published Reports, and they provide a detailed description of the route which Buchanan followed thus enabling the modern enquirer to identify some of the hills, mines, quarries, caves etc., described in the Reports. Buchanan was a most careful and painstaking enquirer, and, as Mr. Jackson remarks, seems to have adopted the principles of modern scientific research, always testing the truth of any statement made to him, whenever the opportunity occurred. Considering that he had no works of reference to aid him in identifying the antiquities of Bihar and no reliable maps to guide his wanderings, the general accuracy of his statements and conclusions is remarkable. Mr. Jackson has added to Buchanan's text some valuable appendices which have already been published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. These, which comprise notes on Old Rajagriha, the Barabar Hills etc., are so interesting from an antiquarian standpoint that one wishes the editor had found time to annotate Buchanan's text more fully. Apparently this was the original intention ; but, as was the case with so many other proposals, the War obliged Mr. Jackson to forego his plans. Even as it is, this edition of Buchanan's Journal is sure of a warm welcome from students of the history and antiquities of Bihar.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 28 BHASA AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE THIRTEEN TRIVANDRUM PLAYS By HIRANANDA SASTRI. Calcutta, 1926.

The controversy regarding the authorship of the thirteen plays discovered by Mr. Gaṇapati Śâstrî of Trivandrum in 1912 and published by him in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, bids fair to rival the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy in England. The discoverer himself ascribed the authorship to the famous Bhâsa, and his view found favour with many European and Indian pandits, including Dr. F. W. Thomas Opposed to them are Mr. Bhaṭṭanâtha Svâmî, Dr. L. D. Barnett, and Professor Sylvain Lévi. A new combatant now enters the arena in the person of Mr. Hirananda Śâstrî, who states that he has been prompted to investigate the whole question of authorship by the perusal of a drama of Śaktibhadra named *Áścharyachûḍâmaṇi*, which bears close resemblance to the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhâsa. After summarising and examining the arguments put forward by what I may for the moment call the 'pro-Bhasa' school, he investigates various points of dramatical technique, which bear directly on the question at issue, discusses the title of the *Svapnanatakam*, and deals lucidly with the structure of the plays, with the archaisms found in them, with the relation of the *Chârudatta* to the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*, with the epithets of Bhâsa, and with the evidence of anthologies. I must leave those interested in the question to study the author's detailed arguments themselves, and content myself with recording his final conclusion that the Trivandrum plays cannot be the work of Bhâsa and that the arguments in support of this opinion can all be shown to be *ativyâpta* or wide of the mark. Published as a record of the Archæological Survey of India and thus bearing the seal of official approval. Mr. Hirananda Sâstrî's investigation is bound to carry considerable weight among Orientalists, who, even if they remain unconverted, must pay a tribute to the scholarly character of his thesis.

S. M. EDWARDES.

555. On the 25th July 1720 the *Cassandra*, Indiaman, 380 tons, (Hardy, *Register of ships*), Captain James Macrae (afterwards Governor of Madras) coming into Johanna Bay with the *Greenwich*, Indiaman (Captain Richard Kirby), found 14 men belonging to the *Indian Queen*,[116] a pirate ship of 250 tons, 28 guns and 90 men, commanded by a French man, Oliver de la Bouche (or Levasseur), which had been wrecked and whose crew were engaged in building a new vessel at Mayotta, some three leagues away. As the Company's ships carried commissions to take pirates, Macrae proposed to Kirby to go to Mayotta to seize the freebooters there, but before they could start they saw the *Fancy* and *Victory* (*Applebee's Original Weekly Journal*, *22nd April* 1721, says the *Victory* mounted 40 guns and the *Fancy* 18) entering the Bay with black flags with the Death's head at the maintopmast head, red flags at the foretopmast head and St. George's colours at the ensign staff (*Log of the Greenwich, 7th August* 1720). Macrae and Kirby, who had been joined by an Ostender (of 22 guns, *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, *22nd April* 1721, N.B. This *Journal* gives the pirate ships as carrying 34 and 30 guns respectively) resolved to fight. England and Taylor had just taken two (? one) Jeddah ships with goods to the value of £200,000 on board, a booty well worth defending, and were equally determined on an engagement. The *Fancy* immediately attacked the *Cassandra*, whose unfavourable position in the Bay prevented her from getting out to join her consorts. Kirby very basely withdrew to a safe distance, an example of discretion which was followed by the Ostender, and ultimately made his way to Bombay, where he reported that he was not sure, when he last saw the *Cassandra*, whether she had been taken or not. Meanwhile, after a most gallant defence, Macrae was forced to run his ship ashore. The *Fancy* following, ran herself aground and lay in such a position that Macrae's guns swept her decks and he could have taken her, had not her crew been reinforced from the *Victory* which, owing to the flight of Macrae's consorts was now able to assist the *Fancy*. At last, no resource remaining, Macrae, himself wounded in the head, and such of his crew (he had 13 men killed and 24 wounded) as remained alive, got ashore under cover of the smoke from the guns and took refuge with the native Prince, who very loyally protected them, despite a reward of 10,000 dollars (the *Weekly Journal* says 40 guineas) which the pirates offered for the delivery of Macrae. To put them off, the Prince said that Macrae had died of his wounds. According to Downing (p. 45) the *Cassandra* had £75,000 on board. *Applebee's Original Weekly Journal* says that she had £40,000 of foreign silver "but no part of the cargo was so much valued by the robbers as the Doctor's chest, for they were all poxed to a great degree." After a few days, thinking that the contemplation of their booty would have cooled the pirates' rage at their losses, which were estimated at between 90 and 100 men out of 300 whites and 80 blacks, Macrae opened up communications by means of a passenger, Mr. Cowan, and having been promised good treatment, had the temerity to go on board. Taylor and his party wished to break their safe-conduct, but England, like Macrae, an Irishman, and, it is said, his old schoolfellow, so befriended him that at last the pirates gave him the *Fancy*, which had been refloated, but was found to be very badly damaged, together with 129 bales of the Company's cloth, for which they had no use. Downing (p. 44) says that Taylor resented this leniency most bitterly and vowed to be revenged on England for his generosity. On the 3rd September the pirates set sail. Macrae followed on the 8th and with great difficulty reached Bombay on the 26th October, where he sold the *Fancy* to a Bombay merchant named Wake, but ultimately she came to England where she was claimed by her original owners. On the full account of the affair becoming known, Kirby was so ashamed that he died soon after (Downing, p. 45 ; *Post Boy*, 22-25 April 1721 ; *British Journal*, *14th September* 1723; Johnson, I. 119).

116 Formerly the *Defiance*. 26 guns and 70 men (*Log of the Duke of York*, Robert Hyde Commander, 19 Aug. 1720). Apparently she had been some time in the East, as a French ship had brought to Calcutta 2 men, who had run away from the *Indian Queen* when she was cleaning at Mayotta.

556. On their way to the Indian coast, England and Taylor took two small Moor ships carrying horses, but on the 21st October, when in sight of land, they saw a fleet in shore, whereupon some of the pirates proposed to sink the prizes with the crews and horses on board. Fortunately milder counsels prevailed and they were merely disabled. The fleet which they had sighted had been sent from Bombay to assist in an attack upon Gheria. The senior officer was Captain Upton, but the Admiral of the fleet and Commander-in-Chief of the whole force was a Mr. Walter Brown (*Bomb. Gaz.* XXVI. i. 151). Naturally a hybrid expedition of this kind had been unsuccessful and the fleet was now returning, towing with it a floating battery, called the Prahm (a Dutch name for a kind of flat bottomed boat), which was armed with twelve 48-pounders (Downing, p. 39). England and Taylor overtook them in the night and, though he had a good notion of their character, Upton would not give the order to engage. Why he hesitated is not clear. He had sent Captain Harvey of the *Antelope* to reconnoitre, and Harvey reported that they had hoisted the *bloody* flag, whilst some of the pirates brought from Johanna in the *Greenwich* had recognised the ships. Possibly it was nervousness on the part of Mr. Brown, who had hoisted the Company's flag on the *London* (Upton's ship), and Downing (p. 49) says that Upton was afraid to attack without Mr. Brown's orders. Upton says in his *Log* that the other ships would not support him, but his preference for discretion may be judged from another entry in his *Log* (24th April 1721) showing how, on his voyage to Mocha, having sighted some Sanganian pirates, he carefully let them alone. So far then from attacking the pirates, he ordered the Prahm to be cut adrift and went his way. Quickly realizing the character of the man they had to deal with, England and Taylor sailed through the Bombay fleet, firing right and left on the ships as they passed them. The report of this insult did not fail to excite the anger of Governor Boone, and he placed Captain Macrae, who was only too eager to avenge his losses, in command of operations in the room of Captain Upton (*Johnson* I. 127), without any civilian on board to hamper his proceedings; but in accordance with Boone's usual bad luck, Macrae never managed to come up with his old enemies. Meanwhile, the *Victory* being very leaky, the pirates after a short cruise on the Malabar coast, went to the Laccadive Islands, but finding no good anchorage, passed on to the Island of Melindra, where they treated the inhabitants, men and women, with the most fiendish brutality. Thence they returned to the Malabar Coast, and off Tellicherry took a small vessel belonging to the Governor of Bombay and commanded by one John Fawke. They made him drunk and he began to brag of the punishment they would meet with when Captain Macrae should catch them. As they considered Macrae was indebted to them for treating him so leniently, they were highly indignant that he should take any steps against them and swore not only to take vengeance upon him but to treat with the greatest severity all ship's officers who might fall into their hands. Their anger extended to Captain England, whom they looked upon as the cause of their present danger. However, coming to Cochin, they met with a very friendly reception from the Dutch, with whom they traded secretly, though more openly with the natives, for everything they wanted. The Dutch Governor even accepted presents of clocks and such like articles from their plunder. From Cochin, sailing northward, they suspected every sail they saw to be one of Macrae's vessels, but this did not prevent them from spending a riotous Christmas (1720) in which they wasted two-thirds of the provisions which they had just purchased. In February 1720 they arrived at Mauritius, whither they had been compelled to go by the leaky condition of the *Victory*—they would indeed have deserted her had she not carried most of their supply of arrack. On leaving this place, they refitted and resheathed the *Victory* and then, having marooned Captain England and some of his friends (Downing, p. 116 says 60 or 70), sailed for Mascarenhas under Captain Taylor. England managed to build a small boat in which he and his party made their way to Madagascar (Johnson, I. 124). As, of course, his share of the booty had been taken from him, he arrived in a state of great

poverty, being kept alive only by the charity of some pirates settled there. Soon after he died, conscience stricken and penitent for his crimes (Downing, p. 135). Meanwhile Taylor had been joined by Condent (of the *Flying Dragon*, Johnson, I. 137), who, having captured a big Jeddah ship, had taken her to St. Mary's and there sunk her. She is said to have had thirteen lakhs of treasure on board, beside an immense quantity of drugs and spices. Ignorant of their value or not knowing how to dispose of them, the pirates left them, with the guns and a large quantity of cloth which had formed part of the cargo, to lie and rot upon the shore (Downing, pp. 46, 94, 112)[117]. Taylor and Condent arrived at Mascarenhas on the 8th April. In the port there was lying a large Portuguese vessel, the *Nostra Senhora da Cabo*, which had been dismasted in a storm and forced to throw overboard all but 21 of her 70 guns. Thinking that the newcomers were English, the Conde de Receira, Viceroy of Goa, who was one of the passengers, together with some of his companions, went to their ship to receive them, but the pirates, running alongside, crowded on board, and the ship was captured without any possibility of resistance. The booty thus taken was estimated at three million dollars in jewels and precious stones, and 500,000 crowns in cash. An Ostender (the *Ostend* Galley formerly the *Greyhound* of London), was lying on the other side of the island and this was also taken (Lazenby's *Narrative*, *Misc. Letters Recd.*, XIII, Nos. 97-99). On the 21st April 1725 it was reported from Lisbon that the King of Portugal had sent a present to the King of China in return for one sent by him about three years previously in a ship which had been taken by pirates (*London Gazette*, 20-24 *April* 1725). Possibly this was the *Nostra Senhora da Cabo*, but it may have been a Moor's ship coming from China, which Downing says (pp. 51, 113) Taylor took in 1722. A French account (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *Voyage à l'Isle de France*, Let. XIX.) says that the pirate captain in a fit of generosity released the Viceroy without ransom. Lazenby says that some of the pirates wished to carry him off to Mozambique and make him pay a heavy ransom, but others said that, as most of his fortune was on board the captured vessel, it was not possible to get much more out of him, and so it was resolved to release him for the comparatively small ransom of 2000 dollars. Even this concession must have been a relief and, no doubt, the Viceroy must have been grateful to the particular captain to whom it was due. It is hardly possible that Taylor could have shown generosity to anyone. Colonel Biddulph (p. 158) says it was La Bouche, ex-Captain of the *Indian Queen*, who, on the deposition of England had been elected Captain of the *Victory*. Condent, according to Lazenby, settled on the Island[118] and, according to Johnson (II. 143) obtained a pardon from the Governor, Monsieur Desforges,[119] married his sister-in-law and subsequently retired to St. Malo, where he established himself as a merchant. St. Pierre, on the other hand, says that the generous pirate, owing to some informality in his pardon, was subsequently hanged by a judge whose cupidity was excited by his wealth. St. Pierre also tells us that shortly before his visit in 1770 there died in the Island the last of the pirates who came ashore on this occasion, a man named Adam, at the ripe age of 104. An officer of the British Navy visiting Bourbon in 1763, says that many of the pirates

117 The impression created by these pirates may be judged by the fact that two English vessels, the *Mary* and the *Cardonna* (? *Cardinal*) reported at the Cape on the 5th April 1721 that the pirates had 14 first class vessels at sea, the smallest of 30 guns, and that they intended to form a settlement at Mauritius (Leibbrandt, *Précis*, p. 283).

118 On the 15th April 1723 the Bombay Council wrote home that they had heard from Mauritius that several pirates had come there to take advantage of a general pardon to all pirates granted by the King of France (*Bombay Letters Recd.*)

119 Mr. Charles Grant (*History of Mauritius*, p. 147) says that M. de Beauvilliers was Governor of Bourbon from 1715 to 1721, and that M. Desforges Boucher became Governor in 1722.

brought by Avery, England, Condon and Pattison[120] were then alive and that their descendants were numerous (Grant, p. 164.)

557. Leaving behind them the old *Victory* with all the prisoners and useless hands, Taylor carried off the Portuguese ship, now renamed the *Victory*, with 200 Mozambique negroes on board, to St. Mary's, taking, says Downing (p. 51), a rich Moors ship from China on the way. Here the *Ostend* Galley having been sent down the coast for a new mast, when all the pirates but two happened to be ashore, the Dutchmen and Portuguese on board escaped with the ship. Nevertheless, with the help of Captain Macrae's carpenter, whom they had forced to stay with them, the pirates refitted the new *Victory* (now with 64 guns and 100 men) and the *Cassandra* (now with 40 guns and 100 men). At St. Mary's it is said that eighty of the pirates had died before the ships sailed. Going to the west coast of Madagascar in Tullear Bay, they took and burned a French ship of 200 tons. Then they went to St. Augustine's, where they arrived soon after Commodore Matthews had left (*See para.* 558 *below*) and finding his letters, they wrote with charcoal an impudent message on Captain Carpenter's tomb (on Moreslas Island in Carpenter Bay), saying that on the 28th February (1722) they were leaving for Port Dauphin (Downing, pp. 48, 62, 91), but went to St. John's (east coast of Cape Colony), Delagoa Bay, Mozambique, and so to Massalege (north-west coast of Madagascar ? Majanga). Here in December 1722 they separated. The *Victory* (with 220 men) and a small sloop of 20 guns went to St. Mary's and, according to Johnson (I. 136), was burnt by her crew. The rest of the pirates sailed with Taylor in the *Cassandra* for the West Indies *viâ* the Cape, St. Helena, Ascension, Fernando Po, the Island of Aruba and at last to San Blas Keys (? in Mexico, *Deposition of John Freeman, March* 1723, *Ind. Off.*, *Misc. Letters Recd.*, XIV. No. 162). Then Taylor went to Portobello (on the coast of Panama) and after a, perhaps, pretended attempt to procure a pardon through Captain Laws of H. M. S. *Mermaid*, he accepted a pardon from the King of Spain and was allowed to sell his booty at Portobello, subject only to the King's duty of 20 per cent. The pirates boasted that they could divide to each man £1200 in gold and silver, besides diamonds and rich goods (*Ind. Off.*, *Misc. Letters Recd.*, vol. XIV, p. 205 *et seq*). Johnson (I. 140) says that Taylor obtained a commission in the Spanish service and commanded the man-of-war which in 1723 attacked the English logwood cutters in the Bay of Honduras. If Johnson refers to the Spanish ship which on the 10th March 1723 took nine out of eleven English vessels in the Bay of Honduras and murdered all the crews, it is satisfactory to know that the pirate Edward Low, coming in immediately after this massacre, retook the captured ships and put all the Spaniards to the sword (*British Journal*, 11*th May* 1723). According to Downing (pp. 65, 107-8), the surgeon, through whom Taylor communicated with Captain Laws, was one William Moore of the *Prosperous* of London (Captain James), who had been forcibly detained by England and Taylor throughout their whole cruise in the Eastern Waters. He escaped from Taylor and was taken by Captain Laws to Jamaica and there, his old captain speaking in his favour, he was cleared of the charge of piracy and came to England in the *Mermaid*. If he is the Chief Surgeon mentioned by Lazenby in his Narrative as having shown him a very doubtful friendship when Lazenby was forcibly detained by England and Taylor, it was fortunate for him that Lazenby was not at Jamaica when his case was enquired into.

558. Mention has been made in the last paragraph of the expected arrival in Madagascar of Commodore Thomas Matthews. That officer with a small squadron composed of the *Lion* (Captain Readish), the *Salisbury* (Captain John Cockburn), the *Exeter* (Captain Robert Johnson) and the *Shoreham* (Captain Covell Maine) left England

[120] This is probably Captain Padison of the *St. George* who according to a Portuguese complaint (*Home Miscellaneous*, LX, pp. 31-33) on the 14th July 171?, after burning several ships, belonging to the native prince of Cabinda and Loango, seized a Portuguese vessel (*Our Lady Perceres and St. Anthony*), put her crew ashore and carried her off to Cong in the Persian Gulf.

in February 1720-1 for Madagascar with the object (in compliance with the requests of the East India Company) of destroying the piratical nests in that island. When he arrived at St. Augustine's, June 1721 (Downing p. 80), his ships having lost company, he left letters for the *Salisbury* with the natives and went on to Bombay, where he arrived in September, 1721. The letters remained untouched at St. Augustine's (or at Moreslas Island, Downing, p. 62) until the arrival, at the end of the year, of Taylor, to whom the natives were forced to deliver them. Taylor, according to pirate custom, read them to his crew and, in bravado, left the message above mentioned. Matthews was detained at Bombay for a short time, but in February 1722 he started to cruise round Madagascar. At St. Augustine's he found Taylor's message. At Charneck (? Charrack) Point, three leagues from St. Mary's, 18th April 1722 (Downing, p. 92), he found the cargo of the Moor ship taken by Condent lying on the shore, and salved the guns. Here they met with John Plantain[121] (or James or William, *see* Downing, p. 63 and Dessent's *Deposition, H. C. A.* 1-18), a native of Jamaica and an old pirate, who had come out with England (he told Downing, p. 117, that he belonged to the *Cassandra*) and had settled at Ranter's Bay ten or twelve miles from St. Mary's, as a King amongst the natives (Downing, pp. 63-114). According to Downing, he established himself in supremacy over all the other Kings, but later on betook himself to India and entered the service of Angria who made him one of his principal sea officers (*Authentic Hist. of Tulajee Angria,* p. 52).[122] Matthews allowed his men to trade with Plantain, but when Plantain had left on the shore, under a very slender guard, the arrack and goods which he had purchased, the officers of the fleet sent boats at night and carried them off. This story is corroborated by the depositions of two sailors, Charles Larrat of the *Lion* and Dessent of the *Salisbury* (*High Court of Admiralty,* 1-18). At St. Mary's the squadron made friends with the native Prince, confirming the alliance by swearing by the sea and drinking a glass of sea-water mixed with gunpowder, a ceremony which the pirates had taught the natives (Downing, pp. 93, 123). Apparently satisfied that he could do nothing more, Matthews returned to India. After Lawson's fight with Angrians (*See para.* 561 *below*), Matthews sailed for England, where he arrived in July 1724.

559. So bad a reputation had attached itself to Madagascar before Matthews' visit, and so little was the palpable result of that visit, that the Company's ships did not dare to go there singly. As every ship's course was strictly prescribed before she left England, the reasons for any deviation had to be certified in the most formal manner by the officers and petty officers, the Captain's opinion not being considered sufficient by itself.[123] On the 13th November 1722 the following document, dated 23rd June 1722, Lat. 36°00 3′ from Cape Lagulas [Agulhas], was presented to the Council of Bombay :—

"Whereas the ships *Prince Frederick* [Captain Edward Martin] and the *Hanover*, both bound for the East Indies, did as by order keep company together from the Downs to the Latitude of 35 S. and about 100 leagues west from Cape Bona Esperanza, where we met with a very hard gale of wind and a prodigious great sea with very thick weather, the which continued several days, the wind varing [*sic*] all round the compass, which produced very thick fogs by which reason we lost company and notwithstanding all our endeavours have not seen her since, and being now in the latitude of 36°S. and about 40 leagues to the Eastward of the said Cape and knowing of the number of

121 Downing (p. 116) mentions two allies of Plantain's, *viz.* James Adair, a Scotchman, and Hans Burgen, a Dane.

122 The author of this pamphlet was probably Downing, who is the only writer, so far discovered, who renders the Indian word *Kafila* "scaffold".

123 Such Councils were the last vestige of the old Consultations prescribed by the Laws of Oleron (ascribed to Richard I) to be held by captains with their crews on all critical occasions.

Pyrates that frequent Madagascar and the Main, and more especially in the month of August which would be the time, should we proceed that passage, of our being near the Island of Johanna, where they took the *Cassandra* in that month, it being the chief place of their rendezvous till the Monsoons are over in India Therefore we, John Bond and officers of the ship *Hanover* whose names are hereunder written, do protest against the said Pyrates and do declare that it is not for any private views or interest of our own, but for the safety of the ship and cargoe, do unanimously agree, conclude and resolve, to proceed the outward passage for the Island Zelone [Ceylon] or the first place in India, where we may get intelligence for our better security, we being now a single ship and not capable of defending ourselves against so great a number of enemies, whose force by all accounts is much superior to ours" (*Ind. Off., Log of Hanover*). This document is signed by John Quick [Caulker], James Oliver [Carpenter], Griffith Thomas [Boatswain], Christopher Boulter [Gunner], Frankland Lucas, Adam Robarts, Robert Killets [? Midshipmen], John Browne [2nd Mate], George Court [Chief Mate] and John Bond [Commander]. The order in which the signatures were made seems to approximate to the custom of the most junior officer expressing his opinion first in a Council of War, but how far freedom was allowed to sign or not to sign I cannot express any opinion.

560. Though Commodore Matthews appears to have achieved nothing by his visit to Madagascar, it marks the end of the use of that Island as a base for the Anglo-American pirates. Even those who had settled there died out or sank into absolute insignificance, though it continued to be a halting place for merchantmen for many years longer. In regard to the allegation that Commodore Matthews so far neglected his duty as to behave in a friendly way towards the pirates, Captain Thornhill, Chief Mate in command, tells us, under date 12th August 1723, that at Mozambique a Portuguese official asserted that the Commodore, instead of suppressing the pirates, had traded with them and sold them all manner of naval stores, and that he had on board articles which had been taken out of the Portuguese ship (*Nostra Senhora da Cabo*) but, says Thornhill, the Commodore had visited Mascarenhas. "From this it may be supposed that our men-of-war bought their commodities of the French Governor and at a very cheap rate, which I think any body would do and not slip so good an opportunity." On the other hand, when one of Thornhill's midshipmen recognized on board the Portuguese man-of-war in Mozambique harbour a man who had served with the pirate Hornygold in the West Indies, the Portuguese refused to surrender him (*Log of the Duke of York*). There does not seem much to choose between the English, French Dutch and Portuguese in their moral ideas about piracy.

Malabarese.

561. It has been mentioned that Commodore Matthews arrived at Bombay in September 1721. Downing says (pp. 55-59) that he assisted the Bombay Government in an attack on Angria's fort at Alibag, about 40 miles south of Bombay, which was defeated owing to the treachery of their Portuguese allies. This, if Downing has not confused it with the attack on Gheria in 1720, was the last of Governor Boone's many unsuccessful attempts to reduce the Angrian pirates. He left for England in January 1721-2. On his return from Madagascar in 1722, Matthews again offered his assistance to the Bombay Government. Towards the end of the year, Captain Lawson, with men from the fleet, engaged Angria's grabs off Bombay, capturing one, the first of Angria's fighting vessels to surrender to the English. It was commanded by a Dutchman, who was killed in the fight "or 'tis thought he would sooner have blown up the ship than have been taken" (Downing, pp. 67, 152). Another fight took place somewhat earlier, the *Victoria* Grab and the *Revenge* (Company's cruisers) taking one of the *Kempsaunt's* grabs and destroying another, whilst on the 26th February 1721-2, four of Angria's grabs and several gallivats met two other cruisers, *viz.* the *Eagle* Brigantine (Captain Martin) and the *Hunter* Galley (Captain Doggett) off Bassein. The

British were on the point of victory when the *Hunter* blew up with all on board. Downing (p. 50) says that the *Eagle* also blew up, but as a matter of fact she escaped with the *Bombay Merchant* and two gallivats which were under her convoy, after a running fight, to Serigon and thence to Mahim. Soon after, however, she was wrecked and became a total loss (*Bombay Letters Received*, I. *22nd March* 1721-2). On the 5th November 1722 the *Victoria* and *Revenge* were sent against Angria's fleet, and off Versivah (Vesava St. John's) they captured his Admiral Galley, his Chief Subadar and 90 of his best people. The rest of the fleet escaped to Rajapore River, but this affair so discouraged Angria that for some time his ships did not dare to leave harbour (*Bomb. Letters Recd.* 15 *April*, *paras.*, 7 and 15, *May* 1723, *para.* 19). According to Low (I. 101), during the course of this year, Bombay made an unsuccessful attack on Angria's Fortress of Kolaba, a little south of Bombay. At the very time when the Bombay Council was so hard pressed in holding not only the Angrian but also the Sanganian pirates in check, Commodore Matthews chose to exercise his authority as a King's officer by receiving deserters from the Company's ships and by ordering the Company's cruisers to leave the posts assigned to them for his own convenience (*Bomb. Letters Recd.*, *3rd January* 1723-4, *para.* 9).

Portuguese.

562. In November 1722 Captain Thomas Smith (*Fort St. George* Galley) took two pirates flying Portuguese colours. "The Declarants [Smith and his officers] hoisted English colours and hailed her from whence she came and to whom she belonged. Answer was made that their colours showed who they were, to which the Commander of the *Bengal* (Captain William Jordan) replied that he trusted no colours at sea, but if they were what they pretended, he demanded their sending their boat on board (*Bomb. Cons.*, *11th November* 1722).

Sanganians.

563. On the 8th November 1723 the Bombay Council informed the Court of Directors that they proposed to form a cruising fleet of the *Victoria*, three galleys and half a dozen gallivats, to hold the sea between Carwar and the Sanganian Coast, and hoped to take many of "the Sanganian boats which cruise about the high lands of St. John and intercept our trade in small craft." The *Victoria* had recently taken one of these and made 36 prisoners: the boat itself was sold for 300 rupees, which, according to custom, was divided amongst the captors (*Bomb. Letters Recd.*, *8th November* 1723, *para.* 24)

564. On the 3rd May 1724 the *Fort St. George* Galley brought in a grab which carried no pass, but claimed to belong to the Raja of Porepatam, supposing her to be really a Sanganian. The Raja reclaimed her, saying that he had sent her as convoy to some of his ships sailing to Mocha, and proving that in her passage she had fought two Sanganians. One of these, a grab, had escaped, but the other, a large Surat ship which the Sanganians had taken a year earlier, had been burnt in the fight. Accordingly, the Bombay Council returned the Raja's ship, but only after he had paid up 500 rupees for the tonnage which had sailed out of his port that season without passes, and with the warning that any ship of his found at sea after the 10th September without a pass would be confiscated (*Bomb. Letters Recd.*, *14th Sept.* 1724).

V. Suppression of Piratical Communities.

565. The disappearance of European pirates from the Eastern Waters allowed of the recrudescence of indigenous piracy, but the increase of European commerce, especially British, made it necessary for the latter to take the matter seriously in hand. In earlier days the English (like other Europeans) had looked upon the native pirates chiefly as one means of keeping their rivals out of their way, but the impunity thus bestowed upon the pirates only taught them how to fight and whetted their appetites for the fine prey to be got from the English country trade and still more from the British Europe ships.

566. Amongst the native pirates themselves, the Sidis, who held the Mughal commission (*See para* 305 *above*), were so weakened by the rise of the Marathas, especially by the

great defeat which the latter inflicted on them in 1732, when they lost most of their territory and seaports, that they were strongly inclined to seek friendship with the British and retire from piracy (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 161). In June 1758 the British occupied the Sidi capital of Rajapore, and in December of the same year acquired predominance in Surat, whilst in 1759 they were appointed Admirals of the Mughal, with the special duty of suppressing piracy (Anquetil du Perron, L'Inde, II. 30). The petty piratical States south of Mount Deli had been reduced to quiescence before 1750 (*See para.* 625 *below*). In 1756 the Angrians were suppressed by the capture of Gheria by Watson and Clive, only to be replaced by the Sivajis or Marathas, who however both indulged in piracy themselves and encouraged it as over-lords of Kolhapur (Malwan) and of the Sawunts (Vingurla), both of whom were reduced by the British in 1812. With the suppression of the Waghers of Gujarat in 1820 the Sanganians practically disappeared, and the lessons given by the British to the Joasmis in 1809 and 1820 culminated in the Permanent Peace of 1843 which put an end to organised piracy in the Persian Gulf.

567. In the Far East the occupation of Rhio by the Dutch in October 1818 and of Singapore by the British, 6th February 1819, made piracy in the Malacca States a very hazardous occupation, whilst the introduction of steam vessels in 1837 sounded the death knell of piracy in the Malay Archipelago; but the Illanuns were not driven out of Borneo until 1846, and their last base in that island, namely Tungku, was not destroyed until 1852. Meanwhile the Suluans had received a shattering blow in the capture of the Island of Balagnini by the Spaniards in 1848, and were finally subdued in 1851. A little earlier, in 1849, Raja Brooke with the aid of British warships had taught the Borneo Malays and Dyaks a severe lesson. These acts of force would, if they had stood alone, have proved as temporary in their results as the previous punishments inflicted by the Dutch, for to destroy towns which could be rebuilt in a few days, to burn *prahus* which could be easily replaced, to put to flight bodies of pirates, the bulk of whom escaped into jungles into which they could not be followed, could not have had any permanent effect unless supported by more convincing measures. What really put an end to Malay piracy was the use of steam vessels which could run down the swift war-*prahus* of the Malays, and the restoration of commerce and security which made peaceful trade more profitable than piracy. The first steam-vessel used against the pirates was the English East India Company's *Diana* in 1836. The man who first showed that a peaceful life was practicable and profitable for the Malays was Raja Brooke of Sarawak.

568. In China piracy was so mixed up with patriotic rebellion and with smuggling that it is difficult often to distinguish between these different forms of illegal activity, but piracy seems to have come to an end as a profession in China with the ordinances of Governor Macdonell in 1867. From this date Hongkong ceased to be a source of intelligence and reprovisionment for the piratical organisations which from time immemorial had been closely connected with the islands lying in the mouth of the Canton River.

569. Sporadic outbreaks of piracy have since occurred in all parts of the Eastern Waters, but none of such importance as seriously to threaten the security of commerce.

Malabarese.

570. In 1724 the Dutch made an unsuccessful attack on Angria's fortress at Vijaydurg. In 1727 he took an English ship, and it was reported that the Bombay Government was forced to expend £50,000 annually for protection against the country pirates, of whom he was the most troublesome. In 1728 he retook the grab which Lawson had taken in 1722 (*See para.* 561 *above*) In 1729 Angria took the Company's Galley *King William*, and treated very cruelly Captain McNeale and other prisoners, whom however he released for the paltry ransom of five hundred rupees (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. 87; *Bomb. Quarterly Review*, IV. 72; Low. I. 104).

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LAND'S ANECDOTA SYRIACA ON THE SYRIANS OF MALABAR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN BY THE REVD. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

(*Continued from page 46.*)

Observations by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J.

These summary historical notes by the Priest Matthew are full of inaccuracies and exaggerations. It is not our object to discuss or refute them at any length. We shall refer the student to the *Travancore Manual,* II. 135—223, where G. T. Mackenzie has compiled a very elaborate history of Christianity in Travancore and Malabar generally. The chief interest of Matthew's paper to me personally is that it mentions Manikka Vâśakar, Thomas Cana, Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh.

1 *The year* 52 *A.D.* Further study should disclose how the year 52 was arrived at. In Thomas Ramban's poem of 1601 the date of St. Thomas' arrival in Malabar is December 50. Nowadays the year 52 has acquired a certain fixity in books on St. Thomas published in Malabar.

3 *Mylapore.* The priest Matthew already deviates from the usual accounts which bring St. Thomas first to Malabar.

4 *Malankarai.* This is the name used exclusively by the Syrians for Malabar. *Trav. Man.,* I. 3. "This is Malankara, a small island in the lagoon S. E. from Kodungalûr." (J. Burgess, *Ind. Ant.,* IX (1880), p. 313 n. 2).

5 *Kutkajel.* Is not this Kôṭṭakkâyal, or Parur Kottakavu, near Cranganore? J. Burgess (*Ind. Ant.,* IX, 313) identifies it with Kôṭṭakâyal. de Couto also speaks of Calicut, but doubtfully, as the place where St. Thomas first landed. In Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 4 : Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 274, he says that St. Thomas first landed at Mogodover Patana, where according to Abdias, "he converted a son of the King of Malavar, who must be he of Paru, where he landed, and where there are still many Christians to-day. Or perhaps the first city where he landed was Calicut, where the Chaldean books say he converted the Christian Perimal, the Emperor of the whole of Malavar." de Couto may have mistaken Kutkajel for Calicut. Does Lacroze follow de Couto ? Parur is considered to be one of St. Thomas' Seven Churches, and so is Kokamangalam and Neranam, but not Irapeli and Tirubokut.

6 *Irapeli.* Edapuli or Rapolim is mentioned as having a Romo-Syrian Church, St. George's, and another of Sts. Peter and Paul ; Verapoli is mentioned as having a Latin Church, St. Joseph's. *Cf.* Paulinus a S. Barth., *India Or. Christ.,* Romae, 1794, pp. 267, 269. Whitehouse identifies Rapolim with Edapal (du Perron, 1758), Edapuli (Paulinus) and Eddapally. "Yerapalli, near Eddapalli, N.E. from Cochin." (J. Burgess, *Ind. Ant.,* IX. 313 n. 4) .

Menezes visited in order the churches of Carturte, Corolégato and Ignhaperi.. This last, in the kingdom of the Pimenta (or Pepper?) Queen, had a church dedicated to the H. Ghost. *Jornada,* bk. 2, ch. 14. Whitehouse identifies Menezes' Nagpili or Ignapeli with Raulin's Negapare (1745), du Perron's Church of the H. Virgin of Nagapojo, Paulinus' Nagapushe, and Nágapare. (p. 297). T. K. Joseph distinguishes Ñâyapalli (Muṭṭachira with its Church of the H. Ghost, Gouvea's Ignhaperi) from Nâgapuḷa.

9 *Tirubokut.* This must be Tiruvankoḍu, or Travancore. In 1599, Christians, who were so in name only, at a distance of 25 leagues from Quilon, towards Cape Comorin, were worshipping a cobra. They had been more than 50 years without a priest. de Menezes sent them a Vicar. (*Jornada,* bk. 2, ch. 8, fol. 94 v. col. 1.)

10 *After* 92 *years.* On what is this period based ? If St. Thomas died in A.D. 78, to account for the Śâlivâhaṇa era, this would bring us to A.D. 170. I do not think that Mylapore was ever without Christians until they were driven out from there some time between Nicolo de' Conti's visit (c. A.D. 1430) and A.D. 1500.

11 *Manikbosr.* This is Manikka Vâśakar, whose connection with the Christians is still a hopeless tangle. We deal more fully with this incident in our book on *Antiquities of S. Thomé and Mylapore,* now in the press. A collection of Syrian texts and traditions on Manikka Vâśakar is a great desideratum.

13 *Renounced the orthodox faith.* The occasion is often said to have been the machinations of Manikka Vâśakar.

13*a* 96 *families renounced the faith.* We are still in the dark about the Manigramakkar, the families which are said to have yielded. There are still representatives of this defection and of the Manigramakkar in Malabar. It is not yet too late perhaps to study their traditions and what books and ritual they may have.

Matthew speaks of 160 families, of which 96 yielded and 64 remained steadfast; Mackenzie of 96 which yielded and 8 which remained faithful ; Visscher says that for want of teachers the 160 families were reduced to 96 and then to 64.

15 *The Catholicus of the East.* Adrian Fortescue (*The Lesser Eastern Churches,* p. 357) refers to this passage without venturing to explain the title 'Catholicus of the East.' Why has another version, to be

found in Ittûp's *History* (Malayalam), pp. 88-91, brought in the Catholicus of Jerusalem and Yustêdiûs of Antioch ? Swanston mentions Eustathius of Antioch. Now Eustathius of Antioch was deposed in the Council of Antioch in A.D. 330, and died in exile at Trajanopolis in Thrace in A.D. 360. *Cf.* Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 1908, pp. 246 ; 252. Ittûp's Yustêdiûs appears to be Eustathius pronounced in English fashion, which does not improve the situation. Did he find the name in Swanston ? How did Swanston obtain it ? Have we merely a belated effort here to connect the primitive Church of Malabar with Antioch ? A passage quoted from Buchanan in favour of a pre-Portuguese connection with Antioch (*Trav. Man.*, II. 124) is unauthenticated.

16 *Their bishops and merchants.* Land misunderstood this passage. He speaks of conditions in India, instead of at Edessa.

18 *Thomas of Jerusalem.* Why is Thomas said to have been of Jerusalem ? The Portuguese writers always call him Cananeo, without commenting on Canaan or Cana. At times they call him a merchant. They do not speak of the Bishop of Edessa and his vision, nor of a migration, which makes me suspicious about the later stories.

Is Thomas called 'of Jerusalem' because he had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ?

I look with the greatest suspicion on the mention of Jerusalem and Antioch in this affair and at this date. If, as Fr. Monserrate says (1579), Thomas Cana came a first time to India *via* Ormuz (and by what other route do we suppose him to have come?), we do not expect him to have communicated with any one else than the Bishop of Edessa. All running to and fro between Edessa, Jerusalem and Antioch for the sake of the Bishop of Edessa's vision or dream must appear fanciful, or inspired by party-spirit. The same for the permission granted by Antioch to the Bishop of Edessa to visit India.

20 *A.D.* 345. The Brahmans of Calicut calculated that the last Chêramân Perumal, with whom the Christians connected their Thomas Cana, ceased to reign in A.D. 347, and Bishop Roz gives March 1, 346 as the date of his death. There is, therefore, some consensus here, which we should think is not accidental.

21*a* *The Thomas Cana copper-plates still in Malabar.* This is a sample of Matthew's inventions. To us who try our utmost to rediscover these plates, Matthew's information is an intolerable hoax. The Christians of 1599 were already complaining that the Cranganore plates had been lost through the carelessness of the Portuguese factor of Cochin.

22 *Kûramaklûr.* This can be no other place than Cranganore, Curanguluru, as Monserrate spelt it in 1579.

25 *Sapor and Pirut in A.D.* 823. Bishop Roz puts down their arrival as 100 years after the foundation of Quilon (therefore in A.D. 925). Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, XIV, 681b. Gouvea (*Jornada*, fol. 4v) says they came not many years after the foundation of Quilon, which he set down in A.D. 1602–780 or A.D. 822. We expect 777 instead of 780. In his *Jornada*, fol. 94v col. 1, he says of Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh that they received favours from "the then King of Coulão, seven hundred and thirty-three years ago." This makes A.D. 1602—733 or A.D. 869. Raulin's 879 (p. 434) is the result of a bad subtraction. Le Quien's "about 880" should drop out on this account also. Assemani's 922 would be based on Gouvea's 822 for the foundation of Quilon and Roz' "100 years later." (*Cf.* Raulin, p. 5 n) Scaliger gives 907 for the beginning of the Calicut era, not for the foundation of Quilon: the stranger is the mistake of du Perron, who gives 825 for the foundation of Calicut. *Cf.* Paulinus, *Ind. Or. Christ.* pp. 11-12. Paulinus has 825 for the arrival of Thomas Cana, and 925 for the arrival of Mar Sapor and his companion (*ibid.*, XXII ; 19-20). His 925 is founded on de Souza's *Or. Conq*, which is based in this matter on the very words of Bishop Roz. Roz' A.D. 825 + 100 = 925, is suspect because of a round figure. If the plates of the Quilon Tarisa church are dated in A.D. 824, as was generally thought, it may well be that the era of Quilon is due to the Christians.

Zaleski (*Les origines du Christianisme aux Indes*, p. 138) says that the following wrong dates have been given for Thomas Cana : 745, 825, 855, 907. We have 800 for Thomas Cana in Assemani and Raulin (Raulin, p. 434). We know what to think of 825 and 907 : 855 is probably Raulin's *c.* A.D. 850 for the arrival of Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh Who is responsible for 745 ? Visscher, translating an account by Mar Gabriel. (*Cf.* Germann, p. 91, who rejects it).

26 *Sbaryesu.* The Portuguese often speak of the two Armenian brothers, Bishops, or of Sapor and Prodh ; but who is responsible for Saul and Ambrose ? Māruvān Sabir Îsô (Sbaryeshu) is mentioned in the Quilon Tarisa copper-plates (of A D. 824 ?). Is it established that he is different from Mar Sapor ? As for Prodh, may he not be the Budh Periodeutes who under Patriarch Ezechiel, *c* A.D. 570, had charge of the Christians of Persia and the neighbouring countries of the Indies, and who translated an Indian book, *Calilagh and Damnagh*, into Syriac ? Assem., *B.O*, III, Pt. 1, 219.

The Romo-Syrian churches now dedicated to Sts. Gervasius and Protasius were before de Menezes dedicated to Mar Sapor and Prodh.

27 *Sakirbirti.* "In a Syriac extract, which is however modern, in Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* (Latin, I 125 ; Syriac, p. 27), it is stated that three Syrian Missionaries came to Kaulam in A.D. 823, and got leave

from King Shakîrbîrtî to build a church and city at Kaulam. It would seem that there is some connection between the date assigned to this event and the 'Kollam era'; but what it is we cannot say. *Shakîrbîrtî* is evidently a form of *Chakravartti Râja*." Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Quilon.

30a *Denho, Thomas, Jacob, and Jahbaloho.* "From the letter of the bishops of India in 1515 [*sic* for 1504] what is said of those three bishops, *i.e.*, Mar-Dua or Dena, Thoma, Jonnam, appears to be wrong, because only two were then sent, *viz.*, John and Thomas, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1490. Thomas alone then returned to Mesopotamia and he then brought three other bishops with him to India, *i.e.*, Denha, Jaballaha and Jacob." Raulin, p. 9 n.b. See also *Trav. Man.*, II. 148—149.

31 *Lord Abraham in* 1580. His credentials contained a letter from Pope Pius IV. of Febr. 28, 1565 Cf. *Trav. Man.*, II. 165-171. He died in 1597 (not in 1596), according to the Jesuit authorities.

32 *Burning of Syriac books.* Most authors, not excluding our modern Romo-Syrians, cannot write dispassionately of this matter. Let them examine the *Jornada* and the decrees of the Council of Diamper for what was done. *Cf.* Raulin's *Elogia* for an extract from a letter of J. M. Campori, S.J., Nov. 28, 1599.

34 30,000 *double gold pieces.* I find no allusion to this in any other book at my disposal.

34a *They submitted to the Frank bishops.* The real story is in *Trav. Man.*, II. 174-180.

36 *Mar Ignatius.* Even the Romo-Syrians still believe, as I had occasion to hear more than once while in Malabar (1924), that Mar Ignatius was drowned by the Portuguese before Cochin. But foul play was ascribed equally to the Portuguese, and each time rashly, in the case of several other Bishops and priests who died while out of Malabar, in territory belonging either to the Portuguese or to the French. Some Latin authors, for instance Raulin, p. 442 col. 2, say Mar Ignatius was burned by the Inquisition of Goa. Friar Paulinus says he died at Goa about A.D. 1654 (*Ind. Or. Christ*, p. 73). There is no reason why the ordinary historian should not accept Mackenzie's findings about his being deported to Portugal and dying at Paris on his way from Lisbon to Rome.

37 *By means of the Syrian deacons.* Menezes had deposed neither the bishops, because after Mar Abraham's death there was no Syrian bishop left, nor the priests. Land, finding only deacons mentioned here, jumps to the conclusion that Menezes had deposed bishops and priests. No attempt to verify a statement.

38 *Mutumseri.* Matancheri, now part of Cochin. Cf. *Trav. Man.*, II. 184. Alanghat is the same as Mangate.

40 *A bishop of the Franks.* This cannot be Francisco Roz, who died in 1624 at Parur, where he is buried. It is not likely either that Bishop Francis Garcia be referred to. The allusion appears to be to the Carmelite bishops, the first of whom arrived at Palur on Febr. 22, 1657. Cf. *Trav. Man.*, II. 186.

41a *Catholicus of the East.* The title seems to be used here in the sense of "the Jacobite Catholicus of Antioch."

42 *Mar Gabriel.* There is much divergence about the year of his arrival in Malabar : 1704 and 1709 (*cf.* Raulin, 445. col. 2) and 1708 (*Trav. Man.*, II. 203-204). He did not die in 1716, as Assemani asserts, but in 1731 (*Trav. Man.*, II. 205).

44 *Of the Franciscans ?* We should understand the Jesuits, chiefly those of Ambalakada. They were called Paulites or Paulists all over India, from their College of S. Paolo de S. Fè at Goa.

46a *The priest Matthew.* The date of Matthew's letter does not appear. Land seems to confuse him with Mar Thomas IV, with whom Dr. Schaaf, Professor of Oriental Languages at the Leyden University, entered into correspondence after 1714. Mar Thomas IV. mentions Schaaf in a letter to the Patriarch of Antioch, dated from Pharahur Patana (Parur) the 25th of Elul (Sept.) 1720. In the same letter he mentions a certain priest, Matthew Beticulel, whom he trusted. Cf. *Trav. Man.*, II. 204-205. As Mar Thomas IV. died in 1728 and Mar Gabriel in 1731, it is possible that, as Mar Thomas IV is not mentioned by Matthew, our document was written after his death. We might therefore think that Matthew's letter is of about A.D. 1730.

Among the Oriental MSS. of the Leyden University, No. 1211 is entitled thus :—

Malayâlattil olla suriyâni-kkârkka bhaviśśa bhavitankal, *i.e.*, Events which occurred among the Syrian Christians.

"It begins with the arrival of 'Mar Thomma' in the year 82[a] after the birth of Christ," wrote R. Rost, Professor of Dravidian languages at Cambridge (6 Nov. 1860). He took it to be 800 years old, but R. Collins, Principal of the Church Missionary College, Kottayam, wrote : "It is the commencement of one of the many histories, scattered amongst the people, relating to the Syrian Church. A reader in my employ has a MS. beginning much in the same way. The bit which Dr. Rost sends is certainly quite modern." *Cf.* Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, I, pp. 7-8.

[a] *Sic.*

No. 1215 in the same library contains liturgical writings of the Syro-Malabar Church (post-Portuguese, Roman Catholic). *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 8-12. At fol. 29r of the MS. there is a mention of "Dom Franciscus Metropolita."

Land does not tell us how these MSS. reached Leyden. His *Anecdota* do not contain anything more for the purpose of our researches on St. Thomas and the St. Thomas Christians.

* * *

Remarks by T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., Trivandrum.

The following notes were received by me after I had sent my paper to the *Indian Antiquary*. They refer to Land's notes and mine and have been given the same numeral notation.—H.H.

4 *Moljokare* is Mâlyâṅkara, a small island in the lagoon S.E. from "Cranganore," as Burgess says. It is quite different from Malaṅkara, Malabar. The names differ in meaning and in spelling. It is not Mâvêlikkara. Mâlyâṅkara is close to Parur, to the north of the latter.

5 *Kutkayel* is Kôṭṭakkâyal, Parur: not Calicut. St. Thomas did not land at Calicut, but he is said to have established one of his seven churches at Pâlûr or Pâlayûr, which I suppose de Couto means by Calicut. Pâlûr is far away from Calicut. [The only reason for bringing in Calicut seems to be that some (chiefly the Muhammadans ?) made of Calicut the capital of the Perumal.—H.H.]

6 *Irapeli*: Iṭappalli. St. Thomas did not found a church here. This is near Parur. It is neither Verapoli nor Ignapeli.

7 *Gukamagalam* is not Mangalam.

9 *Tirubokut* is Tiruvâṅkôṭe in S. Travancore. There are 'Tarisa Christians' even now in Tiruvâṅkôte. They are referred to in one of the Diamper Decrees and by Gouvea. This is the Tiramgoto of Barbosa. This name of the old capital of Vêṇâd is now applied to the whole State of Travancore. St. Thomas did not found a church here, but the Tarisa Christians there say that they were brought to the place from Mylapore by St. Thomas. [It is quite possible that, as our first missionaries often say, some people ran away from Mylapore to Travancore. This may have been in the fifteenth century, before the arrival of the Portuguese, when Mylapore was destroyed as a Christian settlement.—H.H.]

10 (Hosten.) *Śâlivâhana.* I have not seen the Sâlivâhana era used in any Christian records, old or new, in Malabar.

[The Rev. Matthew Theccanat wrote to me from Sacred Heart Mount, Kottayam, 28. 8. 1924 : "I have come across a manuscript copy of a book obtained from a priest of about sixty-four, who got it from a grand-uncle of his. The book must therefore have been written not later than a hundred years ago. The book opens thus : 'Mar Thomman (St. Thomas) came to Malankara (Malabar) in the year 78 after the birth of the Messiah and visited the Perumal. He built a church in Mailapur, came to Malabar, erected seven crosses and preached the Faith. 345 years after the birth of Maran Esso (the Messiah) Thomas of Cana landed in Cranganore, when the Yavanas (the Greeks ?) were trading in the kingdoms of the Emperor of Cranganore and Calicut. Thomas visited these emperors and got from them 444 Mulams (cents) of land.' After this the author of the book mentions the privileges granted to Thomas of Cana by the Perumal." Whatever be the value of the date A.D. 78 for St. Thomas' landing in Malabar, it is the first year of the Śâlivâhana era, and, if Śâlivâhana means the cross-borne or cross-bearer, it would follow that, as a Jesuit Missionary (Bishop Roz) wrote in 1604, the Indians calculated their era from the death of St. Thomas. With Wilford I hold that Śâlivâhana is Christ or Thomas.—H.H.]

[But Prof. Rapson says that the first year of Kanishka's reign was most probably 78 A.D. and that evidences make it "seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A.D."—*Cf. Cambridge History of India* I, 1922, pp. 582, 583 and Preface, pp. viii–x.

While Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil said : "We shall therefore conclude that Kanishka is not the founder of the Saka era." And "the most simple, the most natural and the most logical theory consists in saying : The Saka era of 78 was founded by Chashṭana," king of Ujjain.—*Cf. Ancient History of the Deccan*, Pondicherry, 1920, pp. 34, 36.—T.K.J.]

11 *Manikbose* is Mânikkavâchakar, who is said, in a Malayalam MS. history, to have come to Quilon in A.D. 315. See my *Malabar Christian Copper Plates*, pp. 49, 60.

12 161, 96, 61. These numbers differ in different versions.

Familias: *baitho*, in the original Syriac, is akin to *beth*, in Bethlehem, Bethesda, etc., and means people in a house, household, family, not community, or church.

13 (Hosten.) There are Manigrâmakkar even now in Quilon and Kayamkulam, but they are a low class of Śûdras. The high-class Śûdras call them contemptuously Karamukkavar, *i.e.*, 'land-fishermen.' The old generation of them admits, though not openly, that their ancestors were Christians.

18 *Thomas of Jerusalem.* St. Thomas, Mâṇikkavâchakar, Thomas Cana, and the Kâdîšâs (Sapor and Prodh) are constant factors in all versions of Malabar Christian tradition

21 *Serkun* is Chêrakôn, which means King of Malabar.

22 *Kuramaklur* : Cranganore : not Koṭamâlûr.

23 *Syrian Fathers* : Bishops or Patriarchs : not priests. Syrian priests are not called fathers, except recently in imitation of the Portuguese practice. The word in the original must be some form of âbûn, father. Cp. 'Abba, father' of the Bible. Âbûna Jacob is Bishop Jacob, though literally 'Father Jacob'

25 Lord Sapor, Mar Sapor, Bishop. Mâr (Syriac) = Lord, applied to laymen also as a term of respect, *e.g.*, by servants to masters.

Sebarjesu is Sabr Îšô of the two copper plates of the Quilon Church (*c.* 880 A.D.).

(Hosten.) The following dates can, I think, be taken as correct. Sabr Îšô of the Quilon Church copper plates came a little before A.D. 825 and refounded Quilon in 825. Mar Sapor came in Sabr Îšô's ship, either with that merchant or after his refounding Quilon, *i.e.*, c. A.D. 825. The Quilon Church plates are of *c.* 880 A.D. All these events are generally assigned, wrongly, to the same year.

Bishop Roz' "100 years after the foundation of Quilon" is the approximate date of the plates (*c.* 880). 1602—733=869 in *Jornada* is, I suppose, the actual date of the earlier of the two sets of Quilon Church plates.

Raulin's 879, if it be correct at all, may apply to the second set of Quilon Church plates. Le Quien's 'about 880' is the date of the Quilon Church plates. [Raulin says at p. 434 : "According to the Malabar tradition, Gouvea wrote that these two Bishops [Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh] were sent to those churches a little after the foundation of the town of Coulam, where they built the Church of St. Thomas, 733 years before the year when Gouvea wrote, that is 1602 : hence we conclude that this happened in A.D. 879." Raulin should have said A.D. 869.— H.H.]

'The Calicut era.' No such era is known. I think old writers called the Quilon era the Calicut era, because of a confusion between Quilon in Travancore and Quilon near Calicut. The former was called Kurakkêṇi Kollam (Quilon) ; the latter, Pantalâyini Kollam (Quilon) This latter has become Pandarani (Portuguese), Flandrina (Odoric), Fandreeah (an Arabic author), Fandara'na (Ibn Batuta). Some accounts say that Vasco da Gama first landed here.

The plates of the Quilon Tarisa Church are not of 824, but of *circa* 880. Sabr Îšô, re-founder of Quilon in Travancore, must have been about 80 years old when he got the plates.

Sabarjesu is Maruvân Sabir Îšô of the Quilon Church plates. Maruvân is, I think, a variant of Mar, lord. Sabr Îšô (Persian or Syriac.) = patience of Jesus. Sabr Îšô is not the same person as Mar Sapor.

27 *Sakîrbîrtî.* Chakravarti (Skt.) emperor : not a proper name. Some old writings give his name as Śaṅkara Iravi Śri. The name of the contemporary emperor at Cranganore given in the Quilon copper plates (set No. 1) is Tâṇu Iravi (Skt. Sthâṇu Ravi), who ruled up to at least the last quarter of the 9th century (*T.A.S.*, III, p. 162). Sthâṇu is a synonym for Śaṅkara. Hence, I suppose, Sthâṇu Ravi became Śaṅkara Iravi in some later MSS. But Sthâṇu Ravi could not even have been born in 825 : besides, he was not king of Quilon, but Emperor of Malabar ruling from Cranganore.

31 (Hosten.) *Lord Abraham* : Mar Abraham ; Bishop, not layman

32 (Hosten.) The tradition of the Malabar Syrians and their belief are that Menezes burnt many more books than are mentioned in Gouvea, the Diamper Decrees, etc. [J. M. Campori, S.J., wrote after the Diamper council from the Seminary of Vaipicota, near Parur, on Nov. 28, 1599 : "Father Francisco Roz and I are busy examining their books. We delete, cut out, and throw into the fire entire books. All considered this work as a marvel. Formerly they were so attached to their books that they would not even allow them to be opened by us. Now they were not annoyed to see us erase, truncate and burn entire books, as we pleased." *Cf.* Raulin, in the *Elogia* - H.H.]

33 Quqsin : Cochin.

34 Mutumsori : Maṭṭâñchêri.

40 *Bispe* is from the Portuguese, not from the Skt. It is found in old Malayalam writings of the Portuguese period, and is sometimes even now used by the Roman Catholics in Malabar.

44 The Jesuits were known in Malayalam as Paulîstâkkâr (Paulists). Sampâḷuppâtirimâr (San Paolo Padres), and Yêšuvittanmâr (Jesuits).

J. C. Visscher's Version of Matthew's Letter.

I considered myself fortunate when, in February 1926, while at Calcutta, I found in Major Heber Drury's translation of *Letters from Malabar by Jacob Canter Visscher* (Madras, 1862, pp. 105-109) a somewhat different version of Land's document. It comes in the 16th letter of the Dutch domine. Now, as his letters 18 and 19 are of 1723, we can bring down the date of Matthew's document from 1730 (*cf.* my note 46*a* above) to 1723. At any rate Matthew used a document existing in 1723, and this gives us a further reason to identify him with the priest Matthew Beticutel. The end in Visscher is later than 1705.

Visscher writes :—

'It will not be useless, nor will you take it amiss, if I include in this letter a somewhat remarkable account of the origin and spread of Christianity in Malabar, which has been sent me by Bishop Mar Gabriel, written in the Syriac language. The title runs as follows :— "The antiquity of the Syrian Christians and Historical events relating to them."

"Fifty-two years after the birth of the Messiah the holy Apostle Thomas arrived at Maliapore on the coast of Coromandel[1], preaching the Gospel and founding Churches there. Passing from thence to Malabar, the holy man landed on the island of Maliankarre, (situated between Cranganore and Paroe)[2], preached and taught, and built churches in that island, and likewise at Cottacay,[3] Repolym[4] Gokkomangalam, Pernetta[5], and Tiroeusngotta ;[6] and having finished his work in these parts and ordained two priests, returned to the land of the Pandies (as the natives of Coromandel are called) (**Page 106**) to teach the people there. But whilst he was thus occupied, the Apostle was pierced by the Heathens with spears, and thus ended his life. In the course of a few years all the priests in Hindostan and Malabar died ; and many years afterwards[7], a *Torenaar*,[8] called Mamukawasser[9], an enemy to the Christian faith, arrived at Maliapore, performing many miracles to hinder its progress. And many of the principal Christians giving heed to him, forsook Christianity and followed this false teacher Mamukawasser. In those days certain persons came from Hindowy or Hindostan, who were not disposed to abandon the people of Malabar, and who allied themselves with the believers[10], that is, the Christians, who had remained constant, in number about 160 families, or tribes. These men taught for many years in Malabar, but there were few among them who had knowledge, because they were destitute of pastors ; and therefore most of them ended in becoming heathens, and had all things in common with the other heathens. This caused a second apostacy : so that out of the 160 families, 96 adopted the heathen superstitions, 64 only adhering to the true faith. Now in those days there appeared a vision to an Archpriest, at Oerghai[11], in consequence whereof certain merchants were sent from Jerusalem by command of the Catholic authorities in the East, to see whether there were here any Nazarenes or Christians. These persons having arrived here with ships, joined all the Christians from Maliankarre, as far as Tierowangotta, treated them as brothers and strengthened them in the faith ; and having taken leave of the 64 families, set sail and returned to Jerusalem and related to the Catholics in that place their adventures in Malabar. After this, several priests, students, and Christian women and children came hither from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem, by order of the Catholic Archpriest at Oerghai, arriving in the year of the Messiah 745, in company with the merchant Thomas[12] ; and having made acquaintance with the 64 families, they became united and lived in concord one with another. At this time the famous Emperor Cheram Peroumal was reigning over the whole of Malabar. To him the newcomers went, and when they informed him of the cause of their arrival, the King was well pleased, and gave them pieces of ground in the territory of Cranganore to build Churches and shops upon that they might pursue their trades ; at the same time he granted the Christians royal marks of honour, and permission to carry on their trade throughout the whole (**Page 107**) country so long as the sun and moon should shine, as may be seen to this day in their documents written upon copper plates. In consequence of this, the Christians possess in the territory of Cranganore East, West, North and South, several churches, besides 472 shops and dwelling houses built round them ; and they lived in peace and unity for several years. In this period, by order of the Catholic Patriarch of the East, many great teachers arrived in Malabar, from Bagdad, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and several other places, who assumed authority over the Christians of the country. This state of things lasted until a separation took place among the Christians of Cranganore, in the year of our Lord 823,[13] and then Mar Saboor, Mar Botoe,[14] and Seboor Isso came to Quilon as teachers. They went to visit the King Sjak Rawiosti,[15] with presents, and built Churches and shops at Quilon.

In these and similar ways, the chief pastors came, teaching and instructing the people of Malabar. In the year 1500, when the Portuguese first appeared in Malabar, where they afterwards obtained a footing, there came, by order of the Catholic Patriarch, four teachers, by name Mardina,[16] Mar Jacob, Mar Thoma, and Jene Allay,[17] who governed the Christians and built many churches. After the death of these four teachers, another, called Mar Abraham came to Malabar, about the year 1550,[18] whereupon the Portuguese passed a decree that henceforth no Catholic teachers should come thither, and placed guards everywhere to seize and put to death all who should attempt it. Mar Abraham was captured, but escaped through God's mercy, and continued to teach for many years, and built several churches: after which, he went the way of all flesh. After that time the road was closed to the Syrian priests, and the Christians experienced a want of pastors; which the Portuguese perceiving, a Vicegerent and Bishop, called Alexio,[19] came to the city of Cochin in the name of, and with authority from, the Pope of Rome. This Bishop took a great deal of trouble to bring the Syrian Christians into subjection, and seeing no chance of effecting his object, the Portuguese gave to the King of Cochin 30,000 ducats, and with the help of His Highness persecuted the Christians who dwelt in his dominions, for three whole years. The Christians then, unable to endure the persecution longer, submitted to the Bishop, and thus became reconciled with the Portuguese. Shortly afterwards, the Syrian manners and customs underwent a change: the priests were forbidden to (**Page 108**) marry: and for about 55 years the Syrians followed the same customs as the Portuguese. In the meantime a priest called Mar Matti[20] came to Maliapore sent by the Catholic Patriarch. The Portuguese apprehended him and brought him into the city and afterwards dragged him to the harbour and cast him into the water[21]. On hearing this, the Christians of Malabar assembled in the church of Mar Tancheri,[22] took counsel together, bound themselves by oath, and thus threw off the Portuguese yoke from their necks: having first written and signed a letter that from that time forward and for ever, they would have nothing more to do, for good or evil, with the Portuguese. Meanwhile the Portuguese Bishop went to Cranganore, wrote secretly to the Cassanarios[23] and Christians, and sent messengers, with presents consisting of fine silk stuffs, gold ornaments and jewels: and those who were allured by these things and also by fair words and promises, went over secretly to that Bishop. The Portuguese and those who belonged to that party, filled the hands of the Prince, in whose country the Syrian Christians dwelt, with gifts and materially injured the latter by sundry vexations, confiscations and deeds of violence. And in the days of this persecution, the upright, God-fearing, Justice-loving, and peaceable Dutch were sent to Malabar by the inspiration of Almighty God and by order of the East India Company, under the command of the noble Lord Admiral Ryklop[24] van Goens, and like as the heathen were driven out of the land of Isso Biranon Kainan [Canaan ?][25] so have they driven the worse than heathen Portuguese out of Cochin and other cities and fortresses of Malabar: and through Divine Providence the Syrian Christians have been from that time forward protected and defended from them, and their pastors have again visited this country without let or hindrance. In the beginning of the year 1700, the Bishop Mar Symons, sent by the Catholic Patriarch of the East, arrived in India, being appointed to Malabar. This man gave notice of his intended arrival by letters to the Syrian Christians, which happening to fall into the hands of the Carmelites and Jesuits, they accordingly placed sentinels everywhere, captured the Bishop, and led him prisoner to Pondicherry, where they kept him in irons.[26] After him, in the year 1705, the chief teacher, Mar Gabriel, came to this land; and since that time most of the Syrians have adopted the Church customs of the Portuguese, subjecting themselves to several ceremonies, and condemning (**Page 109**) the marriage of the Priests; and that out of the 64 churches, twenty have remained on the side of the Carmelites, and 44 on that of the Syrians: but as we enjoy the favour of the Lord Commandant, we hope that all this will be restored to the old footing, and this is what we

now humbly pray of his Excellency and his Council, trusting that they will not turn away their face from us. And therefore we pray God to spare them in good health and all welfare, and to give them blessing and prosperity."

The notes in square brackets, bearing the initials T.K.J. are by Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum.

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1 The reason why St. Thomas is brought first to Mylapore seems to be that, somehow, in Malabar it was thought that Mylapore was the capital of Gondophares and that therefore Habban, Gondophares' merchant, would have taken St. Thomas first to Gondophares. But this goes against the *Acta* and the Malabar tradition that St. Thomas assisted first at the marriage feast at Sandarûk, which would be no other than Cranganore.

2 Parur. 3 Here we get near enough to Koṭṭakâyal or Parur.

4 Clearly Matthew's Irapeli.

5 Pernetta ought to correspond to Land's Neranam. [Pernatta ought to be read Neranatta, locative of Neranam—T.K.J.]

6 Tiroeusngotta is, no doubt, Visscher's later Tierowangotta (Tiruvânkôṭe). [Tiruvitâṅkôṭe is another form of Tiruvâṅkôṭe.—T.K.J.]

7 Instead of Matthew's 92 years.

8 This is a Dutch word, left untranslated by Drury, and meaning 'magician.

9 Manikka Vâśakar. [Spelt Mâṇikkavâchakar and pronounced as such in Malayalam, but as Mâṇikkavâśagar in Tamil.—T. K. J.] A few years ago a German scholar pub'ished a work on this personage. I have not seen it. Perhaps some of our readers will draw to it the attention of our Malabar Christian scholars.

10 This important passage is slurred over by Matthew, with the result that the defection of 96 families is attributed to Manikka Vâśakar, whereas, we are told here, it was a second apostacy. Where were those other Christians in India who came to the help of the Christians in Malabar ? And at what time did this second apostacy take place ? What was the exact cause of it ?. Further study will have to elucidate this statement of Bishop Gabriel.

11 This is Urfa, or Edessa: but it is quite possible that the meaning of the name was not known any more to Bishop Gabriel and others before him, as I have found to be the case in Malabar documents of a later period. Why should merchants from Jerusalem have been sent to India by the Archbishop of Edessa? After their visit to India these merchants should have gone to report to the Archbishop (Catholicus of the East ?) at Edessa. Colonists came, indeed, from Bagdad, and Nineveh, as we hear. The addition of Jerusalem to the places whence the colonists came is suspect.

12 Thomas Cana. [For the dates 345 and 745 A.D. for Thomas Cana see my *Malabar Xtian Copper Plates*, Preface, ii, and p. 89.—T.K.J.]

13 Important passage omitted by Matthew. The nature and occasion of this separation ought to be examined. Has it anything to do with the division into Northists and Southists ? Did it not give rise to two eras, the new era of Quilon for one party, and an older era maintained for a time by the other party, *e.g.*, the Śâlivâhana era, or even the Vikrama era, which I take with Wilford to have been the era of Augustus and to have been started from Cranganore. [But see *Camb. Hist. of India*. I, ch. XXIII for Prof. Rapson's conclusion—T.K.J.]

14 Pheroz. Prodh *Budh Periodeutes* ?

15 Matthew's Sakirbîrtî : Yule's Chakravartti.

16 Mar Denha. 17 A bad spelling for Jaballaha. 18 1580 in Matthew.

19 D. Aleixo de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who also governed as 19th Governor of India from 3-5-1606 to 28-5-1609.

20 Mar Ignatius in Matthew.

21 This is supposed in Matthew to have happened at Cochin At Mylapore Mar Ignatius was the guest of the Jesuits.

22 Maṭṭâñchêri (Cochin). 23 [Cassanarios priests—T.K.J.] 24 *Sic* for Ryklof.

25 Brackoted by Visscher or Drury.

26 I do not not believe this statement about Mar Simon, Bishop of Adana, who at Pondicherry lived in communion with Rome, a friend of the Capuchins and Jesuits He was not a prisoner there. He left his property or part of it to the Jesuit seminary, near Pondicherry. Paulinus (*India Or. Christ.*, Rome, 1797, p. 259) says that in the Angamale conventicle of 1787 it was said he had been driven out of Malabar and had been killed by the Carmelites and Jesuits at Pondicherry. (I do not know of Carmelites then at Pondicherry.) Mar Simon died of an accident on 16-8-1720 at Pondicherry he fell into a well while washing in the early morning and was drowned. Cf. also *Trav. Manual*, II. 190-191.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE UPANIṢADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

GOUGH and Deussen led the way, and it is now a fashion in philosophical circles to speak of a Philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, as distinguished from the *Vedânta* of the *Vedânta-Sûtras.* Gough's interpretation of the *Upaniṣads* has not been accepted as very sensible ; but Deussen has been followed as the founder of a school. And just as in earlier times, there arose in India different schools of interpretation of the *Vedânta-Sûtras*, so, in modern times, the same drama is being re-enacted with regard to the *Upaniṣads* ; and we are well-nigh on the verge of having different schools of interpretation of the *Upaniṣads* over again. For instance, Prof. Radhakrishnan does not accept Deussen's interpretation of the doctrine of Mâyâ in the *Upaniṣads.* (Radhakrishnan, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 65–67.) He further contends (The *Mind*, April, 1926), that his " interpretation of the *Upaniṣads* is not an unreasonable one, though it may seem to differ from this or that tradition in this or that point." Obviously, he claims the liberty to put his own interpretation upon the texts ; and, as a necessary corollary, he cannot deny the same liberty to others. We are not suggesting intellectual stagnation ; but there is some slight danger of intellectual anarchy, if you sever the short and cryptic utterances of the *Upaniṣads* from the old block of which they are but chips, and from the literature and traditions that went before and after them.

But the idea seems to have gained ground that the *Upaniṣads* can be interpreted as an independent philosophy—although as a system its elements cohere very much more loosely than elsewhere; and that this system of Upaniṣadic philosophy is distinguishable from the Vedânta system, though this is professedly *the* system of the interpretation of the *Vedântas* or the *Upaniṣads.*

The most important reason for such an attitude is that the system of the *Vedânta-Sûtras* is either the system of Śaṇkara or of Râmânuja or of some other system-builder ; and therefore, the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* had better be studied in its original sources, *viz.*, the texts of the *Upaniṣads.* But dazzled by the differences of the diverse systems of interpretation of the *Vedânta-Sûtras*, we overlook the very important fact that there is a common substratum underlying all these systems and that their affinities are immensely greater than their differences. Besides, it is not impossible to decipher these common elements.

Before, however, we consider this, we might recollect the brief history of modern attempts to discover a philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, as distinguished from the Vedânta-system. We shall find that there it is not the same materials always that have been used. Gough, for instance, constructed his philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* out of 13 *Upaniṣads* only, though he knew that more were in existence, " Treatises bearing the name of Upaniṣads," says he, " are numerous. Those in highest esteem have always been the Chândogya, Brihadâraṇyaka, Îśâ, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Mâṇḍûkya, Aitareya, Taittirîya, Śvetâśvatara, Maitrâyaṇî, Kauṣîtaki."

Deussen, who is more generally recognised to have been the sponsor, if not the father, of this idea, does not appear to have known more than 60 *Upaniṣads*, though he knew the list of 108 *Upaniṣads* given in the *Muktikâ Upaniṣad* (*vide* his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, Eng. tr. pp. 33 *et seq.*); and his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* is built on a much smaller number (*op. cit.* Index ii).

Hume constructs a philosophy based mainly on thirteen principal *Upaniṣads*, which he translates. And Radhakrishnan is still more limited in his scope. " The main Upaniṣads for our purposes are," says he, " the Chândogya and the Brihadâraṇyaka, the Taittirîya and the Aitareya, the Kauṣîtaki and the Kena ; the Îśâ and the Mâṇḍûkya come next." (*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 19)

But the Upaniṣadic literature is much more extensive than has been comprehended in Deussen's or any other interpretation. (*Cf.* The Nirṇaya Sâgar Press, Bombay, *Edition of the Upaniṣadic Texts* ; also, *Catalogue of MSS.* in the Adyar Library, Madras). It is no doubt true that there are chronological and doctrinal differences among these books, which cannot escape notice : some are more Upaniṣadic in character, while others are more

sectarian. And many of them cannot be regarded as books on *Brahma-vidyâ* at all, except by a great stretch of imagination (*e.g.*, the *Devî-Upanisad*, the *Yoga-kundalî-Upanisad*, etc.).

Yet in constructing his Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Deussen brought together such books as the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, the *Chândogya* and the *Îśâ* on the one hand, and the *Kṣurikâ* and the *Nâdabindu* on the other. These are books which have not much in common but a good deal of divergence. It is not suggested that there is nothing in common ; but their differences are perhaps more important than their similarities. And if we are permitted to attempt a philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* by thus grouping together a few of them, it is difficult to see why we should take only eight of them with Radhakrishnan, or thirteen with Gough and Hume, or thirty even with Deussen Should we not rather take the whole host of them and find out, if we can, what is common and essential to them all ?

The difficulties in that case would be immense. We have already suggested that the common elements in *all* the *Upaniṣads* will not be numerous ; and if only the elements common to all the extant *Upaniṣads* are to be united into a system, that system would be very different from what we have obtained from Deussen or Radhakrishnan—if indeed it would be a system at all. Perhaps we should not be afraid of such a contingency ; but it would be an intellectual feat of no mean order, if indeed we could combine into a system such diverse books as the *Kalisantârana-Upaniṣad* and the *Îśâ*, the *Kṛṣṇa-Upaniṣad* and the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, and so on.

The other extreme alternative would be to take each thinker of the *Upaniṣads* by himself and to spin a philosophy out of the loose threads of thought found in the teachings ascribed to him. That might give us embryonic systems of philosophy, such as Dr. Barua has traced in the sayings of Satyakâma Jâbâla, Jaivali, etc., in his *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* (Calcutta University publication).

We may note here in passing that Dr. Barua seems to proceed a little too far when he discusses the philosophy of the Vedic Ṛṣis and speaks of Prajâpati Parameṣṭhi, for instance, as a human philosopher and seriously compares him with Thales (*op. cit.*, p. 12). He commits a similar blunder when he speaks of the philosophy of 'Anila' (*op. cit.*, p. 24), as if he too were a real, historical person. Dr. Barua's conception of a Vedic Ṛṣi is erroneous. If he had looked into the names of a few other Ṛṣis in the very same *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg-Veda* where he has discovered the Indian parallel of Thales he would have found that the Vedic Ṛṣis are not necessarily human and historical persons. Among the list of Ṛṣis occur names varying from those of gods down to those of a pigeon and an insect. And sometimes the deity and the Ṛṣi of a *mantra* are identical, placing it absolutely beyond doubt that the Ṛṣi was not necessarily conceived as a human person. For example, in X, 177, the Ṛsi is *patanga* or insect, whom Sâyana calls 'son of Prajâpati' (*prajâpati-putra*). But every creature is, in a sense, son of Prajâpati ; and it is doubtful if a real human being is meant here. In X, 165, the Ṛṣi is *kapota* or pigeon ; no doubt, it also may be understood as the name of a man, but there is no indication that it was an historical man. In X, 123 and 151, the deity and the Ṛsi are identical. In X, 130, *yajña* or sacrifice is personified as the Ṛsi. In X, 119, Indra the god, assumes a form and becomes a Ṛṣi. In X, 129, in the language of Sâyana, *Agnir Ṛṣir bhûtvâ svâtmânam devatârûpiṇam astaut*—Agni became a Ṛṣi and praised himself as god. In X, 121, the Ṛṣi is *hiraṇyagarbha*, never understood as a human being.

In many verses, Indra the god is himself the Ṛṣi ; and in several verses again (X, 16–17), the sons of Yama are the Ṛsis. Of X, 53, a number of gods are the Ṛsis. In X, 85, the daughter of the sun (*savitṛ-sutâ sûryyâ*) is the Ṛṣi. Now, can we seriously regard them all as historical personages ? Some undoubtedly were real men and women ; and it is not impossible to discriminate who were real men and who were not : the names themselves are often a sufficient index of the true nature of a Ṛṣi ; the incidents described are another index. At any rate, the confusion between a god and a man can be easily avoided.

So, on the strength of Sâyana's statement that Parameṣṭhî is the Ṛṣi of *Ṛk.*, X, 129, and Anila that of *Ṛk.*, X, 168, to regard them as historical persons and to compare them seriously with Thales or some one else, is a parody of historical research. The Anila in question is described by Sâyana as 'belonging to the family of Air' (*vâta-gotrasya*). Does it look like a human genealogy? It cannot be unknown to Dr. Barua that Parameṣṭhi is a deified name and that Anila is the ordinary as well as deified name of air itself. Dr. Barua could certainly utilise the teachings contained in the *Ṛk.* verses in question without being guilty of the extravagant notion that every Vedic Ṛṣi can be looked upon as a real person.[1]

When, however, Dr. Barua speaks of the philosophies of Satyakâma Jâbâla, Jaivali, Gârgyâyaṇa, or Uddâlaka, *i.e.* of people whose names occur in the *Upaniṣads*, as distinguished from the Ṛṣis of the *Vedas*, he is within more reasonable limits. And if we give up the practice of lumping a few *Upaniṣads* together and constructing a philosophy out of them, the ultimate logical conclusion of our procedure would be nothing short of a numerous list of more or less incomplete systems obtained from the teachings of individuals whose identity has been preserved in the *Upaniṣads*.

These would not be systems in the strict sense of the term; they would not give us more than the stray sayings of the ancient Greek thinkers. Besides, all the names in the *Upaniṣads* also are not names of teachers, properly so called; and a discrimination would be necessary. For instance, Prof. Radhakrishnan in his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* (p. 19), gives a brief list of names which will stand out "when the history of the great thinkers of the Upaniṣadic period with their distinctive contributions comes to be written." But this list contains the names of Gârgî and Maitreyi also. These are no doubt very important names in Upaniṣadic literature; they were certainly earnest enquirers whose questionings evoked the profoundest philosophy; but it is difficult to place them on the pedestal of teachers properly so called. They cannot be credited with laying the foundation of a philosophy in the same sense as Uddâlaka or Yâjñavalkya.

To resume: The extreme step of taking each individual thinker of the *Upaniṣads* by himself and weaving a philosophy out of the stray sayings ascribed to him, would introduce a needless disorder, where order and system have already been established. As a third alternative, however, we might take each book of the *Upaniṣads* by itself and construct a philosophy out of it. We would then have a philosophy of the *Praśna*, and of *Katha*, and of *Chândogya*, and so on. Dr. Das Gupta has suggested this procedure as the best. "It will be better," he says, "that a modern interpreter should not agree to the claims of the ancients that all the *Upaniṣads* represent a connected system but take the texts independently and separately and determine their meanings, though keeping an attentive eye on the contexts in which they appear." (*History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 42.) Dr. Das Gupta speaks of the texts of the *Upaniṣads* and not their teachers; and presumably he means that each of the dissertations should be taken by itself and interpreted independently of the idea that it is part of a system of which the other texts also are parts.

But it is doubtful if even this procedure would meet the requirements of a scientific basis for a philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*. What philosophy, not to speak of a comprehensive system, can be evolved out of the twelve sentences of the *Mâṇḍukya*? And how much philosophy can the 18 verses of the *Îśâ* really yield? The *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* or the *Chândogya*, no doubt, could be tapped for more, and a system built upon either of them, which would be more comprehensive than a mere philosophy of Yâjñavalkya or Jaivali or Uddâlaka; but it is open to question if even that would be comprehensive enough to deserve the name of a system.

It seems inevitable, therefore, that we should take more than one *Upaniṣad* together in order that a system of thought may be attempted. Shall we then take them according to

1 Cf. *Mahâbhârata*, I, 66, especially for Anila.

their doctrinal affinities and construct several philosophies of the *Upaniṣads* ? The groups in which they are usually taken are more or less arbitrary ; individual thinkers or individual books of the *Upaniṣads* cannot be expected to yield much philosophy ; the whole literature is too extensive and too diversified to yield any common system. What, then, can we do but think of some other grouping ?

Deussen himself in his *Sixty Upaniṣads* and also in his *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* (p. 9), has suggested a classification of the *Upaniṣads*, which refers mainly to the minor *Upaniṣads* of the *Atharvaveda*, but may be extended to cover the other *Upaniṣads* also. This classification has been accepted by Schrader also (*vide* his edition of the *Minor Upaniṣads*, publication of the Adyar Library, Madras, vol. I, Intro. p. ii). It has, therefore, the sanction of authority and includes the following classes : (*a*) Vedânta-Upaniṣads ; (*b*) Yoga-Upaniṣads ; (*c*) Sannyâsa-Upaniṣads ; (*d*) Śiva-Upaniṣads ; (*e*) Viṣṇu-Upaniṣads. Using this as a classification of the entire range of Upaniṣadic literature, it seems that we may expect as many as five systems of Upaniṣadic philosophy.

As the names imply, a large number of the *Upaniṣads* are sectarian in character. We may note here in passing that sect-cults were advanced in India by a threefold literature, *viz.*, sect-*Purâṇas*, sect-*Gîtâs* and sect-*Upaniṣads* . sometimes, though not so frequently, a sect attempted to develop a philosophy also of its own (*cf.* Mâdhava, *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*). Some of these sect-*Gîtâs* are found embedded in the corresponding *Purâṇas*, some exist independently (*vide* my paper on *Gîtâ-literature* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Oct. 1926). All the religious sects did not possess *Purâṇas* nor did all have *Gîtâs* : but some on the other hand had both, *e.g.*, the Ganeśa cult had a *Purâṇa* which included also a *Gîtâ* ; and some had only one of the three. In any case, some of the sect-cults came to possess a *Upaniṣad* ; and we have *Upaniṣads* belonging to the Śiva or Viṣṇu cult. It is needless to say that all the *Upaniṣads* are not sectarian, but quite a large number of them are.

Now, if we are to use a classification of the *Upaniṣads* as the above, what would be the consequence ? Shall we still have the same philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* as now, or shall we have several philosophies ? A Vedânta philosophy based upon some of the *Upaniṣads* will still be available ; but it will be only one out of several philosophies. And a large number of these will be sect-philosophies, every one of which will ally itself more easily with the other branches of the corresponding sect-literature rather than with the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* of any other group.

Curiously enough, though this classification of the *Upaniṣads* has been recognised as valid, no corresponding philosophies of the various groups of the *Upaniṣads* have ever been attempted. And why ? For the obvious reason that these would hardly be a philosophy worthy of the name, though some of them would be excellent elucidation of sect-cults.

We seem to be on the horns of a dilemma, then : if the *Upaniṣads* are not arranged and classified in some way or other, they form a chaos ; if they are classified, they tend to yield not one but several philosophies. We see, therefore, that though since Gough's time and following Deussen's lead, a philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* is always spoken of, it involves an anomaly and is not altogether free from patch-work. Such a philosophy is bound to contain elements all of which cannot be found in books of the same group or of the same period of time. We have to pick up materials and knit them together into a system ; but the materials are often gathered from books which are widely separated by chronological and doctrinal differences. Deussen's own book is not free from this somewhat arbitrary selection and combination of materials. For one part of his philosophy, he quotes more or less exclusively from one set of books and for another from another. Thus, for his theory of Brahma and the universe (*op. cit.*, pp. 157–179), he quotes almost exclusively from the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Chândogya*, *Kaṭha*, *Aitareya* and *Kauṣîtaki* : whereas, for his doctrine of Âśramas, specially of Sannyâsa and Yoga, his quotations are mainly from the *Kaṇṭhaśruti*, *Jâbâla*, *Kṣurikâ*, *Sannyâsa*—a later and a different group of *Upaniṣads* (*cf.* Das Gupta, *Hist. of Ind. Ph.*, p. 39n.).

(*To be continued.*)

THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PŪJĀ.

BY PROF JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.[1]

I.

THE Rigveda tells us about the religion of the Aryans who had invaded India. By this statement we do not mean to suggest that only purely Aryan religious ideas are met with in the *Ṛicaḥ* : but on the whole they give a fairly true picture of the religion of those Aryan Brahmans amongst whom the composition of hymns and sacrificial science were already hereditary occupations, and also of that of their patrons, the Kshattriyas, who had by then got possession of vast lands conquered from the original inhabitants of the country. On the other hand, it cannot be strongly enough emphasized that the Rigveda is an *Indian* collection of hymns, the production of a truly *Indian* spirit, and that consequently it contains elements that did not originate in the Indo-Iranian period.[2]

This religion is that of the upper classes of society, and can never have been that of the great masses, because its ideas are too complicated, its rituals too expensive. In the midst of its pantheon are found the darlings of the Brahmans, Agni, the divine Fire, and Soma, the deified ceremonial beverage. Both of them were well-known also to the Iranians, although they called the Fire, by another name (*Ātar*), which perhaps tallies with its different position within the Iranian cults. Further, we find gods of wholly uncertain origin, like Varuṇa and Mitra, undoubtedly identical with the Iranian Ahura Mazda and Mithra, though developed along quite different lines. Varuṇa, owing to his high moral qualities, seems a stranger amongst gods who are generally not immoral but amoral ; but nothing can be said for certain concerning his pretended Semitic origin.[3] There are still further gods like Indra and the Aśvins,[4] who were perhaps at one time living chieftains of the old Indo-Iranians. And, finally, we meet there with Vishṇu, the deified spirit of the sacrifice,[5] and Rudra, an old demon who has taken on giant proportions[6]. Both thes last were destined very soon after the period of the Rigveda to rise high above their fellow gods and to become the greatest gods of the Indian tribes.

All these gods are males. Female deities—with the sole exception of Ushas, the goddess of dawn—play no part amongst the Vedic gods except as wives of their husbands, *i.e.*, the

[1] From the *Beiträge zur Literatur Wissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens. Festgabe H. Jacobi dargebracht*, Bonn 1926, pp. 276-297.

[2] It is an ingenious though unconvincing idea of Professor Hillebrandt that parts of the Rigveda were composed outside India. This idea is now repeated on a greater scale by Professor Hertel, but is none the less quite unconvincing. The geography of the Rigveda points to the Punjâb (in spite of the suggestions of Professor Keith and others) and purely Indian habits are alluded to in the hymns. To quote only one instance, it must be proved that *ghrita* means something else in the Rigveda than in the whole rest of Indian literature ; for *ghee* is an Indian invention which was totally unknown to the Aryans outside India

[3] Recent literature on Varuṇa is found, *e g.*, in Johansson, *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā und Verwandtes* (Upsala 1919, extensively reviewed by Oldenberg, *Gott. gel. Anzeigen*, 1919, pp. 347-364): Güntert *Der arische Weltkonig und Heiland* (Leipzig 1923): Heymann, *Festgabe Jacobi* (1926), p. 201 *sqq* : Hillebrandt *Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik*, vol. IV, p. 207 sq. But in spite of all this nothing certain has been ascertained concerning the nature of this mysterious god. His presence amongst the gods mentioned at Boghaz-Keui (*cf.* Konow, *The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni*, Christiania 1921) does not imply that these gods are Indian ; in the present writer's opinion they are all of Iranian origin.

[4] On the Aśvins, *cf.* Hillebrandt, *l.c.*, vol. IV, p. 213 *sq.*

[5] Concerning this god I quite share the opinion of Dr. Barnett whose short but brilliant book *Hindu Gods and Heroes* (1922) seems to me to contain the best information that has hitherto been written on Indian religion in general. Concerning Vishṇu already Johansson in his book *Solfågeln i Indien* (Upsala 1910) was on the right track. The present writer avows that his opinions on Vedic religion and mythology have nowhere been influenced by Professor Keith's extensive new work on that subject which does not, in general, mark any progress (*cf.* my extensive review in *Bulletin of the School of Or. Stud.*, vol. IV, p.337*sq.*)

[6] *Cf* Arbman. *Rudra Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus* (Upsala 1922).

part played by the wife of the *Yajamâna*. And further : these gods are not immoral, though with a few exceptions they lack knowledge of any higher morality ; thus, tricks of all sorts, even mean ones, and infinite amorous adventures are ascribed to Indra, the most popular one of them all. But in spite of this these gods are not evil nor are they in general dangerous to their adorers ; though they wreak their vengeance upon the Kikaṭas,[7] the Paṇis and all the classes who do not bring them sacrifices. For the appetite of these gods is insatiable : the slayer of Vṛtra craves for roast bullocks and slakes his thirst with lakes of Soma. Still, he is not blood-thirsty—the raw meat and the dark-red blood do not stimulate his appetite. In spite of his obvious clownishness he is far too civilized for that.

These gods had no images,[8] no temples. The description which Herodotus (I. 132) has given of the sacrifice of the Persian Magi has already been frequently quoted and need not be repeated here. With a few alterations—of which perhaps the most important would be the exclusion of the words οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι—this description would also fit the sacrifice of the Vedic Aryans. They sacrificed to their gods under the open sky, and the cut-up meat and the other sacrificial gifts were spread out on bundles of sacred grass (Skt. *barhis*, Avesta *barəsman*), which would also provide seats for the gods approaching their meal. The officiating priests recited the hymns and liturgies, and in the middle of the sacrificial enclosure flamed the sacred fires, inherited from the older cult of the Indo-Iranians. For, it seems obvious that the Iranians had introduced an alteration in abolishing the sacrificial fire ; and what Herodotus describes to us is obviously the cult of the Magi with certain Zoroastrian additions, and not some sort of pre-Zoroastrian cult.[9]

The Aryans, however, were nothing more than an upper class of society, a minority of foreign invaders and conquerors, living amongst a compact mass of elements belonging to another race speaking another language, of different colour, stature and facial features, and adoring absolutely different deities. To a great extent these aborigines were probably agriculturists, and their material culture was perhaps scarcely inferior to that of the invaders. But, on the other hand, the Aryans were decidedly superior in warfare by their possession of

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[7] *Cf. Ṛgveda* III, 53, 14.

[8] The last general discussion on idols in Vedic times is found in Arbman, *Rudra*, p. 82 *sq.*, one of the weakest parts of an otherwise very good book. The verse Rigveda, IV, 24, 10 (*ka imaṃ daśabhir mamendraṃ kriṇâti dhenubhiḥ | yadâ vṛtrâṇi jaṅghanad athainam me punar dadat*) which was quoted in this connection already by Bollensen *ZDMG.*, XXII, 587 *sq.*, proves nothing (*cf.* Sieg, *Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda*, I, p. 90 *sq.*), and some passages from the *Sûtras* are either late or wrongly interpreted. Thus there remains, as the oldest passage in the literature speaking of idols, the well-known *sûtra* V, 3, 99 : *jîvikârthe câpaṇye*, but as this *sûtra* alludes to a mode of expression that was already established it proves that the use of idols was at that time of long standing. Now the present writer has tried to prove (*Cf. Zeitschrift fur Indologie u. Iranistik*, II., p. 147 *sq.*) that Pâṇini lived already before 500 B.C., and later researches have only steadied this opinion. A refutation cannot be found in the word *yavanânî* prescribed in IV, 1, 49. First of all we only know that Kâtyâyana, who lived in the South and perhaps centuries after Pâṇini, took it to mean "Greek writing" while, according to the *sûtra*, it should much rather mean "Greek woman." But even if we admit that to Pâṇini the word meant *yavanânî lipiḥ* this would not be especially marvellous. For, Yavanas must have gone to the Far East very early on the orders of the Great King (*e.g.*, Skylax of Karyanda) and might have brought their writing with them. But it is far more probable that the *Yavanânî lipiḥ* meant to Pâṇini the Aramaic script introduced by the officials of the Persian Chancellery (*cf.* Cowley, *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 346 ; Rapson, *CHI.*, I, p. 62) and its further development, the Kharoṣṭhi. Now, if Pâṇini was acquainted with idols he must have lived in the period of older Hinduism when Aryan religion was already inseparably mixed up with aboriginal cults. That Pâṇini was acquainted with the religion we call Hinduism is also proved by the prescription (IV, 3, 98) concerning the adorers of Vâsudeva (*cf.* Jacobi, *Streitberg-Festgabe*, 1924, p. 159 *sq.*) and Arjuna (*cf.* Barnett *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 87 *sq.*).

[9] I especially underline this because of the extravagant hypothesis recently advanced by Professor Hertel in *Die Zeit Zoroaster* (Leipzig 1924). (*Cf.* the criticisms by Professors Clemen, *Zeitschrift fur Religionswissenschaft und Missionskunde*, vol. XL, p. 45 *sq.*, Keith, *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, I, p. 4 *sq.*, and by the present writer, *Bull. SOS.*, vol. III, p. 747 *sq.* Professor Hertel's reply (*Die Methode der arischen Forschung*, Leipzig 1926) is, unfortunately, couched in terms which make it less savoury reading.

weapons and tools of copper,[10] and of horses which they brought with them from Bactria and Transoxiana, old homesteads of horse-breeding. It must also be kept in mind that the same differences may have prevailed between the Aryan invaders and the aborigines as in later times between Muhammadan invaders of Turkish or Iranian origin and the Hindus. The former were physically far superior because of their diet and the climatic conditions in which they lived.

Which were the different populations of India at the time of the Aryan invasion is not known nor will it perhaps ever be. Perhaps we may hope the most from archæological investigations, but linguistic research will possibly also not be without result. But we may suggest, with a fair amount of safety, that at the time of the invasion,[11] the Ganges-Jumnâ-Doâb, the Ganges valley, Orissa and the Eastern Vindhyas—and perhaps also other parts of the North and East—were inhabited by Muṇḍâ-speaking tribes, while the Southern part of the West (Sindh), the Dakhan and the extreme South were populated by Dravidians. Of their entry into India it seems dangerous to speak at a time when the new discoveries at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa, etc., are not yet sufficiently known.[12] But in view of the existence of the Brâhûî language in Balûchistân it seems highly probable that the Dravidians entered India from the West and first of all occupied Sindh, whence they spread through the South of Râjputâna, through Gûjarât and Mâlwâ to the Dakhan and the extreme South. If this was the case and if the ruins at Mohenjo Daro, etc., are of Dravidian origin they would probably have entered Sindh before 3000 B.C. Unfortunately, nothing is known, so far, concerning the linguistic affinities of the Dravidian languages: that any connection could be established with the Sumerian seems quite improbable.[13]

Very little seems to be known concerning the religion of the Muṇḍâ tribes proper, as they were at an early time either Dravidianized or drawn under the ban of Brahmanism. But there is no reason to think that it did not consist in a crude form of animism. We may indeed well suggest that these aborigines lived in an eternal awe of hideous and blood-thirsty demons and ghosts, whom they tried to satisfy by frequent libations of blood and also by not unfrequent human sacrifices. The Khonds of Sambalpur, whose horrible Meriâh-sacrifice is so well known from the descriptions of Campbell and Macpherson, are, no doubt, Dravidianized Muṇḍâs.[14] At this sacrifice the Khonds cut the living human scapegoat into slices which they buried in the fields from which they expected an abundant harvest. This is apparently a very old type of sacrifice and is, no doubt, originally connected with the myth of the *Puruṣasûkta* (Rigveda, X. 90), according to which a primordial being is cut up, and out of its remnants is produced the whole creation.[15] For, in my opinion, a myth of that description presupposes a similar rite.

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10 *Ayas* in Rigveda seems to mean only "copper"—bronze scarcely seems to have existed in India (*cf. CHI.*, I, p. 614)—and has only more lately came to mean "iron," which was earlier called *śyâmam ayah*. There is no doubt that the Indo-Eur. word underlying Skt. *ayas*, Avestan *ayah*, Latin *aes* and Gothic *aiz*, also meant only "copper." Whether it was originally a loan word from some Mediterranean language (*cf.* Ipsen, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol XLI p. 175) is undecided and irrelevant.

11 Personally I should feel inclined to think that this invasion took place about 2000 1800 B.C. (*cf. Bulletin S.O.S.*, vol. IV, p. 167).

12 Of these discoveries the present writer knows only through articles in the *Times*, *The Illustrated London News* (September-October 1924, February-March 1926), and the article of Mr. S. K. Chatterji in *Modern Review*, 1924, p. 665 *sq.*, (*cf.* Professor S. Lévi, *J.A.* 1925: I, p. 375 *sq.*) To try, with Professor Konow (*Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 259 *sq.*), to connect these discoveries with the chronology of the Aryan invasion is apparently impossible.

13 Dr. F. O. Schrader in *Zeitschrift fur Indologie u. Iranistik*, vol. III, p. 81 *sq.*, tries to connect the Dravidian with Finno-Ugrian languages; but this seems fanciful.

14 *Cf.* Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, III, p. 464 *sq.*

15 That the author of the *Puruṣasûkta* thought of a real sacrifice, and not a symbolic one, is clear from verse 15: *devâ yad . . . abadhnan puruṣam paśum* and other passages. *Cf* the present writer's work *Indien* (Stockholm 1925), p. 588 *sq.*

But it is also a well established fact that the Khonds performed the Meriâh-sacrifice in order to alleviate the wickedness and dangerousness of the Earth goddess. The idea of her being of a malign nature originates in the habit of the Indian aborigines of burying their dead in the earth, which thus[16] became the abode of the malignant ghosts. Sacrificial fire as well as the fire of cremation are both Aryan innovations in India.[17]

No old documents are preserved concerning the religion of the Dravidians proper.[18] The descriptions that we possess all date from the three last centuries.[19] But they give us the picture of a religion so very primitive that we cannot well doubt that it must have been mainly the same for thousands of years. Brahman influences which can be traced at certain points can easily be eliminated.

This religion is awe-inspiring and terrifying, a religion of eternal and illimited fright, like those known from certain parts of Africa. Man is always surrounded by a countless crowd of evil and nearly always female demons and ghosts, the wicked dangerous spirits of the dead buried in the earth.[20] These malignant beings prove their existence by plagues and epidemics amongst men and cattle, by famines and all sorts of harassings; and it is only a continuous pouring out, drinking and smearing with blood that can avert their horrible assaults.

The gods of the Dravidians are, above all, the female *grâmadevatâs*, the she-devils of small-pox, plague, etc. The greatest amongst them is Kâlî, the black, blood-smeared, corpse-devouring goddess, who has long ago been adopted by Brahmanism as the wife of Śiva. These deities are adored either in the shape of rude logs or stones, or in that of rather crude idols that are put up in the open air or in the shelter of small and unpresuming looking temples. Some of these deities seem always to have been theriomorphic, and among these Hanumân, Ganeśa and some of the *avatârs* of Vishṇu were, even at an early date, adopted by Hinduism and turned into great gods.

A modern student of Dravidian religion points out that male ghosts generally do not develop into *grâmadevatâs*, and that the Dravidians worship only the dead, never the living —above all, of course, the spirits of those who during life-time have given proof of an evil character.[21] The great prominence of the female element in Dravidian religion must stand in psychological connection with the domineering position of woman in South Indian genealogy and family organisation. And we can even find instances of women playing the part of priests in Dravidian religious ceremonies.[22]

Bishop Whitehead and Elmore tell us of the great sacrifices which are at times celebrated in various parts of the Madras Presidency, and at which hundreds of buffaloes and thousands

16 *Cf.* Crooke, *Folklore*, XXX, 294.

17 Therefore the habit of Suttee (*satî*) cannot be attributed to the Dravidians, but belongs to the Northern races.

18 By "Dravidians" must here be understood the inhabitants of Southern India. That they are racially original Dravidians cannot be proved.

19 The oldest sources are relations of Jesuit Fathers, nearly all unedited. Inportant enough are the works of the missionary Ziegenbalg of which the largest has just been edited by Professor Caland (1925), and the Halle missionary reports. The recent works of Elmore and Bishop Whitehead contain much valuable material though the authors' own conclusions are mostly open to doubt.

20 Elmore *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, p. 149n. quite correctly remarks that Dravidian religion is not yet "ancestor-worship" but only a "cult of the malignant dead." *Cf. l.c.*, pp 51, 62 *sq* 79, 146 *sq*.

21 *Cf.* Elmore, *l.c.*, pp. 69, 149.

22 Priests are acting masked in female dress (Elmore, *l.c.*, pp. 25, 35, 42); *cf.* also the peculiar functions of the so-called *Mâtangî* (*ibid.* p. 29 *sq.*) *Cf.* also Crooke, *Folk-lore*, XXX, 301. That the matriarchate was unknown to the Aryans is correctly pointed out by Rose, *I.A.*, L, 31 *sq*

of sheep and fowls are butchered; the blood is to be seen flowing in streams. But quite apart from these hecatombs bloody sacrifices are quite common, and in the centre of the Dravidian cult stands the buffalo sacrifice which is performed in disgusting forms. Traditionally it is connected with the slaughter of Mahiṣâsura. but it has far less abstract connections with a human sacrifice that was previously performed according to the same ritual.[23] Still more horrid is the slaughtering of sacrificial animals by impaling them on sharp stakes, which is practised on certain occasions (*cf.* Elmore, *l.c.*, p. 25).[24] Another sort of animal sacrifice is the burying up to its neck of a pig, after which cattle are driven over its head until it is trodden to death: and it is well testified that the Lambâdis formerly used to perform human sacrifices in this horrible way.[25]

The Dravidian sacrifices generally are characterized by the fact that the sacrificers use the blood in one way or other, smear their idols or themselves with it, or pour it on boiled rice, which is then used for a common meal. On the smearing with blood something more will be said later on. The common partaking of the sacrificial blood has generally, and not unnaturally, been looked upon as a sort of sacramental meal; but in the opinion of the present writer such a view cannot be upheld. Sacramental meals, as far as I can see, are quite unknown to Dravidian religious ideas. On the other hand it seems obvious that the partaking of the blood, the use of the entrails as a sort of garland and other seemingly senseless rites all tend to the common goal of that religion: to protect oneself from the ghosts, to obtain renewed powers in the eternal strife with the devilish foes by partaking of the strengthening blood

Let us now compare the religion of the Aryans as we know it from the Rigveda and that of the aboriginal tribes as we have tried to reconstruct it here. We shall see then that all the leading ideas are totally opposed to each other, and also that, through the conditions created by the Aryan invasion and conquest, the two religions came to stand against each other as the religions of the upper and lower classes of society. But, as always, the lower classes were by far the more numerous. It was apparently impossible to convert them all to the Aryan religion, which, by the way, in wholly new surroundings soon lost some of its most characteristic features; and for that reason the Aryan Brahmanism[26] already at an early date began to compromise, and thus created the most heterogeneous religion in the world, which, for want of a better term, we call Hinduism. As the Brahmans then got more and more people to adopt the caste-system and declared numerous local godlings to be apparitions of Vishṇu or Śiva or the originally foreign Kâlî, Hinduism spread over even wider areas. We can still observe it spreading amongst primitive tribes, *e.g.*, in the Central Provinces.

23 *Cf.* Elmore, *l.c.*, p. 129. Connected with human sacrifices is also the brutal ceremony called "hook-swinging." It is frequently mentioned by older authorities, and is still practised at times according to Powell, *Folk-lore*, XXV, 147 *sq*

24 Impalement was a common punishment in the indigenous Indian penal law, which was often characterised by a most horrid brutality. The well-known stories about the impaling of thousands of Jain monks by a Pâṇḍya king in the seventh century A.D. are undoubtedly historical. Many authorities have made it clear that on a primitive stage human sacrifice and capital punishment are not strictly separated, and thus we may conclude that human sacrifice has also been performed by means of impalement.

25 *Cf.* Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, 3rd ed., p. 70; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vol. IV, p 226; Elmore, *l.c.*, p. 47 *sq*.

26 The extravagant idea of Slater, *The Dravidian Element in Hindu Culture*, p. 53 *sq.*, according to which Brahmanism should be an especially Dravidian institution, has been excellently refuted by Dr. Barnett, *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 486. In Indian religions Brahmanism is what can, with the greatest certainty, be taken as an Aryan institution.

Hinduism has taken over temples and idols from the non-Aryan religions. Also several of its now popular deities as, *e.g.*, Gaṇeśa[27] and his "brother" Skanda or Subrahmaṇya certainly have their origin in very modest surroundings. The popular Hinduism has also abolished the old fire ritual, the Vedic sacrifices and the preparation of the sacred beverage (Soma), and introduced quite new cults. The idols, inside and outside the temples, are adored by a certain series of ceremonies which are comprised under the name ***pûjâ***. This word occupies a central position within the dictionary of Hinduism, and it may be well worth the while to try to throw some light on its origin and original meaning.

II.

Few scholars seem to have been tempted to find out the etymology of *pûjâ*; and this seems rather fortunate considering the way in which research in Sanskrit etymology is carried on by many comparative philologists. To them the two St. Petersburg dictionaries seem wholly adequate means for dealing with Sanskrit etymology, and every word that is found in those books is uncritically taken into account as being a "Sanskrit" one. A method like that is scarcely apt to achieve many lasting results: but it is greatly in favour with a certain sect of philologists, who either will not or cannot take the trouble of learning what "Sanskrit" and Indian philology really mean.

The word *pûjâ* stands quite alone within the Sanskrit dictionary: the verbal root *pûj-* (*pûjayati*) is with every probability secondary in comparison with the noun. Both words are used many times already by Yâska and Pâṇini and consequently belonged to the common dictionary of the *dvijas* in the sixth century B.C.

The late Professor Bartholomæ[28] tried to establish a connection between *pûjâ* and an Old Iranian *baχšāja* which would be the origin of Persian *baχšūdan* "to be gracious, to forgive."[29] Again Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, p. 74 *sq.*, tried to connect it with Persian *pōziš* "repentance." Neither of these suggestions is very attractive: and we need not further discuss them here, as it will presently be seen that we do not claim for *pûjâ* an Indo-Iranian or Aryan origin.

Already long ago Gundert *ZDMG.*, vol. XXIII, p. 528, and Kittel *Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. xli, derived the word *pûjâ* from a Dravidian verbal root which occurs in Tamil as *pûçu-*, in Kanarese as *pûsu*[30]. This root means "to smear, to put on sticky substances, to daub, to paint" and is, according to the abovenamed authors, the source also of Sanskrit *pusta(ka)*. This explanation is correct as far as *pusta-* "model, cast" is concerned, a word that the lexicographers often explain by *lepya* "clay figure, whitewash." Clay figures of gods which are prepared for certain occasions and then again destroyed are quite common in Dravidian cults.[31] Again the Sanskrit word *pustaka-* "manuscript, book" has been evidently shown by the late Gauthiot[32] to be of Iranian origin.

27 The humorous-looking, pot-bellied god was originally not a propitious, but a disagreeable and dangerous being, whose anger had to be constantly averted, just as that of other non-Aryan demons. It is curious that we do not find it emphasized that he is adored not because he averts evil but because, if he got no adoration, he would stir up evil. This is quite correctly remarked by Jacquet, *Religion des Malabars* p. 15; *cf.* also Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, pp. 21, 293. In the latter work (p. 292 *sq.*) we are told about idols of Gaṇeśa with trunk turned rightwards as being very dangerous and being adored only by ritually very pure Brahmans. The stakes of the Meriâh sacrifices generally consisted of a crudely cut elephant's head.

28 *Cf. Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I : i, p. 81 ; *ZDMG*, vol. L, p. 701 (I owe this communication to Professor Zachariæ of Halle).

29 *Cf.* on this word Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, p. 43 sq. ; Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 121.

30 Later on the Sanskrit *pûjâ* has been reborrowed in Tamil in the form *pûçai*.

31 *Suśruta*, I, 29, 9, speaking of anatomical casts, calls them *pustamaya*.

32 *Cf. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, vol. XIX, p. 130 *sq.*

Correct as seems to be the etymology given by Gundert and Kittel, they have not taken the trouble to give any detailed explanation of it. As the present writer feels convinced of the correctness of their derivation and wholly appreciates the importance of the word *pûjâ* for the history of Hinduism, he will try presently to show how the word has come to its present meaning.

III.

In the Hindu temple service of our days the idols are treated like earthly monarchs and dignitaries[33]. In the morning one wakes them with the sounding of bells, instruments and hymns, just as in the Sanskrit literature the king is wakened up by the *vaitâlikas* with song and instrumental music[34]. Then they are bathed, smeared with sandal-powder, ointments, etc., dressed, fed and adored with incense, perfumes, betel, etc.: at times they are taken for an outing, or to visit their neighbours in other temples, and in the evening lamps are swung in front of them, and the *devadâsîs* perform their dances before the idol ere it is again brought to rest.

In this daily life of the idols the series of rites called *pûjâ* occupies the central part. Its separate parts are said by the good old Abbé Dubois[35] to be fifteen, while Mrs. Stevenson, in her excellent book[36] enumerates and extensively describes sixteen of them. This very detailed *pûjâ* is, however, a characteristic of the present Hinduism, which has long been regulated by the Brahmans, and is highly artificial, though primitive elements can be observed within it. So we must try to find out which of these many rites can be considered to be the primitive and original *pûjâ*.

The different sacrificial meals, which are offered to the gods as *naivedya* and after that generally eaten by the worshippers as *prasâda*, can be left wholly out of consideration. That one offers meals to the gods and idols is a common habit all over the earth, and nothing would lead us to believe that this is the chief constituent of the *pûjâ*. But the influence of Brahmanism has made these meals vegetarian, which they certainly were not during earlier times. We may also dispense ourselves from considering certain other elements in the present *pûjâ*. What is, however, its most characteristic part is undoubtedly *the washing of the idol (or the sprinkling of the linga) with water or with honey, curds, sugared water, etc., and the smearing or daubing it with certain ointments, powders or oily substances, which are generally of a brilliant red or yellow colour.*

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM. Vol. I. INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA. New Edition. By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. With 55 Plates. Printed for the Government of India at the Clarendon Press, 1925.

Of the making of books dealing with the age of the Mauryas and the Asokan inscriptions there is no end. The present volume, which is likely to be the most authoritative edition of the Edicts yet published, was in process of being printed when the outbreak of war in 1914 put a stop to all such work. Preparations for publication were resumed in 1920 and have culminated in the appearance of this fine volume, which does credit to the author and his collaborators. The volume consists of an exhaustive introduction, describing fully each of the Asokan inscriptions, and chapters on Aśoka himself, his empire, his conversion, his *dharma*, and the grammars of the various groups of inscriptions. Then follow the Texts and Translations, accompanied by excellent collotype reproductions of negatives made from estampages, which are as perfect as human ingenuity can make them. In the case of the Shâhbâzgarhi and Mânsehrâ edicts they are the first ever made which admit of photographic reproduction.

Space forbids my discussing the details of Dr. Hultzsch's work; but I notice on page xxxviii of the Introduction that while deciding definitely that the

33 In Tamil the temple is, consequently, called *Kôvil* "royal house."

34 *Cf. Kauṭilya* ed. Jolly, p. 24, 4 : *şasthe (râtribhâge) târyaghoşeṇa pratibuddhaḥ*.

35 *Hindu Manners*, p. 147 *sq.*

36 *Rites of the Twice-born*, p. 368 *sq.*

Pitinikas or Pitenikas cannot be identified with the inhabitants of Pratishṭâna or Paithân on the Godavari, he yet regards them as a distinct tribe or people. Presumably, therefore, he does not accept Dr. Bhandarkar's ingenious suggestion that this word, used in conjunction with Rathikas and Bhôjas, is an adjective signifying "hereditary." The volume and the plates are excellently printed.

S. M. EDWARDES.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, vol. IV, part II Serial No. 11. Edited by PROF. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Madras, 1925.

The September (1925) issue of the *Journal of Indian History* contains some notable articles. Mr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, in a thoughtful communication entitled *Later Gupta History and Chronology*, touches on the same question as that raised by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan in his *The Kâvêri, the Maukharis and the Sangam*, dealing with the days of Harsha, and the two aspects thereof may well be read together.

In the next article, *Pulakesi and Khusru II*, by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, we have one of those reversals of old ideas which are so trying to old scholars in relation to Indian history, but to which they cannot object, as it is in this way that true ancient history is hammered out. We are now asked to believe that it was not Pulakesin II the Chalukya that received the well known embassy from the Sasanian Khusru II of Persia, but his contemporary and enemy Harsha of Kanauj. Prof. R. C. Majumdar produces much cogent evidence in support of the new view, which of course upsets the well-known interpretation of a famous picture at Ajanta.

Then, in a remarkable paper by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai there are produced seven new facts concerning Indian Astrology such as only he could bring forward. Here we have a paper that all students of Indian chronology should study.

There are other useful papers in this issue, but the mere mention of those above alluded to shows that the editor of this *Journal* is keeping it up to a high mark.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Nos. 15, 20, and 27. Government of India. Calcutta. 1925.

These three Memoirs exemplify the wide scope of the work performed by the Archæological Survey of India. The first, No. 15, by Dr. E. H. Hankin, M.A., deals with "The Drawing of Geometric Patterns in Saracenic Art," and explains with the help of excellent diagrams the plan and constructional method, not only of the patterns formed on hexagonal and octagonal bases, which are comparatively easy to draw, but also of the important type of patterns in Saracenic art which the author styles "geometrical arabesque." Dr. Hankin explains that the method of constructing these latter patterns has long been forgotten, but that by a lucky chance he discovered in a small Turkish bath attached to Jodh Bai's palace in Fathpur Sikri the faint remains of the polygons which form the actual construction lines of this class of pattern. Evidently the original artist, when he had completed his decoration of the dome, carelessly forgot to obliterate his construction lines, which thus after a lapse of three and a half centuries offer the only clue hitherto obtained to the ingenious and often beautiful decorations which distinguish Muslim architecture. Dr. Hankin's memoir has been edited by Mr. Blakiston, who has included among the illustrations two photographs of the Club at Agra, showing the designs which Dr. Hankin furnished for its interior decoration, as the result of his investigations into this by-path of Saracenic art.

The second Memoir, No. 20, embodies an inquiry into "The Origin and Cult of Tara" by Mr. Hirananda Shastri, who reviews her position and characteristics in Brahmanical mythology, in inscriptional records, in Tantric literature, in Jaina works, in Buddhism, and in sculpture, and thence deduces the conclusion that this goddess is of Buddhist origin and was first introduced into India from Tibet *viâ* Nepal, and that originally she was a goddess of navigation, invoked to grant a safe crossing of rivers and also protection from floods. Her worship commenced about the fifth century A.D. and had become very popular by the seventh century, when she was introduced as a minor deity into the Hindu pantheon. Thereafter she gradually rose to the position of the second Mahâvidyâ—the chief deity for the salvation of men from the troubles of this mundane existence. The Memoir contains several good illustrations of images of the goddess.

The third Memoir, No. 27, by Mr. Charles Duroiselle, contains reproductions, one coloured and the rest in black and white, of the pictures in a Burmese *parabaik* or folding-book, depicting "The Pageant of King Mindon, leaving his Palace on a visit to the Kyauktawgyi Buddha image at Mandalay (1865)." The author explains that the document, from which the plates are reproduced, is a rare one, and is "one of the few extant specimens, well and carefully executed, of pure Burmese Art, before that art became sensibly influenced by western models and technique a few decades afterwards." The pictures present a display of the Burmese standing army at Mandalay in full dress, together with princes, princesses, ministers, and elephants, horses, war-chariots and so forth—and each picture is accompanied by an explanatory commentary. In brief, the Memoir provides a most interesting sidelight on the pomp and circumstance of the Court of Mandalay in the nineteenth century.

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571. On the 12th January 1729-30 Phond Sawunt of Sawunt Wari, Chief of Vingurla, which State had hitherto been in collusion, if not actual alliance, with the Angria Family, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the English. By the 3rd article of the treaty it was provided that the cargoes of English ships wrecked on his coast were not to be confiscated. This was the first instance of an Indian Prince giving up a right which had been claimed in all parts of the East at least since the time of Marco Polo (*See para.* 45 *above*; *Memoir of the Sawunt Waree State, Bomb. Sel.*, X. 171).

572. On the 20th June 1729[124] (Danvers, II. 400) died Kanhoji Angria, leaving two legitimate sons. The elder Sukhoji, who took Kolaba as his share of the State, was at first friendly to the English, but the younger Sambhaji, who received the southern coast and resided at Severndurg, pursued his father's policy. His ships were in constant conflict with the British. Captain Beresford notes on the 26th November 1730 that the *Bombay* Galley had just come in badly damaged and with many soldiers as well as sailors killed and wounded, whilst the *Bengal* Galley[125] had been taken. Captain Beresford was thereupon ordered with his own ship, the *Victoria* Frigate and the *Fort St. George* Galley to cruise down the coast. He looked into Gheria, on the 6th December, where they saw the *King William* (*See para.* 270 *above*) but could do nothing to recapture her. They saw nothing further of the enemy (*Log of Prince William*, 480 tons, 96 men, 30 guns).

573. On the 4th March 1730-1 Captain Pelly, off Barcelore "saw 12 boats standing after us, which we are informed belong to a Roger [Raja] ashore [probably one of Angria's chiefs] and are looking out for Moors' ships" (*Log of the Middlesex*, 430 tons, 86 men, 30 guns).

574. On the 2nd May 1731 Captain Robert Bootle of the *London* (490 tons, 98 men and 34 guns) writes from Surat :—"This morning....by order of the Chief here, I sent my pinnace and yawl both well manned and armed up the river to take two gallivats belonging to Angria, which we are informed are in the river. At midnight they fell in with them and took them both with 30 men on board, out of which three were killed in endeavouring to make their escape. Mr. Lowther, the Chief, has taken them into his charge and sent them to Bombay under guard of four Europeans and a great many Peons in order to be condemned. They were betrayed by the Seedee's Sebandar Shâhbandar in whom they confided and do still believe him to be their friend. This is a sign that the Seedee is not well pleased with so troublesome a neighbour. Mr. Lowther has promised Mr. Shepperd who had command of the pinnace and Mr. Blinstone in the yawl that they shall have a just account of the prizes and the share due in such cases according to order of the Company" (*See para.* 595 *below*).

575. On the 13th December 1731 the timely appearance of the *Stretham* (470 tons, 94 men, 30 guns, George Westcott Commander), saved a Portuguese ship from capture by four grabs and four gallivats of Angria's (*Log of the Stretham*).

576. On the 6th and 7th January 1731-2 the *Ockham* (480 tons, 96 men and 30 guns, William Jobson Commander) fought a Kolaba squadron of five grabs and three gallivats (seven more gallivats of the pirate fleet having withdrawn into harbour with a prize which they had just taken), and beat them off with heavy loss (70 men killed and 30 wounded), but could not take any of them as they were much better sailors. Captain Jobson says that at this time Angria had two squadrons, one stationed at Kolaba of five grabs and the other at Gheria of six, beside gallivats. They were all strongly manned and were accustomed to attack at night in the calm which generally prevailed between the Land and Sea breezes. Their mode of attack was in line abreast, coming up astern and keeping the masts of the enemy just sufficiently out of line to afford a good target for the powerful guns, 9 or 12

124 Duff (I. 520) says in 1728, Grose says 1731.

125 On the 12th March 1731 the Bombay Government granted pensions of Rs. 2 per mensem to widows without children, and Rs. 3 to widows with children, of the men who had been killed in this Galley (*Bomb. Gaz.* XXVI. i. 159).

pounders, which they carried projecting over the prow through portholes cut in the bulkhead of the forecastle (*See para.* 625 *below*; Orme, *History*, I. 408). Captain Jobson says :—" His late success in taking the *Bengal* Galley and other prizes had encouraged him to take an oath upon a Cow's head (which is their manner of swearing) to attack us and promised his people every man a gold Manillen (which is a ring they wear about their wrists) if they brought us in, but we happily disappointed them and I hope it was a very timely stroke to put a stop to their bold attempts, they being so flushed with success that they attack but [*sic*] everything they meet and begin to make the Trading on that coast very hazardous." The crew of the *Ockham* received two months pay from the President of Bombay and the same amount from the Directors as a reward for their good conduct (*Log of the Ockham*; Downing, p. 68).

577. In 1732 the English at Tellicherry despatched two successful expeditions against the local pirates, in one of which a pirate vessel of 15 guns was taken. In the other, Ensign Lewis Mendoza having captured off the mouth of the Valarpattanum River a Canarese vessel which had attacked his party, was in turn attacked by one belonging to "Cutti Coileen," carrying 200 men. A lucky shot fell in the magazine of the pirate and she blew up, not a man of her crew escaping (Logan, *Malabar*, I. 365).

Anglo-Americans.

578. On the 1st November 1725 private letters were received at Onore (Honavar) from Madras advising that the crew of a South Sea ship had murdered their captain and turned pirates and intended for the Malabar Coast (*Log of the Devonshire*, 470 tons, 94 men, 30 guns, Lawrence Prince, Commander). Either the news was false or the pirate went elsewhere.

Portuguese or Turks.

579. The *Morice* (Christopher Wilson Commander) arrived in Mocha Road on the 21st June 1725. On the 11th July a Portuguese Captain sent in certain demands to the Governor, who put the Portuguese officer and his boat crew in prison and stopped all business. On the 12th " the Portuguese warped nearer the shore and hoisted the *red flag* at the main top-mast head. He is now within gunshot of the town and threatens to fire upon it, for which reason the Europe flaggs were hoisted on the shoar at all the Factorys at the Portuguese request " (*Log of the Morice*).

Malays.

580. In 1726 the *Constable*, Clars van Cleef, was attacked by six pirate boats from Macassar and forced to flee (*Parl. Papers*, 1851, LVI. i. p. 65). The Nakhoda Muda (*Memoirs of a Malayan Family*, p. 2) mentions an attack upon Karimata by Bugis from Celebes under Panglimah Tuasah about this time or a little later.

English and Dutch.

581. The establishment of the Ostend Company in 1722 was part of a German world maritime policy. Its early profits were great and in 1726 it paid a dividend of 33½ per cent. It established settlements on the Madras coast at Covelong and in the Hugli at Bankibazar. The jealousy of the Dutch and English was quickly aroused, and their Agents did not hesitate to take drastic measures to spoil its trade. In the *Log of the London*, under date 19th May 1727, Captain Robert Bootle complains that men were deserting from his ship owing to offers of double pay made by "the Emperor's people" and in the *Log of the Mary* under date 11th July 1730 Captain Thomas Holden mentions the presence of a number of English and Dutch ships in the Hugli, engaged in holding up the Ostenders, examining Moor and other ships to see if they carried their money or property, seizing the sloops sent down from Bankibazar with men and ammunition and insulting the Ostenders so as to trap them into commencing hostilities (*Logs of the London* 490 tons, 98 men, 34 guns, and *the Bridgewater* 400 tons, 80 men, 28 guns, *25th September* 1730).

582. Captain Henry Watts, under date 14th November 1744, mentions that English ships and soldiers were sent down from Calcutta to force the Ostenders at Culpee (Kalpi on

the Hugli, apparently a temporary halting place) to surrender deserters from English ships and from the garrison at Calcutta. The Ostenders declared that they would repel force by force, and the English withdrew (*Log of the Lapwing*). In 1745 M. Schonamille, Chief of the Ostend Company, determined to leave Bengal, and with 300 Europeans—" a mixture of the worst of all nations, likely to take to evil courses "—establish himself in Pegu, but was cut off, with 100 of his men, by the Arakanese, whilst 50 more were taken prisoners, the rest escaping to Malacca or Batavia. Apparently previous to this disaster he had carried off from Mergui the French ship *Charles*, belonging to Dupleix, and renamed her the *Restoration*. It was recovered by Captain [*i.e.* Admiral Thomas] Griffin, who found 24 Englishmen amongst its crew (*Despatches from Madras 15th February and 24th September* 1745 *and 7th February* 1746).

Malabarese.

583. In December 1732 the Bombay fleet, consisting of the *Victory* Grab (Captain Parrott) the *King George* Galley (Captain Harris) the *Princess Caroline* (Captain Preast) with five gallivats, blockaded Angria's squadron in Cole Abbey [*i.e.* Kolaba] but without any decisive result. Meanwhile his southern squadron was at liberty, and on the 30th January 1732-3 a Dutch Europe ship reported that she and another Dutch vessel (each of 30 guns and 100 men), in company with two English ships, the *Shallum* (24 guns and 90 men) and the *Charming Patty* (16 guns and 40 men) had been attacked off Gheria by eight grabs and six gallivats belonging to Angria, but had beaten them off after a stiff fight of two hours in which both sides suffered severely. The Dutch ships were badly damaged, but the *Shallum* lost most heavily in men (*Log of the Marlborough*, Thomas Hunt Commander. *28th December* 1732 *and 30th January* 1732-3).

584. Sakhoji Angria died in 1733 (or 1734) and was succeeded by his brother Sambhaji who sent his half brother Manaji to Kolaba as his Deputy, but Manaji speedily made himself independent (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XI. 150).

585. Shaikji, a notorious pirate, is mentioned as having in 1733 assisted the Marathas against his master the Sidi, in whose confidence he was. Shaikji (or Yacoob Khan) was by origin a Hindu and a descendant of the Koolee Rajas of the Konkan, but having been taken prisoner as a child by the Sidi, he had been made a Muhammadan, a fact which, as was the case with many other Hindu forced converts to Islam, did not destroy his instinctive attraction towards his own people (Duff, I. 522 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii. 82).

586. In 1733 the British occupied the Island of Undheri (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 170).

Dutch, Javanese, Arabians.

587. Early in 1733 a Dutch ship, the *Windhondt*, carried the suite of the Persian ambassador to Gombroon. When she had landed them the crew mutinied and set off to cruise as pirates in the Red Sea. Shortly after they met two Dutch ships and beat them off after a hard fight, during which the Commander, boatswain, gunner and two men, who had been held prisoners, managed to make their escape, by swimming, to their friends. Soon after, the mutineers quarrelling among themselves, some of their leaders deserted for various reasons, and the Surgeon, taking his opportunity when most of the malcontents were ashore on a desert island getting in water, persuaded the remainder to run off with the ship. It was stated that amongst the most resolute and dangerous of the mutineers were 25 Javanese (*Surat Diary 8th April and 8th June* 1733 and *Letter from Gombroon 24th May* 1733) Low (I. 115) says that before she was recaptured the *Windhondt* took two merchantmen. Roggeveen (Kerr, XI. 159) calls her the *Hare* and says that she took many Arab pirates in the Red Sea.

Arabians.

588. Between 1730 and 1735 the Persians were driven out of Muscat by Ahmed bin Saeed who became Imam. After this the Muscatees, who had been the first to practise piracy in the Persian Gulf, abandoned it until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when they

came under Wahabi influence (*Bomb. Sel.*, XXIV. 57, 122, 170. See, however, what Grose says, *para.* 632 *below*).

English and French.

589. At this time both English and French did a lively trade in slaves in Madagascar. Captain George Bagwell notes that when he was at Crab Island on the west coast of Madagascar he heard that two French ships had lately been there and taken away, one five hundred the other three hundred slaves. These slaves were prisoners taken by the native chiefs in their wars. The prices were " for a man one buckaneer and one trading gun and two measures of powder each, and 30 flints and 30 balls ; for a woman two trading guns, a quart of powder, 30 flints and 30 balls ; for a boy a buckaneer gun, a pint of powder, 30 balls and 30 flints ; a girl equal to a boy and to be allowed for according to their size " (*Log of the Hartford* 460 tons, 92 men, 30 guns, 14*th February* 1733-4). Captain Bagwell collected 180 slaves in six weeks in Youngowle Bay, and the people expressed much disappointment that Captain James Saunders had not come on the same business. During the visit of the latter, a Dieppe ship, *La Subtil,* Monsieur du Casse Commander (150 tons, 12 guns and 30 men), with a pass from the Governor of Bourbon and belonging to the French East India Company, was also there for slaves (*Log of the King William,* 19*th August* 1734).

590. About this time the English required that all country ships should carry passes (Duff. 145 n.). This had now become necessary, for if the native Governments wished to hold Europeans responsible for piracy, it was necessary for the Company's cruisers to be able to distinguish between ships carrying arms for defence and those carrying them for piratical purposes.

591. On the 13th May 1736 the *Harrington* (Robert Jenkins, Commander) arrived at Fort Dauphin to trade for slaves. The King professed to be glad to see the English, but said that he had been informed by the French that the English did not dare to come there without French permission. However, a French merchant-man coming in to the harbour, Captain Jenkins compelled her to send a boat aboard him before he would allow her to trade. The native princes were very eager to receive a salute of guns, but so timid were they that they either kept astern in their boats or, if they came on board, ran down below deck until the salute had been fired (*Log of the Harrington*).

Sanganians.

592. In 1734 the Koolee rovers of Gujarat gave much trouble, but were checked for the time by a squadron under Captain Radford Nunn, which attacked Sultanpur in the south of Kathiawar (Low, I. 116 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII. 521 n ; XXVI. i. 266). Very soon afterwards the Koolees took the *Antelope*, a Bombay Marine gallivat which was escorting a rich convoy to Cambay, by the treachery of the Pilot who, acting in collusion with the Koolees, ran her ashore (Low, I. 117. *See para.* 45 *above*).

Malays.

593. According to Stavorinus (II. 219), about 1735 the Dutch in the Celebes were greatly harassed by pirates :—" Aroe Seenkang, a discontented Wadjoree prince, had for some time, together with his Captain......been committing piracies. He had taken Passir and Coety [in Borneo, in 1726. See *ibid.*, II. 247] and had even attacked the vessels of the [Dutch] Company. These freebooters therefore in the years 1735 and 1736, carrying their depredations to a great excess in the neighbourhood of Mandhar and Cajelie, were encountered by the cruising vessels of the Company, but to no purpose, and in the beginning of the year they landed at Fort Rotterdam on the adjacent islands, belonging to the Company, where they plundered the inhabitants and burned their houses." When attacked by Dutch ships from Macassar they got away " without any material damage (Pinkerton, XI. 224). It is clear that the Malays were getting over their fear of European ships. The swiftness of their

vessels, propelled by oars as well as sails, gave them the same advantage over the Dutch as the Malabarese and Sanganians had over English and French ships on the west coast of India.

Malabarese.

594. On the 26th December 1735, beside two other English ships which he had previously taken, Sambhaji himself with four gallivats and five grabs took the *Derby* Indiaman (480 tons, 96 men, and 32 guns, Captain Abraham Anselm). On the *Derby* seven men were killed and many more were badly wounded. 115 prisoners[126] including many ladies, were carried into Severndurg (*Read's Weekly Journal, 10th July and 6th November* 1736). The unsuccessful defence of the *Derby*, said to be due to shortness of ammunition, "made a great stir through the whole of India and many Bengal merchants showed a disposition to place their goods on our [*i.e.* French] ships rather than to trust them to rivals so unfortunate or so ill-prepared to defend themselves" (Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, p. 211), and in 1736-7 Dupleix, to ensure the safety of the navigation between Surat and Calicut, constantly menaced by the Angrians, applied to the French Company to have placed at his disposition a Europe ship which was trading between Chandernagore and Surat, saying that "the English who had suffered much more from the Angrians than we had, had only themselves to thank for their misfortunes, since they used to sell them arms and allow them to dispose of their piratical booty even in Bombay" (Martineau, p. 523). Angria's successes so encouraged him that he attacked, though unsuccessfully, the *Vigilant* of 65 guns and the *Ruby* of 50 under the command of Commodore Lisle and also many other vessels. Sambhaji sent two of the prisoners taken on the *Derby* to Bombay to treat of a peace, but nothing final was concluded (*Read's Weekly Journal, 10th July and 6th November* 1736).

595. On the 24th December 1736 the Company's cruisers brought into Bombay one of Angria's grabs with a vessel belonging to the sons of Muhammad Ali, a merchant of Surat, which had been taken by the grab and which they had recovered. In conformity with a resolution of the 19th November 1731, the value of the grab, stores and ammunition, was divided amongst the captors. Two Subadars taken on the grab were ordered to be confined without irons and with a full allowance of food, but the rest were put in irons, employed upon the works and given only such food as might be necessary (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 174).

596. At the end of 1736 or beginning of 1737 Sambhaji captured the *Severn* (Captain Parker). He made slaves of the whole crew, setting them to work on his fortifications (*Old Whig, 28th April* 1737). On the 2nd March 1737 the *Halifax* (John Aston Commander) sailing from Tellicherry towards Goa, came in sight of a vessel under jurymasts, flying a *white flag with a red cross* and accompanied by two gallivats. Supposing her to be a prize, Captain Aston determined to retake her, but on coming up found her to be commanded by an Irishman. She was a Moor vessel which had been taken by Angria and sold to the Portuguese. The gallivats were under her convoy, one being Angrian and one Portuguese. The Captain reported that at Gheria Angria had "six grabs ready to put to sea and three more will be ready in two or three days, in all which he has put 18 pounders for prow guns and manned with 200 men each, and [is] fitting all the gallivats he can to fill with men to supply his grabs, and that resenting the affair in the discharge of the English prisoners [*i.e.* on the *Derby*, *See para.* 594 n. *above*] he pretends to attack the Bombay fleet, and for that purpose has given orders to his men to stand the first fire and then to board."[127] As the *Halifax* was

126 All "the English that were prisoners with Angria, except those who entered his service" were released by the management of Captain James Inchbird and arrived at Bombay the 23rd November 1736 (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 170)

127 At this time reloading big guns was a matter of time, so that after the first fire an active enemy could always attack with a good chance of success. The introduction of Quick-firing guns restored the advantage to the side using big guns.

ready and cleared for action, there was no chance of the Angrians taking her, but as she was alone and, if she lost her masts in the action, she might miss her voyage, whilst she had no chance of taking such swift sailers as the Angrians, Captain Aston and his officers decided to stand off to sea and avoid an action (*Log of the Halifax*).

597. On the 2nd January 1737-8 the *Heathcote* (Captain Jonathan Cape) met the Company's Galleys cruising for Angria's fleet. The latter consisted of the *Britannia* (Captain Lewis), the *Prince of Wales* (Captain Atkins), the *Neptune's Prize* (Captain Nunn) and the *Rose* (Captain Benson) (*Log of the Heathcote*).

Sanganians.

598. In August 1737 the *Robert* and the *Success* were sent by the Bombay Council to make reprisals upon the Sanganians and other northern pirates, that month being the season for the return of their vessels from Mocha (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 269).

Malabarese.

599. In 1738 Angrian pirates attacked the Dutch ship *Noordswolfsbergen* and the yachts *Zeelands Welvaren* and *Magdalena*, and after a three days' fight took the two yachts (*Ind. Off., Dutch Records*, XIII. 168).

600. On the 18th November 1738 the *Nassau* (William Hutchinson Commander) off Vingurla " met the Kempson's fleet which is at peace with us and likewise acquainted me that Angria's fleet had made a push out of there port [*i.e.* Gheria] and had got 5 grabs and 12 gallivats, but that our fleet had kept in the rest. I called a consultation with my officers, who judged it proper to stand thirty or forty leagues out to sea till we got to the northward of Bombay." On the 6th December, off Bombay, the *Nassau* saw Manaji Angria's gallivats towing into Cole Abbey (Kolaba) two grabs, which Captain Hutchinson supposed to be Portuguese and to have been taken the previous night when gunfire had been heard (*Log of the Nassau*).

601. On the 22nd December 1738 Commodore George Bagwell chased Sambhaji's fleet of 9 grabs and 13 gallivats into Rajapore, but was unable to follow them up, through ignorance of the river (Low, I. 107). On the 10th January 1738-9 he repulsed an attack by Angria's fleet off Goa with the loss of only one man, a midshipman, killed. Angria's Admiral was killed in the fight (*Daily Post*, 19*th October* 1739 ; *Bombay Quarterly Review*, IV. 75). Sambhaji now proposed peace to Bombay on condition that English ships should carry his passes and that the English should pay him annually 2,000,000 rupees for the free navigation of the seas, an impudent proposition which was promptly rejected (Low, I. 108).

602. On the 15th January 1738-9 Commodore Bagwell with the *King George* and the *Carolina* Galley came up off Barcelore with the Kempshew's fleet which, about four or five days earlier, " had taken a Portuguese ship and grab and killed most of their people." The Khem Sawunt being at peace with the English, the Commodore ransomed all the European Portuguese amongst the prisoners and put them ashore at Mangalore (*Log of the Nassau*). In March Captain Inchbird with a small fleet took eight of Manaji Angria's fighting gallivats and thirteen fishing boats, but in November Manaji took the island of Elephanta and, after some vacillation, finally threw in his lot with Sambhaji. In 1740 he surrendered Elephanta without resistance to the Marathas (Low, I. 109 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 227-233).

603. On the 29th March 1738-9 the *Harrington* (Robert Jenkins Commander) near Tellicherry met the Dutch fleet (under Major Seirsma, *Ind. Off. Dutch Records*, XIII. 168) returning from a fruitless expedition against Gheria. Captain Jenkins saluted the Dutch Admiral with 17 guns, manned his ship and gave three cheers (*Log of the Harrington*).

604. Amongst other instructions issued to the Commanders of the Company's vessels on the 28th August 1739 occur the following :—

" 3rd. You are to take, sink or otherwise destroy all Savajes or other pirates infesting the coast, as Angria, Ramrous of Antigerate, commonly cruising to the southward, as well

as the Sanganians, Cooleys or other Rovers harbouring to the northward and commonly cruising on that coast and sometimes as far as the Gulf of Mocho and Persia, that you may meet with, bringing such people, vessells and goods that you take belonging to them in hither [*i.e.* Bombay] for their condemnation."

"5th. Kempsaunt, who has a port between Vingorly and Goa, is at peace with us and at war with Angria. When you meet his fleet they will send a gallivat with *green* (*See para.* 235 *above*) colours to speak with you and you are to treat them as friends, and should they offer to join you and go against Angria, you are to permit them, but always under your command." N.B.—*It was characteristic of the English in the East that they never placed their forces under the command of their native allies.*

"7th. That at any time you meet with any vessel of war under *red* colours [*i.e.* Moor colours], though they may pretend to belong to the Seedee or Bajerow [*i.e.* Marathas], if you have reason to suspect that they are not what they pretend, but enemies, you are to bring them in here" (Forrest, *Bombay Records*, I. 173).

605. On the 9th October 1739 a reward of 2,000 rupees was offered by the Bombay Government for every fighting grab taken by the Company's cruisers. Towards this the President subscribed 600 rupees and two other gentlemen 200 rupees each (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI. i. 271.)

606. On the 9th January 1739-40 Sambhaji with fifteen ships actually ventured to attack, off Goa, four of the Company's ships when sailing in company, *viz.* the *Harrington, Pulteney, Ceres* and *Halifax*. The brunt of the attack fell upon the *Harrington* which was at some distance from her consorts. The enemy were beaten off after a gallant defence of five hours (Forrest, *Bombay Records*, II, 74; Low, I, 108). The Commander of the *Harrington* was Captain Robert Jenkins, who had been in command of the *Rebecca* when she was taken, in 1731, in the West Indies, by a Spanish Guardacosta. On that occasion he was brutally ill-treated and one of his ears was cut off by a Spanish officer. This ear he carefully preserved, and when in 1738 the complaints of the English merchants against the cruelty of the Spaniards in the West Indies could no longer be ignored, he was called to the bar of the House of Commons to tell his story and produced this grim evidence to the truth of his tale (Southey, II. 265). The Directors were so well pleased with his conduct in this fight against the Marathas that they presented him with 300 guineas. As the fight was renewed next day, it lasted in all nineteen hours, and the Angrians are said to have lost 150 men in killed alone (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740, p. 621).

607. On the 10th December 1741 news was received at Tellicherry that a few days previously Sambhaji Angria, with seven grabs and thirteen gallivats, had surrounded and taken, off Onore, after an eleven hours' fight, the *Jupiter*, a ship despatched by Labourdonnais to Goa for provisions. She had on board 200 European soldiers and marines as well as between three and four hundred slaves purchased at Goa and intended for the French Islands (*Tellicherry Cons.* 10*th December* 1741). On the 24th January 1741-2 the *Halifax* (John Blake Commander) in company with the *Onslow* (John Balchen Commander and Commodore) and the *Queen* (Charles Birkhead Commander) met an Angrian fleet off Severndurg, but did not come to an engagement. Captain Blake tells us that to prepare for action he "took down the bulkhead of the great cabin and made a very clear ship fore and aft" and slung his yards. From this it would appear that the old method of fighting at close quarters when attacked by superior numbers was going out. To encourage the men, he ordered them to give three cheers and the Band to play 'Britons strike home.' The Angrians approached, according to custom, in line abreast, the grabs towing those of their vessels that were slower sailers. One of the Angrians spread top gallant and studding sails, which was new with these pirates. On the 30th January 1741-2 in Mangalore Road, two of Angria's grabs took a rice boat which was

coming on board the *Onslow* and were prevented from taking one of her own boats, which was going ashore, only by the fire of her guns (*Logs of the Halifax and Onslow*).

608. So much had the success of the Angrians encouraged the pirates, that all along the coast acts of piracy became common. Kuli Rovers from Gujarat swarmed near Surat (*Ind. Off., Dutch Records,* XIII. 69). The Malwans[128] (This name was now applied to the subjects of the Khem Sawunt and the Raja of Kolhapur as well as to the Sivajees or Marathas of Malwan itself, *Bomb. Gaz.,* I. ii. 88) are said to have plundered to the extent of ten or eleven thousand rupees annually (*ibid.*). On the 30th January 1741-2 the Khem Sawunt of Vingurla landed a force which plundered the coast of Cannanore and began to show utter disregard for his treaty with the English. On the 15th March 1741-2 Kunhi Ahamad, nephew of the pirate Chief of Kottakal, generally known as Cota Marcar, having been made prisoner by the English, took opium and ran amok. He killed a sergeant with a knife, and was shot dead. As he and his party were not engaged in actual piracy when captured, this excited an outburst of fanaticism, and the Angrians took a number of vessels, so that the Company's cruiser *Tiger* was kept very busy in the attempt to protect commerce (Logan, p. 382). This is, I believe, the last mention of the Marakkar family, which now lapsed into obscurity (*Malabar Gazetteer,* 433).

609. In 1743, when it ought to have been strengthened, the Bombay Marine was reduced, and the *Tiger* herself, whilst disabled by a waterspout, was overpowered by the subjects of the Sidi of Mufdafarabad (?), who however restored her at the order of his superior, the Sidi of Janjira (*Low,* I. 118).

610. The subjects of the Zamorin joined in the lucrative trade. Ships were plundered even in Calicut Road, and the Zamorin secretly accepted presents from the Muhammadan pirates who occupied Cottica, the northern portion of his territory (*Ind. Off., Dutch Records,* XIII. 17. 66).

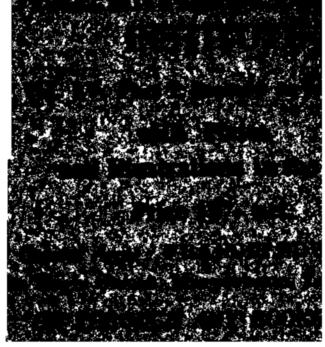
611. Captain Jenkins tells us that on the 23rd February of this year (1742-3) he picked up and took into Bombay an English country ship, still in a semi-disabled condition, having no mainmast and being full of shot holes, which had been taken some years before by Angria. He was immediately sent out by the Council to find and assist another, the *Lancaster,* which was reported to have been driven ashore by the Angrians, but she had been refloated and reached port unaided (*Log of the Harrington*).

612. Manaji, always vacillating, rescued the English Ketch *Salamander,* when captured by Sambhaji off Kolaba, but on the 22nd November 1743 fifteen of his vessels (7 of them topsail vessels) attacked the *Montague* (Fielder Freeman Commander) and the *Warwick* (Robert Misenor Commander), and carried off a Portuguese Ketch and two or three shybars, or native merchant vessels, which were under their convoy (*Logs of the Montague and Warwick*). The *Log of the Montague* says that the pirate fleet belonged to Tulaji Angria. At any rate five days later Tulaji, with a fleet of eight grabs and forty or fifty gallivats, landed at, and plundered, Mangalore. In 1748 (? 1745, *Authentic History of Tulajee Angria,* p. 51) he succeeded Sambhaji as head of the house of Angria (*Bomb. Gaz.,* I. ii. 88). According to the *Authentic History* (pp. 60-61) Tulaji had an army of 30,000 Coffrees, Sepoys, Topasses and Marathas, a large train of artillery and twelve elephants. His gunners and sea-officers were mostly renegade Europeans. His naval force consisted of 15 grabs, 5 ketches, 2 ships of forty guns, 40 gallivats and many small craft.

613. To add to the trouble, the Declaration of War by France on the 31st of March 1744 brought French privateers to the Malabar Coast.

[128] Malvan, though first organised as a piratical port by Sivaji, is in Kolhapur territory. The fort on the island was named Sindhudurg. (Grant Duff, II. 84). Vingurla, the fort of Khem Sawunt is also in Kolhapur territory.





1872–19[illegible]

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MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.[1]

By RAMSINGH SAKSENA

(Continued from vol. LV, page 5.)

II.—A Persian Inscription from Narwar Fort

I.

This inscription, being one of the epigraphical finds of the Gwalior Government, is now preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior, and is edited from a photographic reproduction. It was picked up lying about loose in the compound of the shrine of Shâh Madâr[2] on the hill fortress of Narwar.

II.

Narwar[3], or classically Nalpur is traditionally supposed to be the home of Râja Nala of Nisadha whose romantic love for Damayantî as related in the *Mahâbhârata*, is familiar to every Hindu. It lies 25° 39″ north and 77° 56″ east and though once a flourishing place on the route between Delhi and the Deccan, it decayed rapidly since the construction of new roads and railways which have carried the traffic elsewhere. It is now reached from Shivapuri, the summer-resort of the Gwalior Government by a main road of twenty-five miles in length which passes through the delightful valley of the Sindh river amidst charming jungle.

The inscription is engraved on a piece of white sandstone not available locally, and measures 2 ft. 2 in. × 1 ft. 5½ in. There are 10½ lines written horizontally, and 2 vertically on the margin on the right and read from top to bottom. The first six lines and those on the margin are in Arabic prose written in Naskh character and are quotations only from the holy texts. The last four lines are in Persian poetry written in Nastaliq characters and constitute the record proper. These contain seven verses covering 3½ lines, and refer to the construction of a mosque by Dilâwar Khâñ in the reign of Muhammad Shâh 'Adil in 960 A.H., and the remaining half of the fourth line gives the names of the composer and the writer. The half line near the bottom contains the values of the letters employed in the chronogram according to the Abjad system, as well as the year in words—a practice not commonly resorted to.

Of the persons named, the king is Muhammad Shâh 'Adil, who ruled from 1552 to 1554 A.D., and has been styled ' 'Adili ' by Firishta. He was the third king of the Sûr dynasty of the early Sultâns of Delhi. Dilâwar Khâñ, by whose order the mosque had been built, is mentioned as (*Nâib*) viceroy, presumably of Narwar. Sayyid Ahmad and Nazir Shattârî are the composer and the writer respectively of the record, and need hardly be looked for in History. Suffice it to say that they came from a Muhammadan sect of the Shattârias, to which belonged the famous Saint Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior, and may have lived at Narwar as religious teachers.

1 See *ante*, vol. LV, pp. 4–5.

2 Shrines of Shâh Madâr are met with everywhere, probably in commemoration of a visit by that well-known saint of Makanpore—*Ain-i-Akbari* I, 1307.

3 For detailed description of Narwar, see *CASR.*, vol. II, p 307, and *ante*, vol. XII, 80.

At the end of the marginal line appears another name Khân-i-Jahân, who styles himself 'Amil and seems in all probability to be the engraver of the epigraph. The date, as given both in words and in the chronogram *Hukm-i-Dilâwar Khân* is 960 A.H. (=A.D. 1552).

I read the inscription as under:—

Text.	No. of line (*see Plate*).
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله	1.
احدا * لمسجد اسس على التقوى من اول يوم احق ان تقوم فيه فيه رجال يحبون ان يتطهروا والله يحب المطهرين *	2.
قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بيني بيتا لله بنى الله له يشا في الجنة من يافوت الاحمر *	3.
الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من ذا الذى يشفع	4.
عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيي من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه	5.
السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم * صدق الله العظيم و صدق رسوله الكريم *	6.
سبحان الذى اسرى بعبده ليلا من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الاقصى الذى باركنا حوله لنريه من آياتنا انه هو السميع البصير * عامل فقير خان جهان ابن (مذور)	Margin.

INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR FORT, GWALIOR STATE—A.H. 960 = A.C. 1552.

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله
2. احدا لمسجد اسس على التقوى من اول يوم احق ان تقوم فيه فيه رجال يحبون ان يتطهروا والله يحب المطهرين
3. قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى بيتا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة من ياقوت الاحمر
4. الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من ذا الذي يشفع
5. عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه
6. السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم صدق الله العظيم وصدق رسوله الكريم
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]
11. [illegible]

7. شکر لله که جهان باغچهٔ رضوان است
از محمد شه عادل که شه دوران است
غالبا تخت فلک لشکر اوست ملک
ظاهرا باغ جهان روضه و او رضوان است

8. نائب خاصهٔ شاه دلاور خان ساخت
مسجدی خاص که ماوای به خاصان است
کفر مغلوب شد اسلام ازو غالب گشت
بُت نگون گشته و بتخانه ازو ویران است

9. بیخ بتخانه ز بنیاد برانداخته است
مسجد و صومعه از دولتش آبادان است
سیّد احمد بخداست برین حال گواه
که بلطف و کرم از خاصّهٔ سبحان است

10. سال تاریخ ز من اهل نظر پرسیدند
هاتفی گفت بگو حکم دلاور خان است
قایلهٔ سید احمد بن ولی حسینی خلیفهٔ
کاتب الفقر ناظری شطاری خلیفهٔ غوث
عالم شیخ محمد غوث ـ

11. ح = هشت ـ ک = بست ....
ل = سی ـ الف = یکی ـ و = شش ـ
ر = دویست[4] خ = ششصد ـ ا = یکی ـ
ن = پنجاه ـ
نهصد و شصت (نهصد و شصت)

[4] "دویست" (Two hundred). This expression is not employed rarely.

Translation.

The Arabic portion needs hardly any translation as the quotations, besides being very well-known, have no bearing on the main record, and I content myself by giving the reference to these quotations :—

1. Usual invocation from the *Qur'ân*, *Sîpâra* X, *Ruq'at* 3.
2. *Sîpâra* XI, *Ruq'at* 2.
3. The Mishkât Sharîf, an Hadis.

4, 5, and part of 6. *Sîpâra* III, *Ruq'at* 1 or Ait-ul-kursi.

Remainder of 6. Closing dictum of *Qur'ân*.

Lines on the margin. *Sîpâra* XV, *Ruq'at*, 1.

At the end of the lines on the margin. 'Âmil (engraver) Khânjahân son of (Munavvar ?).

7, verse 1. God be thanked, for the world is like the garden of Rizwân (Eden) on account of Muhammad Shâh 'Adil who is the Lord of the age.

7, verse 2. Probably the empyreal firmament is his throne and the angels, his army. In appearance, the garden of the world is Paradise and he its Rizwân.

8, verse 3. Dilâwar Khân, the chief among the king's viceroys, caused this mosque to be built, which is like a place of shelter for the favourites (of God).

8, verse 4. Infidelity has been subdued and Islâm has triumphed because of him. The idols have bowed (to him) and the temples have been laid waste on account of him.

9, verse 5. The temples have been razed to the ground along with their foundations and the mosques and worship-houses are flowing with his riches.

9, verse 6. Sayyid Ahmad bears a testimony, by God, that in point of kindness and generosity, he (king) is the chief among God's favourites.

10, verse 1. The sages inquired of me the date of the construction. The divine inspirator inspired me to say, "It is the injunction of Dilâwar Khân" (حکم دلاور خان)

Remainder of 10. Composed by Sayyid Ahmad, son of Vali Husain Khalîfa. Writer of record Nazir Shattari (a successor to, or descendant of) defender of universe Shekh Muhammad Ghaus.

11. حکم = ح = 8, ک = 20, م = 40. 8 + 20 + 40 = 68. دلاور = د = 4, ل = 30, ا = 1, و = 6, ر = 200. 4 + 30 + 1 + 6 + 200 = 241. خان = خ = 600, ا = 1, ن = 50. 600 + 1 + 50 = 651. حکم دلاور خان = 68 + 241 + 651 = 960: 960 A.H. = 1552 A.D.

III.

As remarked above, the inscription has not been picked up *in situ*, yet the absence of any other Muhammadan centre in the near vicinity safely assigns it to Narwar. Taking it to belong to Narwar, it points to a new fact, *viz.*, the presence of a Muhammadan governor at Narwar—a fact which has not hitherto been found in any of the records. All agree that except for an insignificant loss of possession during the invasion of ambitious Musalmân emperors, the Hindus held Narwar independently or as federates of Delhi up to the 19th century A.D. when it passed to Sindia. Sikandar Lôdi, who personally occupied Narwar nearly half a century before the writing of this epigraph, gave the fort to Râja Gaja Singh,[5] a Kachwâhâ, thus restoring the fortress to the original owners The Kachwâhâs held and ruled over Narwar peacefully up to the 19th century without even being disturbed by an attack from outside. How the governorship descended upon Dilâwar Khân, as mentioned in the inscription, baffles all explanation and necessitates further research.

(*To be continued*)

[5] *C.A.S.R.*, vol. II, p. 307.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH D.

(*Continued from page* 66.)

3. Svasara.

The attempts so far made at the elucidation of the meaning of this word are not satisfactory. The author of the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* has mentioned this word three times—once (1, 9) as a synonym of *ahas*, day, once (3, 4) as a synonym of *gṛha*, dwelling, and once (4, 2) without mentioning any meaning. The deficiency in this last instance is made good by Yâska who has interpreted it as *ahas*. This meaning *ahas* is repeated by Uvaṭa and Mahîdhara in their commentary on VS. 26, 11 and by Devarâja in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*. Sâyaṇa, on the other hand, has, in his RV. commentary, made use not only of the meanings *ahas* and *gṛha* (with suitable modifications, as for instance, *yâgâhan* 9, 94, 2 ; *kulâya* 2, 19, 2 ; *goshṭha* 2, 2, 2, etc.) but has in addition interpreted the word as *âditya* in 5, 62, 2, as *mârga* in 6, 68, 10, and as *śarîra* in 1. 34. 7 ; see Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3. 111.

Roth has assigned to this word the meanings (1) Hürde, Stall ; (2) Gewohnter Ort, Wohnplatz, Wohnung, Nistplatz der Vögel ; that is to say, he has confined himself to the meaning *gṛha* and rejected the meaning *ahas*. This meaning, however, hardly yields good sense in many of the passages where the word occurs : and Geldner has, therefore, in his article on this word (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 110 ff.), investigated anew its meaning, and starting with the assumption that it means both a place and a time of day (as declared by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu*), has come to the conclusion that *svasara* means (1) Frühtrieb, Morgenweide ; the time before *saṃgava* when the cows graze freely on the pasture ; (2) Frühausflug aus dem Nest, die Morgenatzung with regard to birds ; and (3) die Frühmesse, Frühlibation, and, *upalakshaṇena*, all the three *savanâni* or libations.[8] This interpretation is approved of by Macdonnell (see his *Vedic Index*, s.v. *ahan*, *go*, *svasara*) and apparently by Oldenberg also who translates (*RV. Noten* 1, 260) 3, 60, 6c as 'Diese Weiden bieten sich dir dar.' Hillebrandt, on the other hand, translates (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 80) 5, 62, 2c as 'Ihr macht alle Milchströme des (himmlischen) Stalles strotzen' and seems therefore still to follow Roth in his interpretation of the word.

It seems to me that the translations given above of 3, 60, 6 and 5, 62, 2 by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt are hardly satisfactory. Nor are Geldner's translations (given in his *RV. Übersetzung*) of 1, 34, 7cd ('Drei Entfernungen kommt ihr Wagenlenker Aśvin her zu Frühmesse wie der Windhauch zur Frühweide'), 2, 19, 2cd ('dass die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen') and 3, 60, 6cd ('Dir stehen diese [Soma-] weiden zur Verfügung auf Geheiss der Götter und nach den Satzungen des Menschen') any better : they indicate that the meanings proposed by Geldner for the word *svasara* are not correct and that they need to be revised.

The reason for such incorrectness, too, is not far to seek. Geldner has begun his exposition (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 111) with the observations (1) that the verses 2, 34, 8 : *dhenur na śiśve svasareshu pinvate* ; 2, 2, 2 : *abhi tvâ naktîr ushaso vavâśire 'gne vatsaṃ na svasareshu dhenavaḥ* : 8, 88, 1 : *abhi vatsaṃ na svasareshu dhenava indraṃ gîrbhir navâmahe* ; 9, 94, 2 : *dhiyaḥ pinvânaḥ svasare na gâva ṛtâyantîr abhi vâvaśra indum* show that the cows ooze with milk and low for their calves at the time or place of *svasara*, and (2) that the verses 1, 186, 5: *śiśuṃ na pipyushîva veti sindhuḥ* and 2, 16, 8 : *dhenur na vatsaṃ yavasasya pipyushî* show that the milch-cow longs for and returns to her calf when she is *pipyushî* or *yavasasya pipyushî*.

8 In his *RV. Glossar*, Geldner gives two meanings only, 'Fruhweide, Frühatzung, fig. für die Morgenlibation 1, 3, 8 ; 2, 34, 5 ; 8, 90, 1' for this word. It is uncertain whether he has given up the other meanings or merely abstained from reproducing them here as being (in his opinion) inappropriate in the verses referred to.

These observations are unexceptionable[9]; and when taken into consideration along with the statement in Tait. Br. 1, 4, 9, 2: (*tasmât trir ahnaḥ paśavaḥ prerate | prâtaḥ saṃgave sâyam*) that the cows went out to graze thrice a day, *prâtaḥ, saṃgave* and *sâyam*, they point to the conclusion that the cows returned home from the pasture thrice a day oozing with milk and longing and lowing for their calves. Similarly, Geldner's further observation (p. 113) that *svasara* denotes the time when the cows roam about and freely graze on the pastures (*sva-sara*), supposing that it is correct, points, when taken in conjunction with the above statement of the Tait. Br., to the conclusion that there are three periods of time in each day which can be denoted by the word *svasara*, and not one period only, that preceding the *saṃgava* time, as stated by Geldner.

Now, what are the three times of the day when the cows were driven out to graze? It has been remarked, in this connection, by Macdonell (*Vedic Index, s. v. go*, note 4) that the exact sense of the above-mentioned passage of the Tait. Br. (1. 4, 9, 2) is obscure and that 'strictly speaking, the cows were driven out from the cattleshed in the morning, spent the heat of the day in the Saṃgavinî, were then driven out during the evening to graze and finally came or were driven home.' That is to say, the cows were, according to him, driven out to graze twice only in the day—in the morning before *saṃgava*, and in the afternoon after *saṃgava*, and not thrice. This view seems to me to be untenable, and I am disposed to think that the statement of the Tait. Br. is correct and that the cows were driven out to graze thrice a day—in the morning (*prâtaḥ*), in the *saṃgava* time (*saṃgave*), and in the evening (*sâyam*), that is to say, in the latter part of the night (*pascimarâtra*) before the morning-milking, in the late morning after the morning-milking, and in the afternoon some time after the *saṃgava*-milking, and that they returned or were driven home from the pasture before the morning-milking, before the *saṃgava*-milking, and before the evening-milking respectively. Compare also Bhaṭṭa-Bhâskara's comment (p. 235) *tasmâd ahnas trih prerate paśavaś caraṇârthaṃ pratishṭhante prâtaḥ saṃgave sâyaṃ ca* on this passage.

The return home of the milch-cows has been described frequently by the later Sanskrit classical writers from whose writings I reproduce here some passages on this subject:

1. *upâratâḥ paścimarâtrigocarâd apârayantaḥ patituṃ javena gâm |*
   tam utsukâś cakrur avekshaṇotsukaṃ gavâṃ gaṇâḥ prasnutapîvaraudhasaḥ ||
   Kirâtârjuniya 4, 10.
2. *nirvâti vâsare astâcala-kûṭa- kirîṭe nicula-mañjarî-bhâṃsi tejâṃsi muñcati viyan-muci marîci-mâlini divasa-vihṛti-pratyâgataṃ prasnuta-stanaṃ stanaṃ-dhaye dhayati dhenu-vargam udgata-kshîraṃ kshudhita-tarṇaka-vrâte*
   Harshacarita (Nirṇayasâgara ed., p. 80).
3. *anindyâ Nandinî nâma dhenur âvavṛte vanât ||*
   . . . .
   bhuvaṃ koshṇena kuṇḍodhnî medhyenâvabhṛthâd api |
   prasravenâbhivarshantî vatsâlokapravartinâ ||
   Raghuvaṃśa (1, 82-84).
4. *sa naicikîḥ pratyahaṃ âtapânte pratyuktaghoshâ iva vatsanâdaiḥ |*
   madhûni vaṃśadhvanibhiḥ prayacchan ninâya bhûyo 'pi nivâsabhûmim ||
   Yâdavâbhyudaya 4, 89.

[9] Except that, as regards the second observation, the word *pipyushi*, in 2, 16, 8 has no connection with the word *yavasasya* which precedes it and which is to be construed with the verb *abhyâvavṛtsva*. The cow moreover does not long for her calf when she is *pipyushi* but becomes *pipyushi* [*i.e.*, oozing with milk] when she remembers and longs for her calf or sees it: compare Kirâtârjuniya 4, 10: *upâratâḥ paścimarâtrigocarâd apârayantaḥ patituṃ javena gâm | tam utsukâś cakrur avekshaṇotsukaṃ gavâṃ gaṇâḥ prasnutapîvaraudhasaḥ* and the commentator's explanation *utsukâ vatsotkaṇṭhitâḥ . . . . prasnutapîvaraudhaso vatsasmaraṇât sravatpînâpinâḥ*; Raghuvaṃsa 1, 84: *bhuvaṃ koshṇena kuṇḍodhnî medhyenâvabhṛthâd api | prasravenâbhivarshantî vatsâlokapravartinâ*; Yaśastilakacampû, 2, 184: *kvacit vatsekshaṇa-kshaṇa ksharat-stana-dhenu-dugdha-dhârâ-dhautayamunâ-dharâpîṭham.*

5. *sâyaṃ gato yâmayamena Mâdhavaḥ*
gâvas tato goshṭham upetya satvaraṃ
huṅkârahoshaiḥ parihûtasaṃgatân |
svakân svakân vatsatarân apâyayan muhur lihantyaḥ sravad audhasaṃ payaḥ ||

Śrîmad-Bhâgavata 10, 13, 23-24.

6. *vimucyamâneshu sandhyopâsanâñjali-mukuleshu. . . . vighaṭamâneshu cakravâkamithuneshu . . . . mukhair bharatsu mathyamâneshu arṇavârṇassv iva abhyarṇa-tarṇaka-svanâkarṇanodîrṇena dhenushyâṇâṃ dîrgha-rambhitâravena gopuramukheshu* Yaśastilaka-campû 2. p. 10.

The first of these passages describes the return home of the cows from the *paścimarâtrigocara*, longing (*utsuka*) for their calves and with their udders oozing milk. *Paścimarâtrigocara* means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night; and hence this verse describes the return home of the cows before the *prâtardoha*.[10] The other passages refer to the return home of the milch-cows in the evening and likewise represent these cows as eager to rejoin their calves, lowing to them, and hastening to them (*goshṭham upetya satvaram*) with their udders oozing milk (*prasnutastanam*: *prasravena*; *sravad audhasaṃ payaḥ*).

This eagerness of the cows to join their calves, their lowing to them and their hastening to them with udders oozing milk are features that figure also in innumerable verses of the RV. that contain comparisons. Compare for instance 10, 149, 4: *vâśrêva vatsáṃ sumánâ dúhânâ pátir iva jâyâ'm abhí no ny ètu*; 10, 75, 4: *abhí tvâ sindho śíśum ín ná mâtáro vâśrâ' arshanti páyaseva dhenávaḥ*; 1, 38, 8: *vâśrêva vidyún mimâti vatsáṃ ná mâtâ' sishakti*; 1, 32, 2: *vâśrâ' iva dhenávaḥ syándamânâ áñjaḥ samudráṃ áva jagmur â'paḥ*; 1, 164, 28: *gaúr amîmed ánu vatsáṃ mishántaṃ mûrdhâ'naṃ hí'ṅn akṛṇon mâ'tavâ' u | sṛ'krâṇaṃ gharmám abhí vâvaśânâ' mí'mâti mâyúṃ páyate páyobhiḥ*: 9, 86, 2: *ásṛkshata ráthyâso yáthâ pṛ'thak | dhenúr ná vatsáṃ páyasâbhí vajríṇam.* In the same way, the lowing of the calves for their mother-cows and the licking of the calves by the cows (see *Bhâgavata*, 10, 13, 24 cited above) are likewise referred to in many RV. verses; compare, in respect of the former, 1, 164, 9: *ámîmed vatsó ánu gâ'm apaśyat*: 9, 94, 4: *táṃ vâvaśânâṃ matáyaḥ sacante*; 10, 1, 2: *prá mâtṛ'bhyo ádhi kánikradad gâḥ* and in respect of the latter, 3, 41, 5; *rihánti śávasas pátim | índraṃ vatsáṃ ná mâtáraḥ*; 3, 55, 13: *anyásyâ vatsáṃ rihatî' mimâya*; 1, 186, 7: *śí'śuṃ ná gâ'vas táruṇaṃ rihanti*; 3, 33, 3: *vatsám iva mâtárâ saṃrihâṇê.*

The passages cited above describe the return home of the milch-cows in the early morning (before the *prâtar-doha*) and in the evening (before the *sâyaṃ-doha*) only. I do not know of any which describes their return home at the *saṃgava* time[11] (before the *saṃgava* milking)[12]; but it can not be doubted that, at that time too, the milch-cows would be eager to rejoin

[10] The *prâtardoha* takes place in the morning and the cows are immediately after driven out again to the pasture. This pasture can not be denoted by the word *paścimarâtri-gocara* which means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night. [This is what is called Śiru-viḍu in Tamil. See *Tiruppâvai* translated in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LV, p. 163, stanza 8. It is there referred to as being peculiar to buffaloes; but the custom seems to survive even in regard to cows in some places—S.K.]

[11] That they did return home before the *saṃgava* time is clearly indicated by Tait. Br., 1, 5, 3, 1: *mitrasya saṃgavaḥ | tat puṇyaṃ tejasvy ahaḥ | tasmât tarhi paśavaḥ samâyanti* and Bhaṭṭa-Bhâskara's comment *diganteshu caritvâ vrajaṃ samâgacchanti* thereon.

[12] This is perhaps due to the fact that while the *prâtardoha* and *sâyaṃdoha* are universal, the *saṃgava-doha* as well as the return home of the cows at that time, is not. Compare for instance the passage in the Raghuvaṃśa beginning with 2, 1: *atha prajânâm adhipaḥ prabhâte jâyâpratigrâhita-gandhamâlyâm | vanâya pîta-pratibaddha-vatsâṃ yaśodhano dhenum ṛsher mumoca* which states that the king let loose the cow in order to go and graze in the forest at daybreak after the morning-milking, and ending with 2, 15: *saṃcârapûtâni digantarâṇi kṛtvâ dinânte nilayâya gantum | pracakrame pallavarâgatâmrâ prabhâ pataṅgasya muneś ca dhenuḥ* which says that the milch-cow turned her face home in the evening after having roamed about all the day. It is obvious from this passage that Vasishṭha's *homadhenu* did not return home, and was not milked, at *saṃgava* time. Compare also the epithet *divasa-vihṛti-pratyâgatam* that is applied to *dhenuvargam* in the Harshacarita passage cited above.

their calves and would hasten to them, lowing and with their udders oozing milk. The oozing of milk from the cows' udders is thus not the characteristic of a place, but of a t i m e—the time when the milch-cows return home from the pasture and are milked. This, as we have seen above, takes place three times a day—*prâtaḥ, saṃgave* and *sâyam* or roughly, in the three *sandhyâ* or *savana* times It is these three times of the day that are denoted by the word *svasara*.

Svasara is thus approximately equivalent to *sandhyâ*, and in the plural, may be said to be a synonym of the word *trisandhya* or *trishavaṇa*. It is a *kâlavâcakaśabdu* or word denoting time: and as such, it can be used in sentences to denote the time "when" not only in the locative case, but in the accusative and genitive cases also; see Whitney, §§274c, 300a, and 302b. Compare also Gaedicke (p. 178): "Der Accusativ von Zeitbegriffen besagt, dass der Vorgang während ihrer Dauer, der Genitiv, dass er während eines Theils derselben, der Locativ, dass er zwischen ihren Grenzen, der Instrumental, dass er mit ihrem Eintritt und Verlauf stattfindet. Daher kann die Frage 'wie lange' nur durch den Accusative beantwortet werden, während das 'wann' durch alle vier Casus bestimmt werden kann".

Like the word *sandhyâ* which, though denoting the three *sandhyâ* times, morning, noon and evening, is sometimes used in the sense of 'evening' only (see Apte), the word *svasara* too, seems frequently to be used in the sense of 'evening.' This seems to be the case in the verses which refer to the cows oozing milk for their calves or lowing to them. And likewise there seems to be no doubt that *svasara* means 'evening' in verses 2, 19, 2 and 2, 34, 5, where it is mentioned in connection with birds (*vayaḥ*; *haṃsâḥ*); for it is well-known that birds return to their nests in the evening and this fact is referred to in many passages in the later classical literature also. Compare for instance:

âkulaś cala-patatri-kulânâm âravair anuditaushasa-râgaḥ |
âyayâv aharidaśva-ripâṇḍus tulyatâṃ dina-mukhena dinântaḥ ||

Subhâshitaratnabhâṇḍâgâra (1911, p. 308, v. 27)

paripatati payonidhau pataṅgaḥ
sarasiruhâm udareshu matta-bhṛṅgaḥ
upavana-taru-koṭare vihaṅgas
taruṇi-janeshu śanaiśśanair anaṅgaḥ |

Ibid. (v. 45)

ârâsotsuka-pakshiṇaḥ kalarutaṃ krâmanti vṛkshâlayân
. . . .
dhatte câruṇatâṃ gato ravir asâv astâcalaṃ cumbati

Ibid. (p. 309, v. 68)

aparâhṇa-śîtalatareṇa śanair anilena lolita-latâṅgulaye |
nilayâya śâkhina ivâhvayate dadur âkulâḥ khaga-kulâni giraḥ ||

Mâgha (9. 4)

vihâya dharaṇitalam unmucya kamalinî-vanâni śakunaya iva divasâvasâne tapovana-taru-śikhareshu parvatâgreshu ca ravi-kiraṇâḥ sthitim akurvata

Kâdambarî (B.S.S. ed., p. 47)

lokântaram upagatavaty anurâgaśeshe jâte tejasâm adhîśe . . . avataratas tridaśa-vimâna-kiṅkiṇî-kvaṇita iva śrûyamâṇe śâkhi-śikhara-kulâya-lîyamâna-śakuni-kula-kûjite |

Harshacarita (p. 170)

śubhetarâlâpa-saṃvaraṇa-pare va vistâritânibaddha-kolâhalâni śakuni-kulâni taru-kulâya-koṭareshv asûshu (so!) *upavana-râjiḥ . . . . krameṇa câtikrânte pradosha-samaye . . . .*

Tilakamañjarî (p. 160)

I have no doubt that it is this home-coming of the birds in the evening that is referred to by the above-mentioned RV., verses (2, 19, 2 ; and 2, 34, 5). And similarly, it is my belief that the word *svasara* denotes 'evening' in verses 1, 3, 8 ; 2, 2, 2 ; etc., where it is mentioned in connection with cows. It is true that (in the language of the poets) the cows return home with milk-oozing udders and low to their calves not only in the evening, but in the other two *svasara* times also, namely, in the morning and forenoon. But the paucity of references in the later classical literature to the home-coming of the cows in these two *svasara* times, combined with the many references to their home-coming in the evening, makes me think that the RV. poets too had this home-coming of the cows at evening in their mind when they used the word *svasara* in connection with cows in 1, 3, 8 ; 2, 2, 2 ; etc.[13]

I shall now show that the above-mentioned meaning, namely, *sandhyâ* time or evening, fits into the context and yields good sense in all the passages where the word *svasara* occurs. I begin with

1, 3, 8 : *viśve devâ'so aptúraḥ sutám â' ganta tû'rṇayaḥ* |
usrâ' iva svásarâṇi ||

"O ye All-Gods, come ye here, conquering the waters (in respect of rapid motion), quick, to the Soma juice, as cows in the evening." *Svasarâṇi=svasareshu.* The comparison *usrâ iva svasarâṇi* means *yathâ usrâh svasareshu vatsân prati satvaraṃ gacchanti tathâ.* This idea of swiftness is expressed, besides, by the epithets *tûrṇayaḥ* and *apturaḥ*. The *savana* time that is proper to the Viśvedevâḥ is the third or evening *savana* : compare Ch. Up. 2, 24, 1 : *âdityânâṃ ca viśveshâṃ ca devânâṃ tṛtîyasavanam* ; and though this verse is, in the ritual, (Âś. Sr. Sûtra, 5, 10, 5) prescribed for recitation in connection with the Vaiśvadevagraha of the *prâtas-savana*, it is not improbable that it was originally recited in connection with the evening *savana* and that the word *svasarâṇi* is to be construed with the verb *âganta* also.

1, 34, 7 : *trír no aśvinâ yajatâ divé-dive*
pári tridhâ'tu pṛthivî'm aśâyatam |
tisró nâsatyâ rathyâ parâvátа
âtméva vâ'taḥ svásarâṇi gacchatam ||

"Thrice every day, O ye worshipful Aśvins, do ye come to the threefold earth, to us. O ye Aśvins that ride on chariots, ye go (*i.e.*, pass) through the three distant places at the *sandhyâ* times (as swiftly) as the swift-moving wind ". With regard to the last pâda, compare 1, 79, 1 : *vâ'ta iva dhrájîmân* ; 1, 163, 11 : *táva cittaṃ vâ'ta iva dhrájîmân* ; 10, 95, 2 : *durâpanâ' vâ'ta ivâhám asmi* ; 4, 38, 3 : *rathatúraṃ vâ'tam iva dhrâ'jantam* ; 7, 33, 8 : *vâ'tasyeva prajávo nâ'nyena* ; 10, 78, 3 : *vâ'tâso ná yé dhúnayo jigatnávaḥ* ; etc., all which contain comparisons referring to the swiftness of the wind.

2, 2, 2 : *abhí tvâ náktîr usháso vavâśiré*
'gne vatsáṃ ná svásareshu dhenávaḥ |
divá ivéd aratír mâ'nushâ yugâ'
kshápo bhâsi puruvâra saṃyátaḥ ||

"For thee, O Agni, did they low, in the nights and in the mornings, as milch-cows do for their calf in the *sandhyâ* times. Being bright, thou shinest, as in day so in the nights, successively, throughout man's life, O thou that hast many desirable things."

It is the opinion of Oldenberg (*l.c.*) that the words *naktîḥ* and *ushasah* are in the nominative case and should be regarded as the subject of the verb *vavâśire*, the verse being translated as: 'dir haben Nächte und Morgenröten zugebrüllt.' This is the opinion of

[13] I have, therefore, in what follows, translated *svasara* as 'evening' in these verses. It is, however, open to those who do not share my above-expressed belief to translate the word as '*sandhyâ* time.'

Bloomfield also (*RV. Repetitions* 1, 162) who refers to 9, 94, 2 (in which I find nothing bearing on this point) in this connection; and Sâyaṇa too has given this as an alternative explanation.

There is however no verse elsewhere in the RV. in which the Nights and Dawns are represented as crying after Agni. I prefer therefore to regard *naktîḥ* and *ushasaḥ* as being in the accusative case and used here in adverbial sense. This is the view of Sâyaṇa also in his first explanation and of Geldner. As subject of the verb *vavâśire* we have to understand either the priests or the prayers; compare 10, 64, 15: *grá'vâ yátra madhushúd ucyáte bṛhád ávîvaśanta matíbhir manîshíṇaḥ*; and 1, 62, 3: *sám usríyâbhir vâvaśanta nárah* where the priests are said to have lowed for the gods and for Indra; and also 8, 44, 25: *ágne dhṛtávratâya te samudrá'yeva síndhavaḥ | gíro vâśrá'sa îrate*; and 7, 5, 5: *tvâ'm agne haríto vâvaśânâ' gíraḥ sacante dhúnayo ghṛtá'cîḥ* where the prayers (*giraḥ*) are said to low after Agni and run to him. Compare also 9, 63, 21: *matî' víprâḥ sám asvaran* where the priests are said to cry after Soma with prayers.

Regarding *arati*, see the Excursus.

2, 19, 2: *asyá mandânó mádhvo vájrahastó*
'him índro arṇovṛ'taṃ ví vṛścat |
prá yád váyo ná svásarâṇy ácchâ
práyâṃsi ca nadî'nâṃ cakramanta ||

"Exhilarated with this sweet juice, Indra, who carries the Vajra in his hand, cut off the dragon who had confined the waters, so that, like birds in the evening, the pleasing (*i.e.*, refreshing) waters of the rivers, too, moved swiftly towards (the sea)."[14]

The reference here is to Indra's well-known exploit of the liberation of the Waters and Cows after slaying the dragon; and I therefore agree with Sâyaṇa in his opinion that the word *samudram* is to be supplied after *accha* in the second half-verse. Compare the next verse: *índro árṇo apâ'ṃ praírayad ahihâ'cchâ samudrám*; see also Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 115, who, in his *RV. Übersetzung*, however, construes *accha* with the word *svasarâṇi* and translates: 'die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen.'[14]

It is hard to explain why the word *ca* has been used in pâda 4. Its use implies that something else, besides the *prayâṃsi*, moved swiftly; and what this something else is, it is difficult to determine; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, 1. 203. Perhaps it is the *arṇâṃsi*, torrents, referred to by the word *arṇovṛtam* in pâda b (compare also the words *arṇo apâm* in the next verse). This is the view of Geldner in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52, though in this case, it is difficult to make a distinction between the *arṇâṃsi* and *prayâṃsi*. Or perhaps, it is the cows that Indra sets free with the waters or rivers (compare 1, 32, 12: *ájayo gâ' ájayaḥ śûra sómam ávâsṛjaḥ sártave saptá síndhûn* and 2, 23, 18: *táva śriyé vy àjihîta párvato gávâṃ gotrám úd asṛjo yád aṅgiraḥ | índreṇa yujâ' támasâ párîvṛtaṃ bṛ'haspate nír apâ'm aubjo arṇavám*) and that are likewise mentioned in the next verse: *índro árṇo apâ'ṃ praírayad ahihâ'cchâ samudrám | ájanayat sû'ryaṃ vidád gâ' aktúnâ'hnâṃ vayúnâni sâdhat.* Compare also 1, 61, 10: *índraḥ | gâ' ná vrâṇâ' avánîr amuñcat* 'Indra set free, like the cows, the rivers that were confined.'

Here too, *svasarâṇi* = *svasareshu*. The point of comparison in the simile *vayo na svasarâṇi* 'like birds in the evening,' is swiftness which, though not mentioned, is to be understood here; compare in this respect the verse 1, 3, 8 (explained above) where too the *sâmânya-dharma* is not mentioned.

I have cited above many passages from classical Sanskrit writers which describe the return of birds to their nests in the evening. One only of these, namely, *âvâsotsukapakshiṇaḥ kalarutaṃ krâmanti vṛkshâlayân* . . . mentions that the birds are 'eager', *i.e.*, hurrying,

14 He has similarly construed *accha* with *svasarâṇi* in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52, also where he has translated: 'wie Vögel zur Morgenatzung, (die Fluten) und der Wonnetrank der Flüsse davoneilten.'

to return to their nests: the other passages make no mention of this feature. To compensate for this, there are many RV. verses that make no mention of evening-time, but refer, expressly or implicitly, to the swift movement of the birds when returning to their nests. Compare, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citrádhrajatir aratír yó aktór vér ná drushádvâ raghupátmajaṁhâḥ*, 'of wonderful speed, shining at night, with swift-flying wings like a bird that is going to sit on a tree (*i.e.*, that is going to its nest: compare particularly the words *âvâsa* and *vṛkshâlaya* in the passage *âvâsotsukapakshiṇaḥ kalarutam* . . . cited above)'; 1, 25, 4: *párâ hí me vímanyavaḥ pátanti vásya-ishṭaye | váyo ná vasatî'r úpa*, 'like birds to their nests, my prayers fly swiftly, seeking good fortune'; 1, 30, 4: *ayám u te sám atasi kapotá iva garbhadhím* 'this (Soma juice) is for thee; thou fliest to it as swiftly as a dove does to its nest;' 1, 33, 2: *úpéd ahám dhanadá'm ápratîtam júshṭáṃ ná śyenó vasatí'm patâmi* 'I fly swiftly to him, the giver of riches, the irresistible, as the falcon flies to its own dwelling-place'; 1, 183, 1: *táṃ yuñjâthâṃ mánaso yó jávîyân trivandhuró vṛshaṇâ yás tricákraḥ | yénopayâthâḥ sukṛ'to duroṇáṃ tridhâ'tunâ patatho vír ná párṇaiḥ* 'yoke, ye two bulls, that (chariot), which is swifter than thought, has three seats, three wheels and three parts, and on which ye come, ye fly swiftly, to the dwelling of the pious person like a bird that flies with its wings to its dwelling-place'; 10, 115, 3: *táṃ vo víṃ ná drushádam* . . . . *máhivrataṃ ná sarájantam ádhvanaḥ* 'him (*sc.* Agni), who moves (as swiftly) as a bird that is going to sit on a tree (*i.e.*, that is going to its nest) . . . . raising dust over paths like a mighty person.'[15] Compare also 9, 72, 5: *â'prâḥ krátûn sám ajair adhvaré matî'r vér ná drushác camvòr â'sadad dhárih*; 9, 61, 21: *sámmiślo arushó bhava sûpasthâ'bhir ná dhenúbhiḥ | sî'dañc chyenó ná yónim â'*; 9, 62, 4: *ásâvy aṁśúr mádâyâpsúd áksho girishṭhâ'ḥ | śyenó ná yónim â'sadat*; 9, 71, 6: *śyenó ná yóniṃ sádanaṃ dhiyâ' kṛtáṃ hiraṇyáyam âsádaṃ devá éshati | é riṇanti barhíshi priyáṃ girâ' 'śvo ná devâ'ñ apy eti yajñi'yaḥ*; 9, 82, 1: *ásavi sómo arushó vṛ'shâh árî râ'jeva dasmó abhí gâ' acikradat | punânó vâ'raṃ páry ety avyáyaṃ śyenó ná yóniṃ ghṛtávantam âsádam*; 9, 86, 35: *ísham û'rjaṃ pavamânâbhy árshasi śyenó ná váṁsu kalá́śeshu sîdasi*; 10, 43, 4: *váyo ná vṛkshâṃ supalâśám â'sadan sómâsa índraṃ mandínaś camûsháda'ḥ* where the idea of swiftness is implied by the comparison with the bird or falcon 'sitting,' *i.e.*, going to sit, in its nest.[16]

The comparison *vayo na svasarâṇi* therefore in the above half-verse (*prá yád váyo ná svsáarâṇy ácchâ práyâṁsi ca nadî'nâṃ cakramanta*) means 'as swiftly as birds (fly to their dwelling-places) in the evening.' The idea of swiftness is referred to clearly in other passages also that describe the running forth of the Waters or rivers after their liberation by Indra: compare 3, 32, 6: *tvám apó yáddha vṛtráṃ jaghanvâ'ñ átyâñ iva prâ'sṛjaḥ sártavâ'jaú*; 1, 32, 2: *áhann áhiṃ párvate śiśriyâṇám* . . *vâśrâ' iva dhenávaḥ syándamânâ áñjaḥ samudrám áva jagmur â'paḥ*; 1, 130, 5: *tváṃ vṛ'thâ nadyá indra sártavécchâ samudrám asṛjo ráthâñ iva vâjayató ráthân iva*; 2, 15, 3: *vájreṇa khâ'ny atṛṇan nadî'nâm | vṛ'thâ 'sṛjat pathíbhir dîrghayâthaiḥ*; 4, 17, 3: *vádhîd vṛtráṃ vájreṇa mandasânáḥ sárann â'po jávasâ hatávṛshṇîḥ*; 10, 111, 9-10: *sṛjáh síndhûñr áhinâ jagrasâná'ñ â'd íd etâ'h prá vivijre javéna | múmukshamâṇâ utá yâ' mumucré 'dhéd etâ' n áramante nítiktâḥ || sadhrî'cîḥ síndhum uśatî'r ivâyan.*

15 *Sarajantam*, I conceive, is the participle of a denominative verb formed from *saraja* (*sa*+*raja* which is another form of *rajas*: see PW, s.v., *raja* and *saraja*) and meaning 'to make dusty: to raise dust.' Regarding the simile *mahivratam na sarajantam adhvanah*; cf. 10, 40, 3: *kásya dhvasrâ' bhavathaḥ kásya vâ narâ râjaputréva sávanâ'va gacchathah.*

16 This idea of swiftness is expressed clearly in other verses and similes; cf., for instance, 9, 62, 8 *só arshéndrâya pîtáye tiró rómâṇy avyáyâ | sî'dan yónâ váneshv â'*; 9, 62, 16: *pavamânaḥ sutó nṛ'bhiḥ sómo vâ'jam ivâsarat | camû'shu śákmanâ sádam*; 9, 62, 19,: *âviśán kalá́śaṃ sutó víśvâ árshann abhí' śríyaḥ | śû'ro ná góshu tishṭhati*; 9, 64, 20: *â' yád yóniṃ hiraṇyáyam âśúr ṛtásya sî'dati*; 9, 87, 1: *prá tú drava pári kóśaṃ ní shîda nṛ'bhiḥ punanó abhí vâ'jam arsha.*

2, 34, 5 : *índhanvabhir dhenúbhî rapśádûdhabhir*
adhvasmábhih pathíbhir bhrâjadṛshṭayaḥ |
â' haṁsâ'so ná svásarâṇi gantana
mádhor mádâya marutaḥ samanyavaḥ ||

" With the flaming (?) cows whose udders are full, come, O ye Maruts that are of the same mind, and that have bright spears, by dustless roads for the delight of the sweet (drink), (as swiftly) as swans in the evening."

The exact meaning of *indhanvabhiḥ*, which occurs in this one passage only, is not known. The sense of pâda a too, is somewhat obscure.

Svasarâṇi in this verse too is equivalent to *svasareshu*. The comparison *haṁsâso na svasarâṇi* refers, not to the genus bird, like 6, 3, 5 ; 1, 25, 4 ; 1, 183, 1 ; etc., cited above, but to a particular species of birds ; it resembles in this respect the verses 1, 30, 4 : *ayám u te sám atasi kapotá iva garbhadhím* and 1, 33, 2 : *júshṭâṃ ná śyenó vasatím patâmi* (also cited above) which likewise refer to particular species of birds. The *sâmânyadharma*, however, is the same, to wit, swiftness, in all thesev erses.

2, 34, 8 : *yád yuñjáte marúto rukmávakshasó*
'śvân rátheshu bhága â' sudâ'navaḥ |
dhenur ná śíśve svásareshu pinvate
jánâya râtáhavishe mahî'm ísham ||

" When the liberal Maruts, with ornaments on their breasts, yoke their horses in the chariots for the purpose of blessing, they ooze copious refreshments for him who has offered oblations as the milch-cow (does) to her calf in the evenings."

3, 60, 6 : *índra ṛbhumâ'n vâ'javân matsvehá no*
'smín sávane śácyâ purushṭuta |
imâ'ni túbhyaṃ svásarâni yemire
vratâ' devâ'nâṃ mánushaś ca dhármabhih ||

" Indra, delight thou now here ardently with the Ṛbhus and Vâja in this our oblation of the Soma juice, O thou that art much praised. These *savana* times are set apart for thee according to the ordinance of the gods and the customs of men." Note the juxtaposition of the sentences. *asmin savane matsva* and *imâni tubhyaṃ svasarâṇi yemire* which too points to the conclusion that *svasara* denotes the time of *savana*.

3, 61, 4 : *áva syû'meva cinvatî' maghóny*
ushâ' yâti svásarasya pátnî |
svàr jánantî subhágâ sudáṃsâ
â'ntâd diváh papratha â' pṛthivyâ'h ||

" Gathering rays, as it were, comes the liberal Dawn, the ruler of *sandhyâ*. Bringing out the sun, she who is beautiful and has great might, has spread to the end of heaven and of earth."

The meaning of the expression *ava syûmeva cinvatî* is obscure. The epithet *svasarasya patnî* is appropriate to Ushas, because she is the deity that presides over the *sandhyâ* time.

5, 62, 2 : *tát sú vâṃ mitrâvaruṇâ mahitvám*
îrmâ' tasthúshîr áhabhir duduhre |
víśvâḥ pinvathaḥ svásarasya dhénâ
ánu vâm ékah pavír â' vavarta ||

" This, O Mitra and Varuṇa, is your greatness, (namely), that those who are here were milked day by day. You make all the prayers ooze (*i.e.*, yield favourable results) at *sandhyâ* time ; the felly alone revolved after you."

The signification of *îrmâ* in pâda b is obscure. Regarding *dhenâḥ* in c, I am not convinced that Oldenberg is right in his contention (*Vedaforschung*, p. 95) that it means ' Milchstrom ' ;

I believe that it means *vâk* or prayer here. Compare 5, 71, 12 : *víśvasya hí pracetasâ váruṇa mítra râ'jathaḥ | îśânâ' pipyatam dhíyaḥ;* 9, 19, 2 : *yuvám hí stháḥ svárpatî índraś ca soma gópatî | îśânâ' pipyatam dhíyaḥ* ; 10, 64, 12 : *tâ'm (dhiyam) pîpayata páyaseva dhenúm.*

6, 68, 10 : *índrâvaruṇâ sutapâv imám sutám*
sómam pibatam mádyam dhṛtavratâ |
yuvó rátho adhvarám devávîtaye
práti svásaram úpa yâti pîtáye ||

"O Indra and Varuṇa who uphold the ordinances, drink, ye Soma-drinkers, this exhilarating Soma-juice that has been pressed. Your chariot comes every evening to the sacrifice for the meal of the gods, that you may drink." This verse is one of those that are prescribed to be recited in the course of the third or evening *savana* (see Âś. Śr. Sûtra, 5, 5, 19); and hence it is likely that *svasara* is used here in the sense of 'evening'.

8, 88, 1 : *tám vo dasmâm ṛtîsháham vásor mandânám ándhasaḥ |*
abhí vatsám ná svásareshu dhenáva índram gîrbhír navâmahe ||

"We cry with our hymns for mighty Indra, the conqueror in battles, who takes delight in the bright food (*i.e.*, the Soma juice), as milch-cows do for their calves in the evenings."

8, 99, 1 : *tvâ'm idâ' hyó náró 'pîpyan vajrin bhû'rṇayaḥ |*
sá indra stómavâhasâm ihá śrudhy úpa svásaram â' gahi ||

"The zealous men (*i.e.*, the priests), O Vajra-bearer, have made thee drink now and yesterday. Hear now, O Indra, the (priests) who bring forward (thy) praises; come towards the evening."

9, 94, 2 : *dvitâ' vyûrṇvánn amṛ'tasya dhâ'ma*
svarvíde bhúvanâni prathanta |
dhíyaḥ pinvânâ'h svásare ná gâ'va
ṛtâyántîr abhí vâvaśra índum ||

"Opening again widely the abode of immortality, they spread the worlds for the finding of the sun. Oozing milk like cows in the evenings, the holy hymns lowed for Soma."

AV. 7, 23. 2 : *bradhnáḥ samî'cîr ushásaḥ sám airayan |*
arepásaḥ sócetasaḥ svásare manyumáttamâś cité góḥ ||

The import of this verse is obscure. I translate, following Whitney : "The bright one, sending out in *sandhyâ* time the beautiful dawns, faultless, like-minded, most furious, in the gathering of the cow."

Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 20 : *âdityebhyaḥ . . . . maha svasarasya patibhyaḥ.*

"For the Âdityas who are the lords (*i.e.*, presiding deities) of the advanced (*i.e.*, the latest or third) *sandhyâ* time." *Maha svasarasya* means the 'advanced *svasara*' or 'third *svasara*'; compare the similar use of *mahâ-* in *mahârâtra*. With regard to the third *savana*, compare Ch. Up. 2, 34, 1 : *âdityânâm ca viśveshâm ca devânâm tṛtîyasavanam* (cited above), according to which this *savana* belongs to the Âdityas and Viśvedevas; compare also Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 1 : *âdityânâm tṛtîya-savanam.* The Âdityas are therefore here represented as presiding over the time of the third *savana*, that is, over the third *svasara*.

Excursus.

Arati.

The word *arati* which I have above (p. 97) interpreted as 'bright' occurs in about thirty RV. verses and has been differently explained by exegetists. Sâyaṇa has explained it differently as *svâmin, adhipati* or *îśvara* (1, 59. 2 ; 1, 128, 6 ; 1, 128, 8 ; 2, 4, 2 ; 2, 2, 3 ; 6, 15, 4 ; 7, 10, 3 ; etc.) ; *vyâpta, vistṛta* (2, 2, 2 ; 2, 2, 3) ; *prâpayitṛ* (1, 58, 7) ; *gantṛ* or *abhigantṛ* (6, 3, 5 ; 6, 7, 1 ; etc.) and *aprîti* or *aramaṇa* (3, 17, 4 ; 4, 38, 4). Uvaṭa and Mahîdhara have interpreted the word as *alamati, paryâptamati* in VS. 7, 24 and 15, 32 ; and the latter has besides suggested the meanings *pûrakam, ratir uparatis tadrahitam* and *ratir uparamas*

tadrahitam, sadodyamayutam ity arthaḥ for the word *aratim.* Similarly, Bhaṭṭa-Bhâskara too has paraphrased *arati* by *uparatirahita* in his commentary on Tait. Br. 2, 5, 4, 4, as does also Sâyaṇa in *ibid.*, 2, 8, 2, 4.

Roth (in *PW.*) has interpreted the word as *Diener, Gehülfe, Verwalter, Ordner, administer* while Grassmann, differing from him, has said that the word means 'der das Opfer zurichtet, zu Stande bringt.' Oldenberg, in *SBE*, 46, has explained the word as 'steward.' Bergaigne (*Quarante Hymns*, V) translates it as 'ministre' and Ludwig and Griffiths as 'messenger.' Geldner, in his *Glossar* gives the meaning 'Herr' (which Hillebrandt also approves of; *Lieder des RV.*, p. 22), but in his *Übersetzung*, has translated the word as 'Lenker,' 'Wagenlenker,' and 'Rosselenker.'

It is my belief that none of the above interpretations is correct. The terms *îśvara* (Herr), *vyâpta, gantṛ, gopáḥ*, etc., refer to characteristics that are common to almost all RV. deities and can be used as epithets of all such deities, while in fact, the word *arati* is used of Agni only. This in itself is enough to raise doubts in my mind as to whether *arati* means *îśvara*, (Herr), *vyâpta*, or *gantṛ*, etc. On the other hand, I believe that the correct signification of the word *arati* is, in all probability, one that has specific reference to Agni, that in fact, *arati* means 'he who shines; the bright one; *śukra*; *pâvaka*.' I give here below the reasons for such belief.

I. The verse 10, 45, 7: *uśik pâvakó aratíḥ sumedhâ' márteshv agnír amṛ'to ní dhâyi* is in most respects parallel to the verse 1, 60, 4; *uśik pâvakó vásur mâ'nushâṇâṃ váreṇyo hótâ dhâyi vikshú*; and it seems therefore (since *aratiḥ* cannot mean *vareṇyaḥ*[17] and *sumedhâḥ* cannot mean *vasuḥ*) that *aratiḥ* is equivalent to *vasuḥ* or bright.

II. Again, five out of the thirty passages in which the word *arati* occurs, namely 1, 59, 2, (*aratî' ródasyoḥ*); 2, 2, 3 (*divás pṛthivyór aratím ny èrire*); 6, 49, 2 (*ádṛptakratum aratíṃ yuvatyóḥ*); 7, 5, 1 (*divó aratáye pṛthivyâ'ḥ*); and 10, 3, 7 (*divás-pṛthivyór aratír yuvatyóḥ*) say that Agni is the *arati* of Heaven and Earth. Now what exactly is the relation between Agni on the one hand, and Heaven and Earth, on the other that is referred to by the word *arati* in these passages? An examination of the RV. hymns addressed to Agni discloses that the following relations are mentioned therein:

1. Agni is the generator of Heaven and Earth (1, 96, 4: *viśâ'ṃ gopâ' janitâ' ródasyoḥ*).
2. He is the son of Heaven and Earth (3, 3, 2: *sá mâtrór abhavat putrá î'ḍyaḥ*; cf. also 10, 1, 7; 10, 140, 2).
3. He 'glorified' his parents, Heaven and Earth, when he was born (3, 3, 11: *ubhâ' pitárâ maháyann ajâyatâgnír dyâ'vâpṛthivî'*).
4. He 'renovated' his parents (*mâtarâ*), *i.e.*, Heaven and Earth, again and again (3, 5, 7: *púnaḥ-punar mâtárâ návyasî kaḥ*).
5. He 'saw' Heaven and Earth (3, 26, 8: *â'd íd dyâ'vâpṛthivî'páry apaśyat*).
6. He follows, *i.e.*, is like to, Heaven and Earth in point of *pṛksha* or strength (2, 1, 15: *pṛkshó yád átra mahinâ' ví te bhúvad ánu dyâ'vâpṛthivî' ródasî ubhé*).
7. He supported Heaven and Earth (6, 8, 3: *vy ástabhnâd ródasî mitró ádbhutaḥ*).
8. He is prayed to make Heaven and Earth well-inclined (2, 2, 7: *prâ'cî dyâ'vâpṛthivî' bráhmaṇâ kṛdhi*).
9. He moves in Heaven and Earth as *dûta* (3, 3, 2: *antár dûtó ródasî dasmá îyate*; cp. also 4, 7, 8; 7, 2, 3).
10. He enters into Heaven and Earth (10, 80, 2: *agnír mahî' ródasî â' viveśa*; see also 3, 3, 4; 3, 7, 4; 3, 61, 7) or moves in them (10, 80, 1: *agnî' ródasî ví carat samañján*), adorning them.

[17] This becomes clear from the context of the other verses where the word *arati* occurs, and where the meaning *vareṇyaḥ* does not give good sense.

11. He extends Heaven and Earth with his light (6, 1, 11 : *â' yás tatántha ródasî ví bhâsâ'* ; see also 10, 1, 7 ; 5, 1, 7 ; 6, 4, 6 ; 7, 5, 4 ; 10, 88, 3).
12. He brings Heaven and Earth to the sacrifice and offers oblations to them (6, 16, 24: *váso yakshîhá ródasî*; and 3, 7, 9 : *mahó devâ'n ródasî ehá vakshi*; see also 6, 12, 1; 6, 11, 4 ; 6, 15, 15 ; 3, 15, 5 ; 10, 11, 9).
13. He fills Heaven and Earth (6, 48, 6 : *â' yáḥ papraú bhânúnâ ródasî ubhé*; see also 1, 69, 1 ; 1, 73, 8 ; 3, 2, 7 ; 3, 3, 10 ; 3, 6, 2 ; 7, 13, 2 ; 10, 140, 2).
14. He shines upon or illumines Heaven and Earth (3, 25, 3 : *agnír dyâ'vâpṛthivî' viśvajanyé â' bhâti devî' amṛ'te ámûraḥ*; see also 1, 143, 2; 3, 2, 2; 1, 96, 5; 2, 2, 5; 10, 45, 4 ; 7, 12, 1 ; 6, 3, 7).

The word *arati*, in all probability, refers to one out of these fourteen kinds of relations, and that being so, it becomes obvious that the first-mentioned thirteen cannot be intended by it (for none of these fits into the context in the other passages where *arati* occurs), and that it can refer to the fourteenth only.

Arati thus means 'one who shines or illumines, bright, brilliant.' It is therefore derived from the same root—*ṛ* or *ar* 'to shine' (and not from *ṛ* or *ar* 'to go' as Sâyaṇa has suggested)—as the words *aruṇa* and *arusha* and is practically synonymous with these two words and also with *pâvaka, śukra, śuci, vibhâvan, vibhvan, rukma*, etc., all which words mean 'bright,' 'resplendent,' and are, like the word *arati*, used most often as epithets of Agni or Sûrya.

Arati thus, in 1, 59, 2 : *aratí' ródasyoḥ*; 6, 49, 2 : *ádṛptakratum aratím yuvatyóḥ*; 2, 2, 3 : *divás-pṛthivyór aratíṃ ny èrire*; 7, 5, 1 : *divó aratáye pṛthivyâ'ḥ*; and 10, 3, 7 : *divás-pṛthivyór aratír yuvatyóḥ* means 'he who shines upon; he who illumines' ; cf. 1, 143, 2 : *prá dy'âvâ śocíḥ pṛthivî' arocayat*; 10, 45, 4 : *â' ródasî bhânún âbhâty antá*; 1, 96, 5 : *dyâ'vâkshâ'mâ rukmó antár ví bhâti*, etc. Similarly, *aratíṃ pṛthivyâ'ḥ* in 6, 7, 1 means 'him who shines on, or illumines, the earth.' In 2, 4, 2, *devâ'nâm agnír aratíḥ* means 'Agni, who shines on the gods'; cf. 8, 60, 15 : *â'd íd devéshu râjasi*; and similarly, 7, 10, 3 : *havyavâ'ham aratíṃ mâ'nushâṇâm* means 'him, the carrier of oblations, who shines on men'; compare 7, 5, 2 : *sá mâ'nushîr abhí víśo ví bhâti.* In 1, 58, 7 : *agníṃ víśveshâm aratíṃ vásûnâm*, the phrase *vasûnâm aratiḥ* is equivalent to *vasur vasûnâm* in 1, 94, 13 : *vásur vásûnâm asi . . . . agne*; and in 10, 91, 3 : *vásur vásûnâṃ kshayasi tvám éka ít*, and means 'bright amongst those that are bright; most bright.' In 6, 3, 5 : *citrádhrajatir aratír yó aktóḥ*, the word *aktoḥ* is to be construed with *aratiḥ*; and the meaning is, 'he whose speed is wonderful, who shines at night'; cf. 5, 7, 4 : *sá smâ kṛṇoti ketúm â' náktam cid dûrá â' saté*; 6, 3, 6 : *náktaṃ yá îm arusháḥ* which is exactly parallel to *aratir yo aktoḥ*; 3, 50, 4 : *kshapâ'ṃ vastá'*; 8, 19, 31 : *kshapó vástushu râjasi*, etc.

The verse 6, 12, 3 : *téjishṭhâ yásyáratír vanerâ'ṭ todó ádhvan ná vṛdhasânó adyaut* is a difficult one : Ludwig has proposed that the proper reading here is *amatiḥ* and not *aratiḥ*, and Grassmann, that one should read *tejishṭhayâ yaḥ* instead of *tejishṭhâ yasya*, a suggestion that Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*) thinks is perhaps correct. Oldenberg has besides observed (*l.c.*) that 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 point to the reading *araṇi* instead of *arati*, and also that it is possible to translate the passage without any emendation, though this translation is very artificial, as 'dessen (Glut) die schärfste ist, der *arati*.' He therefore proposes to interpret the passage as 'he whose *arati* is most sharp' without however saying what the meaning of *arati* is.

Now the verses 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 referred to above by Oldenberg in this connection are obscure and it is difficult to find out what these verses themselves mean. And moreover, in the verse 10, 61, 20 : *ádhâsu mandró aratír vibhâ'vâ'va syati dvivartanír vaneshâ'ṭ*, the word *vaneshâṭ* 'victorious in the forest,' which is almost synonymous with the word *vanerâṭ* ('ruling over the forest') here, is clearly co-ordinate with *aratiḥ* and *vibhâvâ*, which makes

it probable that the word *vanerâṭ* too here is co-ordinate with *aratiḥ* and refers to Agni. In the light of this, therefore, I supply here the word *ruc* (fem. ;=*bhânu*, splendour) after *tejishṭhâ* on the analogy of 10, 3, 5 : *téjishṭhaih krî̆ḷumádbhir*[18] *várshishṭhebhir bhâ̆núbhiḥ* and translate, 'he whose (splendour) is most bright, the brilliant one, ruling over the forest, shone with increasing brightness like the sun in his course.' This is not only not artificial, as observed by Oldenberg, but seems to me to be the only natural interpretation ; compare also the translation (quoted above) of Oldenberg : 'dessen Glut die schärfste ist.'

The verse 5, 2, 1 : *ánîkam asya ná mináj jánâsaḥ puráḥ paśyanti níhitam arataú* is likewise obscure ; and various suggestions have been made that the last word, namely, *aratau*, should be emended and read as *aratnau* or *arâtau* or *araṇyoḥ* ; see Oldenberg, *op. cit.* As the rest of the hymn too is obscure, it is difficult to say with certainty that the reading *aratau* is incorrect. Sâyaṇa has interpreted this word here as *araṇau* which does not seem to be correct ; for in this case, it is hardly possible to say of Agni latent in the *araṇî* that people see him—*puraḥ paśyanti nihitam.* I believe therefore that here too *aratau* has the usual meaning 'in the bright one' and refers perhaps to the physical fire or the sun.

There is no difficulty about this word in the other verses where it occurs. *Arati*, in all these, is unconnected with other words and is a substantive meaning 'the bright one.'

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

L'INTONATION EN PENJABI : UNE VARIANTE ASIATIQUE DE LA LOI DE VERNER. By JULES BLOCH. Extract from MÉLANGES LINGUISTIQUES OFFERTS À J. VENDRYES. Pp. 11. Champion, Paris, 1925.

In this short article Professor Bloch has dealt with a set of complex, widespread and important linguistic facts. Whereas in most of the Indo-Aryan languages the voiced aspirates of Sanskrit have been in principle maintained unchanged, over a considerable portion of the North-West the aspiration has suffered loss, accompanied or not by various other changes. We owe to Dr. Grahame Bailey the first definite statement of the connection between this loss of aspiration and the existence of certain intonations of vowels in Panjabi. It has been the work of Professor Bloch to suggest the process of the growth of these tones According to him the aspiration joins itself to the vowel, but not being vowel proper has less resonance and is of a lower tone. Hence if the aspiration originally preceded the vowel, the result is a low-rising tone ; if it followed, a high-falling tone ; where it both preceded and followed (as in the word *ḍhiḍḍh*), we may have a low-rising-falling tone. The explanation is clear and without doubt correct, and fully explains why only the voiced aspirates, and not the breathed aspirates have this development.

There is, however, another phenomenon connected with the voiced aspirate. Over a certain part of this area initial voiced aspirates lose not only their aspiration, but also their voice. In this Professor Bloch, with fine insight, has seen a parallel to Verner's Law. Gauthiot (*M.S.L.*, XI, p. 193 ff.) in explaining this law said that the tone prevented the voicing of the breathed consonant immediately following it. According to Gauthiot the maintenance of the breathed consonant after the tone was due to a species of differentiation, the muscular efforts required for raising the tone and for voicing a sound being of the same nature. Seeing this, Professor Bloch suggests that just as a preceding tone was said by Gauthiot to favour the unvoicing of a following *r* in Avestic, so in this case a following tone has favoured the unvoicing of a previous voiced consonant. The initial voiced consonant (either of a word or of the second member of a compound) is the only one affected, because an initial is less strongly voiced than an intervocalic. The author refers to Dr. F. W. Thomas' comparison of these phenomena with analogous ones in Tibetan : but he remarks too that, the change in Punjabi appearing to be quite recent, it is difficult to connect it with the existence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum. The fact, however, that words of Persian origin are affected does not necessarily argue its recent character : because new loan-words from English or any other language are similarly treated to-day by a process of substitution. In any case it appears to be one of those numerous cases in which, however difficult it is at present to see the exact connection, it is impossible to rule out altogether the possibility of influence by a substratum.

R. L. TURNER.

[18] Or, if the suggestion of Oldenberg (*l.c.* footnote) about reading *tejishṭhâḥ* be corect, one can supply the word *bhânavaḥ*.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1925. Government Press, Bangalore, 1926.

This is a record of a very full year's work and contains many features of interest, among them being the elucidation of sixty-three manuscripts concerning Saiva Saints of South India, which are not only of definite chronological value, but also throw much light on the social, moral, religious and political circumstances of the period to which they relate. Another MS. contains a history of the rulers of Kallahalli, who were feudatories of the Vijayanagar kingdom. They are declared to have been descended from certain Jaina Kshatriya families of Dvaravati, who migrated to various parts of India, and sometime later two scions of this stock, named Mangarasa and Changalaraya, who had settled in Vijayanagar, established principalities for themselves in Piripattana and Rangapattana respectively. Mangarasa, in order to secure his ascendancy, contrived by a ruse to destroy the Bêḍas, who were polygars of the surrounding country. These Bêḍas were presumably of the same stock, if not identical, with the Boyas and the Bêdars or Berads, who have played so large a part in the history of Southern India. Several important epigraphical records were discovered, one of which is a grant of a Kadamba King Vishṇuvarma, who records that he was installed on the throne by a Pallava ruler named Śântivarma, whose name is hitherto unknown in Pallava genealogy. The record indicates clearly that while the founder of the Kadamba line conquered and subdued the Pallavas, his descendant in the sixth degree was a feudatory of that dynasty. Another grant, belonging to the Ganga King Bhûvikrama, describes Karikâla Chôla as *Kârita-Kâveri-tîra*, i.e., ' he who constructed banks to the Kâveri,' thus corroborating information about that ruler which is enshrined in Tamil literature. Illustrations are given of these grants, as also of various temples etc., which have engaged the attention of the Director and his Staff.

S. M. EDWARDES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 19 ; The Jami Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces, by J. F. BLAKISTON, 1926 : No. 21, The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah, by HIRANANDA SHASTRI, 1925. Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.

Of the above Memoirs, No. 19 is concerned with four monuments of Indian mediæval art, all of them rather outside the beaten track of the travelling antiquarian and therefore not widely known. They are the Jami Mosque at Badaun, the Basa at Lalitpur, the Chaurasi Gumbaz of Kalpi, and the Jami Mosque at Irich. The first of these was built by Sultan Altamsh, who completed the Kutb Minar at Delhi ; the origin and use of the second are unknown ; the third is an ancient mausoleum, supposed to be that of Mahmud Shah Lodi ; the fourth is a relic of the reign of Mahmud Shah Tughlaq. These monuments are fully described and illustrated by good photographs, which are accompanied by admirable drawings of their architectural details, prepared nearly thirty years ago by the late Edmund Smith, who was an expert in the subject of Indian art and architecture.

Memoir No. 21 is devoted to the description and gist of an old Sanskrit MS., *Vîrabhânûdayakâvyam*, a poem of 12 cantos written at Benares in 1591, which gives the genealogy of the Bâghela dynasty of Rewah and other historical information. Two seals on the first and last pages purport to show that the MS. belonged to one Vîrabhadra, grandson of the hero of the poem, who attended Akbar's court at Delhi and was a personal friend of that emperor. He appears also to have been a confidential supporter of Prince Salim (Jahângir). Much of the information given in the poem requires confirmation : on the other hand, many of the statements are corroborated by the testimony of Muhammadan historians. The genealogy of the Baghela chiefs differs from that given in the *Gazetteer* and other accounts, but is not on that account necessarily incorrect. It confirms such facts as the conquest of Gahora by Râṇiṅgadeva and the friendship existing between Babur and Vîrasimhadeva (" Nar Singh " of Babur's *Memoirs*).

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDA AND UPANISHADS, by ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.LITT., Harvard Oriental Series, volumes 31 and 32. Harvard University Press. London. H. Milford. 1925

This work in two volumes may be described as the latest pronouncement by an acknowledged expert on the various problems presented by Vedic literature. Divided into five parts, it deals in a spirit of judicial caution and analysis with the original sources of Indian religion, that is to say with the Rigveda and later Vedas and Brâhmanas, and the Avesta ; with the gods and demons of the Veda, with Vedic ritual, the Spirits of the Dead, and Vedic philosophy. It is impossible within the limits of a brief review to notice in detail the evidence offered under these main heads of inquiry, or the inferences, deductions, and findings which Dr Keith holds to be permissible in the case of the many enigmas enshrined in the earliest literary remains of the Aryans. No notice in the columns of a journal can adequately portray the immense volume of learning and the profound study of original texts, which have gone to the making of these two volumes. Every student of Rigvedic culture ought to read them, and read them carefully, for his own benefit

and satisfaction. Every point made, every decision arrived at, is marked by a spirit of caution and an appreciation of evidential values, which the author doubtless owes to his legal training and intellectual experience, and which embodies a lesson for some of those more imaginative writers who have sought to re-construct the social and political features of the Vedic age on what are apt to prove inadequate or fallacious foundations. In Appendix G, for example, he exposes the hollowness of the theory of "diffusion" preached by Messrs. Elliot Smith and Perry.

The second volume contains eight Appendices, which deal severally with the age of the Avesta and Rigveda, the sacrifice of Puruṣa and the origin of the world, the Aryan conception of the heaven, the drink of immortality, the Indo-European fire-cult, cremation and burial, the Dravidian element in Indian thought, and Pythagoras and Parmenides No one, we imagine, will dissent from the view that Dr Keith's work, which forms part of the Harvard Oriental Series, constitutes the most important contribution to our knowledge of Vedic culture that has appeared in recent times, and that its value as an authoritative exposition of Indo-Aryan religious belief and ritual in all its phases is likely to increase, rather than diminish, in future years The book should be read by every Sanskritist and every student of Hindu Philosophy

S M EDWARDES

EXPOSITION DE RÉCENTES DÉCOUVERTES ET DE RÉCENTS TRAVAUX ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN AFGHANISTAN ET EN CHINE. Musée Guimet. March, 1925.

In 1922 M. Foucher, a professor at the Sorbonne and author of the *Græco-Buddhist Art of Gandhara* chanced to be on a mission of research in India. The French envoy in Persia, M. Bouin, having informed the French Government that the Afghans were prepared to authorise the French to conduct Archæological researches within their territories M. Foucher journeyed to Persia and thence to Afghanistan by the Herat route. He was received at the Afghan frontier with every mark of respect as the first official envoy of the French Government, and was the guest of the Amir for several months at Kabul. During his stay he made certain researches, and eventually signed a convention with the Afghan government, which enables the French to prosecute excavation in Afghanistan for a period of thirty years. This permission secured, M. Foucher asked for the services of an architect, and M. André Godard was accordingly appointed and joined him at Jalalabad in February 1923. The two antiquaries commenced their work with a preliminary reconnaissance, which would enable them to prepare a chart of ancient sites in Afghanistan suitable for excavation. The results of these preliminary labours are described by M. Godard in this little pamphlet published by the Musée Guimet.

The pamphlet opens with general remarks on the archæological value of Afghanistan, and then describes the relics, remains and survivals discovered at Jalalabad, Hadda, Kabul, Bamiyan, and Ghazni. In the last-named area they discovered the tomb of Sabuktigin, and a fine mausoleum, locally supposed to be that of Masud, son of Mahmud, as well as many beautifully decorated marbles, ornamented with arabesque designs, animals, historical inscriptions, and quotations from the Koran, which had been built into the façade of Ghaznivid buildings. "They enable us" remarks M. Godard, "to give an outline of the history of this Ghaznivid art, which originated in the reign of Mahmud, was carried to India by his successors, and ultimately gave birth to that Indo-Musalman art which produced the marvellous architectural masterpieces of Agra, Delhi, Lahore and other cities of India."

The latter half of the pamphlet consists of two papers by MM. Sirén and Lartigue on archæological discoveries in China. Modest as it is in size and scope, the pamphlet is a record of valuable and painstaking antiquarian work, and so far as concerns the possessions of the Amir, is of first-class importance.

S M. EDWARDES.

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA, translated from the Pali of the Majjhima Nikâya, by LORD CHALMERS, G.C.B. Two volumes. Vol. I. Oxford University Press, 1926.

The *Majjhima Nikâya* is one of the most important and fundamental Buddhist scriptures, as it enshrines the principal tenets of early Buddhism : and the present English translation by a scholar who has devoted a large part of an active life to the study of the religion preached by Gautama forms a worthy pendant to the well-known translation of the *Dîgha Nikâya* by Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids. The actual translation is likely to meet with the approval of Pâli scholars, as the English is well-chosen and aptly portrays the succinct and popular style of the original, while at the same time preserving its meaning and gist. The author also provides a brief and useful introduction in which the main features of Indian thought in Gautama's age are explained, and stress is laid on the practical sagacity of the Buddha in adapting to his own doctrines the expressions and nomenclature of his forerunners. He borrowed a good deal from Brahmanism, for example ; but "in each instance he altered the connotation of the familiar terms which he retained from the past, while importing into them his own novel content of meaning. The old labels were reassuring, even though the wine was a new brand."

S. M. EDWARDES.

BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS, edited and translated with critical notes by BENIMADHAB BARNA and KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926.

In the preface the authors of this learned work claim to have re-arranged the inscriptions on the eastern gateway, inner railing, and fragments of the Buddhist Stupa at Barhut in such a manner that the system underlying them and their real significance are more clearly disclosed. They have divided the inscriptions into two main groups, styled Votive Labels and Jâtaka Labels, the former being grouped as they occur on the various parts of the Stupa and the latter by scenes in consonance with the accepted Jâtaka outlines of the Buddha's life. Each inscription is accompanied by an English rendering and an explanatory note. The notes are well compiled and deal fully with doubtful points, as for example that on *nigama* on page 34, the note on Jâtaka Label No. 7 at pp. 42 to 44, the note on pp. 49–52, and so forth. The commentary on Vidura, mentioned in Jâtaka Label No. 30, contains some illuminating remarks on *odium theologicum* as displayed by the Brahmans. The third section of this scholarly publication is devoted to appendices on the paleography and language of the inscriptions, and on the names and epithets, as well as on the localities mentioned in them. The book is a worthy addition to the publications of the Calcutta University.

S. M. EDWARDES.

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING, by NÂNÂLÂL CHAMANLÂL MEHTA, Indian Civil Service, with 17 colour plates and 44 half-tone plates. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1926.

In his Foreword the author of this attractive work declares that his object has been to bring together new material for the study of Indian painting, and there can be no question that he has successfully achieved his object. He presents us with new examples of the famous Pallava frescoes of Sittannavasal, nine miles north-west of Pudukotta, which are ascribed to the reign of the accomplished Pallava ruler Mahendravarma I (A.D. 600–625), and then introduces us to various examples of Hindu secular painting in mediæval Gujarat, which included a large portion of modern Rajputana. This style of painting has usually been styled "Jain", probably because Jainism formed the *motif* of many of the artists; but, as the author, Mr. N. C. Mehta, points out, this style of painting was indigenous in Gujarat from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, and should be more correctly styled "Hindu."

The book contains several excellent examples of the Mughal school, including pictures by Abul Hassan, Mansur and Bishandas, and concludes with chapters on the Court art of Tehri-Garhwal and other Hindu painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These later schools, and the later Mughal paintings also, serve to corroborate the dictum of Mr. Percy Brown that so long as Jahangir lived, he was the soul and spirit of Mughal art, and that after his death an immediate and perceptible decline set in. Even the paintings of Shah Jahan's reign are marked by a certain feature of over-ripeness, which is the sure sign of deterioration. Of the various plates we cannot speak too highly, and special attention may be drawn to the reproductions of the fine fresco of *Ardhanarishwar*, of the picture *Vasanta Vilâsa*, which illustrates the dress of the period, of Abul Hassan's bullock-cart, and Ustad Salivahana's painted epistle. Equally attractive are a portrait of Jahangir in later life, and Govardhana's study of a woman. Among the examples of Hindu painting of a later age must be mentioned the Jaipur picture of the *Rasa mandala*, an admirable equestrian portrait of Rao Shatrujit of Datia, and samples of Mânaku's skill.

The book has been printed and published in India, and reflects great credit on everyone—author, printer and publisher—who has contributed to its production.

S. M. EDWARDES.

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL, 1769–1787, by R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, Indian Educational Service. Oxford University Press, 1926.

For students of the administrative history of Bengal in the days of the East India Company this unpretentious and well-documented work should prove extremely valuable. It deals with two very important records of the eighteenth century,—the Amini Report of 1778, a large part of which is included in the second volume of Harington's analysis of the Laws and Regulations of the Governor-General in Council, published at Calcutta in 1805, and secondly the Report on the Office of Kanungo of 1787, which has never yet been published in accessible form. More than half the book is occupied by an illuminating note on the history and circumstances of the Company's revenue-administration of Bengal, and this is followed by a verbatim reproduction of the Amini Report itself, which Mr. Ramsbotham describes as "the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal that was placed before the Company." The author reminds us that after the death of Alivardi Khan the provinces of Bengal lapsed into a state of chaos, the actual survival of any administrative system at all being due to the Oriental custom which permitted most Government offices to become hereditary. The public services were in fact converted into a craft, of which the knowledge was confined to selected families from whom alone recruitment could take place for subordinate administrative offices. Thus

when the company assumed charge of the *Diwani*, "they found a complete cadre of hereditary officials ready to resume their functions under a normal and effective Government. The two most important and powerful classes of these hereditary revenue officials were the Zamindars and the Kanungos."

The position of the Zamindars was a very strong one. They enjoyed the same prestige and exercised greater magisterial powers than any large English landowner they collected the revenue for which they were responsible and received a certain fixed quota as their remuneration. But as a class they were inert and degenerate, and in 1765 most of them were idle, ignorant and effete, and were usually under the thumb of unscrupulous servants. Between 1765 and 1793 the Court of Directors in England and the Company's officers in India made a continuous effort to secure the knowledge requisite for a just and accurate settlement of the land revenue. The Amini report is one example of this endeavour, and it stands, in Mr. Ramsbotham's words, as "an enduring monument of the work done by unknown British officers of the Company, whose services were never acknowledged by their 'Hon'ble Employers', and on whom the limelight of public recognition never fell." Indeed, Mr. Ramsbotham quotes from an original manuscript, belonging to the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara, evidence showing that Jos. Sedley was very far from being typical of the Company's district officers, and that between 1772 and 1786 the district administration was conducted by a small, conscientious and very hardworking body of officials, who eschewed idleness, led sober and uneventful lives, and in their official dealings with the Indian public showed themselves "minutely just and inflexibly upright." Certainly the knowledge contained in the Amini Report could never have been acquired, sifted and co-ordinated by men of the type immortalised by Thackeray.

Equally interesting is the Report on the Kanungos—an office which probably existed in pre-Mughal times and was merely reconstituted and extended by Akbar. It became in the usual way hereditary, and the knowledge thus acquired by successive generations was employed by its possessors to strengthen their hold over the land revenue of their respective districts. By the time the Company became Diwan, these hereditary Kanungos held all the vital information necessary to the efficient collection of the land revenue and showed a firm intention to surrender none of it to the Company's government. Hence arose the burning question whether the Kanungo should be retained or abolished. It is curious to reflect that when the Marâthâ leader Shivâjî commenced to organise the administration of the Deccan, he was confronted by a somewhat similar problem in the persons of the Deshpânde and Deshmukh, who were the ancient and hereditary custodians of all information relating to the lands and land revenue of Western India. In both cases the ultimate decision was the same. The Marâthâ leader reduced the Deshmukh and Deshpânde to a purely ornamental position, and transferred their powers and duties to his own public servants · the Company in Bengal abolished the offices of *sadr* and *mufassil* Kanungo, simultaneously with the introduction of the Permanent Settlement. The decision was a wise one, for, in the words of Lord Cornwallis, "the official attestations and declarations [of the *mufassil* Kanungos] have long since fallen into contempt and disregard in the eyes of the people, from having been invariably made the cloak to every species of fraud and abuse."

Mr. Ramsbotham's book throws much valuable light upon the circumstances preceding the introduction of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and upon the foundations of the British district administration. It well repays perusal.

S. M. EDWARDES.

DJAWA: TIJDSCHRIFT VAN HET JAVA-INSTITUTE, Vol. 5, Nos. 2 and 5, March, April and October 1925.

No. 2 contains articles on: "Java in Malay literature," by H. O.: "A fusilier of the last century as antiquarian," by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim; "Hindoo-Javanese legends, II. Sakoentala" by Boedihardjo; "The Psyche of the Javanese," by Paul van Schief gaarde; "A singular Institution," by R. Tresna.

No. 5 contains articles on: "An interesting Hindoo Javanese drawing on copper," by Dr. W. F. Stutterman with a reproduction; "The burial places of the old governors of Grisee before, during and after the time of the Company," by R. A. A. Kromodjoio Adinegoro (illustrated); "History and myth II: The Pandawas of Java," by M. V. Moens-Zorab; "Invulnerability?" by R. Tresna.

M. J. B.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TOPSHAW.

1702. Letter from Sir William Norris from the *Scipio* off Bombay on his homeward voyage, regarding the Bombay factory. "They have two or three Companys of Topshaws, those country soldiers which are but a slender and weak Guard" (Public Record Office) C.O. 77/51, p. 53. "Topshaw" seems to represent some local vernacular term from ***tapasâ***, ***tapashâ***, or ***topâshî***. See ***ante***, vol. L., pp. 106–113.

R. C. TEMPLE.

KING SARANGDHARU.

It is stated by the Reverend Dr. Macnicol that a king Śârangdharû is mentioned in one copy of one of the books of the Marâthî poet Mukundrâj. Can any reader of this *Journal* determine the precise identity of this king? JOINT EDITOR.

THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

BY THE REV H HOSTEN, S J

FR. A MONSERRATE, S.J., wrote from Cochin in the beginning of 1579, under the title "Information about the Christians of St. Thomas," as follows :—

"As regards the origin of these Christians, there are two opinions. Some say that all descend from the disciples of the Apostle St. Thomas. Others say [they are descended] from one Mar Thoma, a Syrian (*Mar* among them means 'Don'), a merchant, who made his residence in Cranganor, and who had two wives: one noble, the other a slave, although of good caste, because it is the custom that the nobles be sold when born on evil days. The proof of this, besides the traditions of the ancients, is that among Christians there are many petty quarrels about birth and caste, those who are descended from the slave woman being less considered. And that both were noble at least Nayr women, is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar, that there is no pollution between the Christians of St. Thomas and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there are between them marriages or friendship,[1] all of which arises, according to the custom of the country for castes higher or lower than these two.

"What is more likely is that they originated from both that is, from the glorious St. Thomas and from Mar Thoma, and from many Nayres who are daily converted They are a Christianity of seventy-thousand souls, and they are reduced to these two clans by the lie of the land and not only because they are descended from them [from Mar Thomas' two wives]: for some live on the south side, others on the north side.

"They say, therefore, that, when Mar Thoma came to India, he found at Cranganore and Coulon Christians descended from the Apostle St Thomas' disciples, who now had but the name of Christians left, considering that they were intermarrying promiscuously with the Nayres. However, at their doors and on their walls they had as their emblem crosses, and they gave names of Christians to their children And this Mar Thomas, they say, assembled them, and filling them with ideas of caste,[2] which in that country is very strong, he caused to be baptized and baptized himself many of all those who were married with those Christians and were in any way descended from them And he remained so to say, the chief of them all having assembled them and being rich and influential with the kings of Cranganor, etc[3]

". . . . . They live in villages and some respectable ones in farms, and these have less knowledge of the things of God, because they have no church, and they live near the

1 Further study may lead to prove that the Nairs of Malabar and a great part of the St. Thomas Christians first converted by St Thomas belonged to the same ethnic stock, presumably Parthian or Indo-Scythic. They would represent the Nâgas and it is not impossible that the pictures on the façades of many Christian Syrian Churches in Malabar, pictures of male and female beings, half-man half-fish, holding a ship above their head, be not merely decorations, but represent a tradition of origin We may imagine that a strong Parthian infiltration had set in before the Christian era from Sindh all along the West Coast as far as Mylapore, that in fact the best part of the commerce in the first century of our era was in the hands of the forbears of our Syrian Christians.

Fr Roz could say in 1604 that at Bepar on the Fishery Coast some called themselves 'Tarideicalnaiquemar,' "themselves confessing that they were by caste Christian " "There are also among these Christians some of the king of Cochin's caste, whom they call Covilmar, and others Brammenes, and others Belalas, people of rank in Bisnaga." He could say also that some of them belonged to the race of the ancient kings of Malabar.

In Roz's 'Tar*i*deical*nai*quemar,' the letters italicised are doubtful do Couto (Dec. 12, l 3 c 4., Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p 282) writes "Taridaseal Naique mor" Is it possible to connect this title with Tarisa or Tarsa, as the Syrian Christians were called in China and in India too, since one of the Quilon copper plates speaks of the Tarisa Church ?

2 *Llenandolos por opinion de casta.*

3 *Cf.* fol. 119 r, MS XII, belonging to the Society of Jesus

to get off their irons, which obliged us to throw Grandates [? grenades], and after the first and second they laughed and called out Sooap (?), which in English is Good. Upon that we threw another which cooled their courage and made them cry out for Mercy. We immediately got them up two at a time and chained them to the ringbolts fore and aft upon the maindeck with the Top chains. When all were secured we thought proper to discover the ringleaders by punishing the most suspicious, which was the person that seized Mr. Clough, which he confessed was with an intent to kill him. He discovered most of the Heads which we punished, and they all confessed it was with the general consent of the whole. Next morning we punished some of the women, who owned they was privy to it, but promised amendment. After a general muster we found three men missing, two of which were killed, and the third, both his legs shattered to pieces, in his agony threw himself out of the gun ports. All the ship's Company behaved well in the affair. P. M. sent the yawl ashore for slaves. Do. Returned 2 men and 1 woman. (Signed) John Clough" (*Log of the Swallow*, 14*th July* 1750).

618. On the 26th June 1752 the slaves aboard the *Delaware* (Abraham Dominicus Commander) when at Mannigaro Harbour, mutinied and secured themselves in the Galley. They then tried to cut the cable so as to wreck the ship and even killed the Linguist, whom they had asked to come and speak with them. This so enraged the crew that they fired on them and killed two or three and wounded almost all of them before they could be induced to surrender (*Log of the Delaware*). Numerous references in the *Madras Despatches* show that one of the main objects for which the British purchased slaves in Madagascar was to train these slaves, whom they called Coffrees, as soldiers, or to employ them upon their military works (*Despatches from Company to Madras*, 30*th August and* 8*th December* 1749). Governor Saunders wrote home in 1751 :—" Coffrees make good soldiers. They are dreaded by the Moors." And again in 1752 :—" The men being of infinite service, especially in the Train [*i.e.* the Artillery] are to be disciplined and the women sent to the West Coast [*i.e.* Bencoolen in Sumatra] " (*Despatches from Madras*, 6*th August* 1751 *and* 3*rd November* 1752). To ensure good treatment for the slaves, the Company in 1751 ordered that for every slave delivered, the Commander should receive sixteen shillings and four pence, the Mate six shillings and eight pence and the Surgeon five shillings. Later the reward given to the Commander was raised to twenty shillings (*Despatches from the Company to Madras* 14*th November* 1751 *and* 25*th October* 1752).

Arabians.

619. On the 21st May 1743 the *Montague*, anchoring off Rasgurry (? Ras Kasar) in the Red Sea, was informed that a French ship's boat had been cut off at a place called Myatt (? Mait Island, *c.* 280 miles west of Cape Guardafui) " opposite the white rock, where are the most barbarous people along the coast—all along this tract from Guardafoy and till opposite Mocha the Arabs call the country of the Shumaulies " (*Log of the Montague*, Fielder Freeman, Commander). On the 13th July 1746 Captain J Collier arranged with the Sultan of Aden to send on five chests of the Company's treasure to Mocha with the Supercargo, Mr. Peisley. The latter arrived safely on the 27th July but with only four chests, the Sultan having kept the fifth (*Log of the Severn*).

Malays.

620. The following horrible entry occurs in the *Log of the Royal Guardian* (William Earl Benson, Commander) under date 24th February 1743-4 :—" I petitioning for men to make up my compliment according to Charterparty, the Governor of Bencoolen [in Sumatra] ordered two Malay men on board who had been guilty of very great crimes [129] and gave them me These fellows, together with another I had permited my chief mate to buy, did about

[129] According to Malay custom, criminals were often sold as slaves.

2 a.m. in a tumultuous manner rise and knock down with crows, handspikes and marlinspikes and other weapons my chief and third mate, boatswain, butcher and three foremastmen, and had murthered them and me had not the ship's Company been alarmed. It being a fine night few were awake. They were soon quelled by knocking them down and beat them very much, that had I not ordered them to desist, would have murthered them on the spot, which they deserved, and it was too late when I spoke, for its my belief they died of the wounds they received from the ship's Company. In the morning they were tied up and received about 30 lashes each. One died soon after, another in the evening."

621. The caution necessary in dealing with the Malays is shown by an entry in the *Log of the Scarborough* (Philip d'Auvergne, Commander) when off the Arroa Islands on the 6th August 1748 :—"This morning a terrible misfortune happened to me. Soon after daylight saw a large ship....at the same time saw a Mallay Proe near us and, being calm, I sent my third Mate and a boat's crew with proper arms to defend themselves, to go to the Proe to entice or threaten them to come near the ship, whereby I might learn intelligence of the ship I saw was an enemy [*i.e.* French] or if there was any at the Arroes. They being too rash with the Mallays and went on board to take a tow rope to towe them near the ship, on which the Mallays creast [stabbed] my third mate, Mr. Robins, and two more, and very much wounded a fourth. Mr. Robins got into the boat, tho' stabbed to the heart under the left pap, and lived to come on board and expired immediately; the other two were killed on the spot; the wounded man got into the boat and two men that escaped free, and pulled towards the ship. As soon as I perceived the boat not to have her compliment, I hoisted out the Pinnace, well manned and armed, but before she could get on board [the Proe], a breeze sprang up, which brought her right in the wind's eye and so escaped."

622. The difficulty of dealing with places under Malay rule is illustrated by the experience of the *Pelham* (George Lindsay, Commander). Having anchored off Quedah and started in trade, the Malays intercepted a sloop engaged by Captain Lindsay to bring rice on board. The Supercargo went ashore to enquire into the matter and was promised that the sloop should be released next day, instead of which it was sunk in the river. When boats were sent ashore to bring it off, they found that the Malays had erected batteries, from which they fired so fast that the boats were compelled to return without getting any satisfaction (*Log of the Pelham 8-10 July 1749*).

Sanganians.

623. On the 19th March 1745-6, four days sail from Bombay harbour, the *Pelham* (William Wells, Commander) met with two vessels which they believed were "Sangarians" [*i.e.* Sanganians], beating drums and flying *red* ensigns with, on each side of the ensign staff, small *red and white striped colours* "supposed to be seapoy colours." One of them, a three masted ship of about 250 tons and about 12 carriage guns, engaged the *Pelham* single-handed for an hour, but after some exchange of shots in which she was apparently badly hit, drew off. Captain Wells says that both vessels were full of men and by their behaviour appeared intent on boarding the *Pelham*. He refers to the "Sangarians" as "a cruel barberous people to their captives" (*Log of the Pelham*).

Malabarese.

624. In October 1749 Tulaji Angria commanding in person, his fleet took the Company's armed ship, the *Restoration*, though she carried a crew of 80 Europeans and 45 lascars, commanded by Captain Thomas Leake (Low, I. 118; Biddulph, p. 223). On the other hand Captain William James in the same year, whilst convoying a fleet of 70 coasters from Bombay to Goa, fell in with 16 Angrian grabs and gallivats, sank one of the largest gallivats and drove the rest of the enemy into Gheria (Low, I. 127).

mountains, away from the inhabited places; yet they acknowledge their archbishop and bishop; they visit them from many leagues; and by this it appears that they are of those who remained from the Apostle Saint Thomas, although they are allied and married with those who are descended from Mar Thoma the Syrian. And this is what can be gathered about their genealogy.

"It is a very likely thing, therefore, that the Apostle St. Thomas preached and was martyred in India, at S Thomé, and it is certain too that Mar Thoma the Syrian came to India and that he had the said wives. Hence, these people took the rites and ceremonies of the Syrian Church, because Mar Thoma ordained that Syrian bishops should come, and they have great respect for them, their ancestor having come from them, and because they know that Christ our Lord spoke Syrian, as it was spoken in Jerusalem after the children of Israel came from Babylon."[4]

In another Spanish document, a letter to the General of the Society, dated Cochin, January 12, 1579, Fr. Monserrate touches on the same subject in almost identical terms, yet with certain additions which have their importance in the study of the Malabar traditions.

"My chief occupation has been with the Christians of the Sierra, who commonly call themselves of St. Thomas. As regards the origin of these Christians, there are two opinions: one is that all are descended from the disciples of the Apostle St. Thomas: others say [they are descended] only from one Mar Thoma the Syrian. This word *Mar* is in Chaldean a sign of honour, and means the same as Don and Saint in Spanish, and the Syrians use this word *Mar* in both meanings: for they call St. Thomas Mar Thoma and [they use it] for any honourable and noble person, Mariâcob, Don Diego.

"This Mar Thoma the Syrian was a merchant and came by way of Ormuz like other merchants. The first port at which he touched was Paru, where they say he found people of the St. Thomas Christians, who with their families wore wooden crosses suspended from their neck.[5] And from that time (*dahy*: for that reason ?) he made his seat at Curanguluru, which the Portuguese call Cranganor. He had two wives: one, free, the other, a slave; (*Fol. 2r*) but both of noble birth: for it is the custom in these parts to sell the nobles [children of noble birth], if they are born on evil days (as their manner of speaking is). The proof of this, besides the tradition of the old people, is that among these Christians there are many petty quarrels about caste. And that both were noble, at least Nayr women, is proved by the custom existing in this Malavar that there is no pollution between these Christians and the Nayres, nor penalty of death, if there be marriage or friendship, whereas, according to the custom of the land, there is, if they communicate, stay, or marry with other castes, higher or lower, than custom allows to them. What I have found is that they are not descended only from the said disciples of St. Thomas, nor only from this Mar Thoma, but that from these and those and from many Nayres who are daily converted a people has sprung, of about seventy thousand souls, which was reduced to these two tribes by the lie of the land, and not only from their being descended from them [the two wives of Mar Thoma]: for some live on the south side, and some on the north side.

"Besides what has been said, they say still that, when Mar Thoma the Syrian came to India, he found in Cranganor and Coulam Christians descended from St. Thomas' disciples, who had by then, so to say, but the name of Christians, and that they married promiscuously with the Nayres, having as their device crosses on the doors or walls of their houses, as they

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 149 r.

[5] Ibn Muhalhal, of the tenth century, writes of certain places difficult to identify: "Next they reached Naja, tributary to Thathâh. Here they have wine, figs, and black medlars, and a kind of wood which fire will not burn. The Christians carry this wood away, believing that Christ was crucified upon it." Yule, *Cathay*, (1866), I. clxxvii. We should think that these Christians used this wood for crosses. Was there at any time in Malabar a notion that wooden crosses were to be made of a special wood ? What wood ?

have to-day and calling their children by names of Christians. And that this Mar Thoma assembled them, and, filling them with notions of caste (*lleuando los por opinion de casta*), which in this country prevails much, caused to baptize and himself baptized a great number of all those who by their marriages had affinity or kindred with them or descent from them. In what concerned Religion, he was like their head, both because he had assembled them, and because he was a rich man and in great esteem with the kings, chiefly with him of Curangu-luru or Cranganor. This is confirmed by the common saying that St. Thomas built with his own hands the oratories of Cranganor and Coulã, which to-day are churches dedicated to the same Saint. Now, although the Portuguese heard this from the Christians whom they found when they discovered India, that is from these, and though the word Mar Thoma means both Saint Thomas and Don Thomas, it may be much doubted whether the Holy Apostle or the aforesaid Syrian built these oratories. To me it appears more probable that the Syrian built them in honour of the Saint of his name and the Apostle of India: for the truth is that, when this Syrian came to Cranganor, there was no church until he was granted by the then reigning king a place for the settlement of the Christians and for the church, with a privileged boundary and place (*con termino & lugar privilegiado*), which in Latin we call *asylum*: a very big place. And it may be that it was so at Coulam: for it does not appear that the Apostle should have built churches dedicated to his name, nor is there proof that they continued to exist so many years when there was no one to repair them.

"However, the tradition is, and it is the common saying, that St. Thomas erected at Coulam a pillar (*marco*) on some stones from which the sea was then about half a league distant, saying that, when the sea should reach that pillar, white Christian people would come who would reduce (*reduziria*) them to following the law which he was preaching.[6] On the one hand, what makes one think that this is true is that the stone of the pillar is different from the stone generally obtained in India: for it is white, and like salt, and much weather-beaten, and for half a league from there all is stones and shelves (*baxos*), showing that the sea has not since long covered this space of ground. On the other hand, what makes one doubt is what we read in the histories of the discovery of India: that, wherever the Portuguese first landed, they set up pillars, and, as they came discovering this coast, it is probable that they should have erected this one: indeed, this sort of stone is found in Portugal, and enough time has elapsed to make it possible for it to be so worn. But I rather think that pillar is there from before the time of the arrival of the Portuguese.[7] Now, whether St. Thomas put it up or Mar Thoma, God knows."[8]

Gouvea (*Jornada*, fol. 4r) says:—

"Among those who came to these parts, there happened to come an Armenian, named Thomas Cana, or Marthoma, which in their language means Lord Thomas. As he was noble

6 The same thing was said for St. Thomas at Mylapore, though we have no allusion to the existence of such a pillar close to the church of the Saint's tomb. Already in 1322 Friar Jordan de Sèverac could write from Thana, near the present Bombay, that the Indians were eagerly looking out for deliverers from the West, for the Latins. Why, said they, should the Pope not launch a few ships on the Indian Ocean and keep in check the daily inroads of Muhammadanism?

7 If this pillar had been a *padrão* set up by the Portuguese, it would have had some distinctive marks, like those which have been discovered in various places; for instance, the arms of Portugal, or a date. Now, the Quilon pillar has never been described as having anything distinctive. It is said that it disappeared only in the 19th century. Surely, that pillar was not the one erected by Friar John de Marignolli about 1347: his pillar was somewhere at or near Cape Comorin.

"Upon the rocks near the sea shore of Coulang," writes Baldaeus "stands a stone pillar, erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St. Thomas. I saw the pillar in 1662." *Trav. Man.*, II 147. Day, in his *Land of the Perumals*, 212, says that this pillar still exists, and Howard, in his *Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, 9, note, says "Mr. D'Albedhyll, the Master Attendant at Quilon, told me that he had seen this pillar and that it was washed away only a few years ago."—*Trav. Man.*, II. 147

8 Fol. 1v–2r of a MS. belonging to the Society of Jesus (*Goan. Malab. Ep.* 1570–79. Goa. 12).

and rich, and carried on a great trade, he was shown much favour and hospitality by the king of Cranganor, who, as we saw above, was of the most powerful of Malavar. From him he received many privileges and honours for the Christians among whom he lived, and a very spacious ground where to found a big Church, in keeping with the founder's power and wealth, all which he caused to write on copper-plates. One Mar Jacob, Bishop of these Christians, fearing they might be lost, entrusted them to the Factor of Cochim, when the Portuguese made the factory there, in order that, when necessary to them, the Christians might from there make use of them, and they were for many years in the factory, to be kept in the house,[9] until through carelessness they disappeared, which these Christians greatly chafe at, not having writings whereby to defend themselves before the infidel kings, who keep infringing these privileges, which among other things contained that the Christians alone, when marrying, were allowed to wear their hair tied up with a golden flower, to go on elephants, a privilege granted only to the heirs of kings, to sit on carpets, and other honours, which no other caste had, and which are greatly valued and esteemed among the Malavares; and the Christians esteem them so much that, because the king of Paru wanted to grant one of these privileges to certain Moors of his kingdom against a big sum of money, which they gave him, the Christians a very few years ago rose against the Moors, and many were killed, and much blood was shed on both sides."

We shall see that the Malabar Christians at Tevalikara in 1599 complained to Archbishop Menezes of the loss of the Cranganore copper-plates, meaning evidently the Thomas Cana copper-plates.

Gouvea wrote immediately after the Diamper Council of 1599. His *Jornada* appeared at Coimbra in 1606. The MS. was in Portugal by June 2, 1605, when a censor was deputed to examine it. Gouvea dated his preface from Goa on Sept. 27, 1603. In one place, to be shown further, he says he is writing in 1602.

An anonymous Jesuit Missionary, whom we discover to be Francisco Roz, Bishop of Cranganore, writes in 1604 a most valuable "*Relaçaõ sobre a Serra*" from which we ought to quote at some length.

(*Fol.* 525*v*; 86*v*.) "These Christians having no books of ancient histories, but only traditions of the ancients, to which they cling tenaciously, we must help ourselves with the chronicles and chronology (*conta de tempos*) existing among the Malabar gentios and with reliable surmises (*conjecturas certas*) which we find in different places of these kingdoms. Accordingly, it appears (*consta*) first that the last Emperor of Malavar, called Xaram Perumal, was the one who at Cranganor gave land for a Church and a settlement (*poroaçaõ*) to the St Thomas Christians, and great privileges, as is seen from their *ollas, the copper original of which was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis, a copy of them remaining here.* This Perumal died on the first of March, one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight years ago.[10] The witnesses who were present at the writing of the said Perumal's *olla*, by which he gave the said land of Cranganor, are those who now are kings [Lat: *Regulos*, kinglets] in different parts of Malavar; and, when the *olla* was written, they were countries belonging to the said Perumal, as is shown by the same *ollas*. Hence it follows that the dedication of the Church of Cranganore took place more than one thousand two hundred years ago. [*Fol.* 526*r*; 87*r*]. It was founded in the month of April of the said year,[11] and presently seventy-two houses were built on the said land (*chaõ*). The occasion, as related in the same *olla* of the Perumal, was that, as the said king was lodging (*pousando*) on the other side in a big pagoda which was at

[9] *Por entrega da casa.* Do Couto uses the same expression.

[10] Therefore on March 1, 346.

[11] If this is A.D. 346, Bishop Roz contradicts himself. We must take the year to be A.D. 345, according to the cryptogram "Shovata."

Parurpatanan,[12] a place over-against Paliporto, the said king wished one day to go a-hunting, and he went to the other side, where Cranganor is now, the whole of which was thicket (*mato*). And he called for a very rich Armenian,[13] named Thomas Cananeo, who had come from Babylonia. He gave to the said king a good sum of money, bought from him the whole of that thicket, and founded on it the Church of St. Thomas and the bazar (*basar*). The land which he bought measured 264 elephant cubits (*covados de elefante*). Now, already many years before the said Church, there was in the said place of Patanan a Church and a big settlement (*povoaçaõ*) of Christians, the date of its beginning being unknown, and still to-day the place where the said Church stood is called Paliparamb, *i.e.*, church-field, and quite near to it there is another place called Palimoc, *i.e.*, church-corner (*canto da Igreja*): hence, the island opposite is called Paliparam, *i.e.*, other side, outside, opposite to the Church (*outra banda de fora de fronte da Igra*). That island became visible two hundred and seventy-seven years ago,[14] whence it is clear that in the said place there was a Church; and from the settlement of Christians which was there and a great pagoda there is no doubting why it is called Magoder Patanam,[15] *i.e.*, great city of the great pagoda; and the sea came up to there, and the boats came to anchor there before the island of Paliporto came into existence. Hence the St. Thomas Christians in all the *ollas* which they write of accounts (*em todas as ollas q' escreuẽ de contas*) put down the era of Magoder Patanam, without knowing the beginning of it,[16] because they consider the place one of the most ancient where St. Thomas Christians lived. The copy of the *olla* which the said Xaram Perumal gave to Thomas Cananeo, in which he granted him the ground of Cranganor, says faithfully this :—

"May Coquarangon be prosperous, enjoy long life and live one hundred thousand years, divine, servant of God, strong, true, just, full of good works, reasonable, powerful over the whole earth, happy, conquering, glorious, rightly prosperous in the ministry of God, in Malavar,

12 The priests of Parur showed me a high wall near their Church which they thought was part of an old temple. Some big stones with fine carvings at the staircase leading up to the site of a new church, the foundations of which had been laid by Febr 1924, also appeared to belong to an old Hindu temple or palace.

13 Not necessarily Armenian, but Aramean, *i.e.*, Syrian.

14 1604 — 277 = A.D. 1327

15 I was under the impression that Mahadevarpaṭṭaṇam, from which the Syrian Christians derived their era, was Cranganore, and that the name was connected either with the Tiruvanjikulam temple or some Christian church. Bishop Roz' Magoderpatanam becomes Makôtayar Paṭṭaṇam in an article on Thomas Cana by Mr T K Joseph

16 Even now, I believe, the St. Thomas Christians use on occasions the Mahadevarpattaṇam era conjointly with the Kollam era Is it not the Vikrama era ? Of the Śâlivâhaṇa era Bishop Roz knew something He says [fol 525 r ; 86r] ' From that time [from the time of St. Thomas' death], when the gentile religion began to wane, and from the said era [of the Saint's death] those who now are gentios count [their era]." That can be only the Śâlivâhana era as no other era falls close to St. Thomas' death. If Śâlivâhaṇa can mean cross-bearer or cross-borne, and if according to certain Gnostic notions Thomas suffered instead of Christ, the Śâlivâhaṇa era could mean only St. Thomas' era. De' Conti (c. 1438) said that the greater part of the Indians counted their era from "Octavian, in whose time there was peace all over India." That could be only the Vikrama era. And do Couto wrote in A.D. 1611 (*Da Asia*, Dec 12, 1, 3, c. 4, Tom 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 275) : "Before this [the Quilon era] these Malavares counted the era by the course of the Planet Jupiter, which is from twelve to twelve years, as the Greeks did their Olympiads from four to four years : and in their writings, the St. Thomas Christians [of Malabar] place first the era of Patana [Mahadevarpattanam], and then that of Coulaõ, just as before the coming of Christ they followed in their writings the era of the world's creation [the Kâli Yuga ?] and that of Cæsar." Will our chronologists take note of these statements ? Wilford, nearly 120 years ago, held that the Śâlivâhana era was the era of St. Thomas, and that the Vikrama era was that of Cæsar Augustus Cf *As Res*, X (1808). If the Mahadevarpaṭṭaṇam era is the Vikrama era, its origin may perhaps be connected with the dedication of the temple of Augustus at Muziris. It may have been started earlier too.

in the great city of the great Idol. While he reigned at the time of Mercury of February,[17] on the seventh day of the month of March, before the full moon,[18] the same king Coquarangon being in Carnelur,[19] there arrived in a ship Thomas Cananeo, a chief man, who had resolved to see the uttermost part of the East. And some men, seeing him as he arrived, went to inform the king. And the king himself came and saw and called the said chief man Thomas, and he disembarked and came before the king, who spoke graciously to him ; and to honour him he gave him in surname his own name, calling him Coquarangon Cananeo. And he received this honour from the king and went to rest in his place. (*Fol.* 526 *v* ; 87*v*). And the king gave him the city of Magoderpatanam for ever. And the said king, being in his great prosperity, went one day to hunt in the forest, and the same king surrounded the whole forest. And he called in haste for Thomas, who came and stood before the king in a lucky hour. And the king questioned the soothsayer (*adivinhador*). And the king afterwards spoke to Thomas, [saying] that he would build a city in that forest. And he answered to the king, first making reverence, and said : " I desire this forest for myself." And the king granted it to him and gave it for ever. And at once, the next day (*logo outro dia*), he cleared the forest and cast his eyes on it in the same year, on the eleventh of April, and gave it as an inheritance to Thomas at the time and day aforesaid,[20] in the king's name, who laid the first brick (*tijolo*) for the Church and for the house of Thomas Cananeo, and made there a city for all [of them], and entered the Church and there made prayer the same day. After these things, Thomas himself went to the king's palaces (*passos*) and offered him presents, and afterwards he asked the king to give that land to him and to his descendants ; and he measured two hundred and sixty-four elephant cubits,[21] and gave them to Thomas and his descendants for ever : and at the same time sixty-two houses (*sesēta e duas casas*),[22] which immediately were erected there, and gardens, and trees, with their enclosures, and with their paths (*caminhos*) and boundaries (*terminos*) and inner yards. And he granted him seven kinds of musical instruments, and all the honours, and to speak and walk like a king, and that at the weddings the women might give a certain signal with their finger in their mouth,[23] and he granted him distinct weight,[24] and to adorn the ground with cloths, and he granted the royal fans (*abanos*, fly-flaps), and to double the sandal [mark] on the arm,[25] and a royal tent [2 *or* 3 *words not*

17 W. Rees Philipps, who helped Bishop Medlycott with a translation of Bishop Roz' letter of 1604, failed to decipher the words *Mercurio de feuro*. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, XIV, 680 b.d., and compare with Mackenzie in *Travancore State Manual*, II. 139. The present translation must be considered more authoritative, as I work on my own rotographs of the MS. copied for W. R. Philipps by another person. Mackenzie used do Couto's text, which differs in some notable points from Bishop Roz'.

18 Compare this with the following : " He [Thomas Cana] also obtained from the Emperor land and high social privileges, as well as a copper-plate document to that effect, on Saturday, 29th Kumbham (Aquarius) of the above-mentioned year [A.D. 345], on the seventh day of the moon, and in the sign Cancer." T. K. Joseph, quoting Ittoop's *Syrian Christian Church in Malabar* (Malayalam), pp. 88–91, in an article, dated 17-7-1925, on Thomas Cana, which he wrote at my request and of which he sent me the MS.

The year mentioned by Fr. Roz would be 345.

19 This would seem to represent Cranganore (Curanguluru, as Monserrate spelt it in 1579, p. 130 *supra*)

20 This would be April 11, 345.

21 The *covado*, a measure used in Portugal, is three-fourths of a yard, a Flemish ell, as one of my Portuguese dictionaries puts it.

22 Once before and once after, Roz writes 72. I find that this number is something very sacred among the Syrians. It was likewise so among the Syrians of China, where we hear more than once of the 72 Christian tribes or clans.

23 " As do the women of Kings," which we have in Mackenzie, is not in my MS. ; but we have it in do Couto.

24 *Pezo distincto.*

25 Mackenzie mentions among the privileges to use sandals. This is not in my MS. We have however : *e dobrar o sandal no braço.*

deciphered] in every part of the kingdom for ever, and besides[26] five tributes to Thomas, and to his lineage, and to his confederates, for men, and for women, and for all his relatives, and to the children of his law for ever. The said king gave it in his name. Witnesses: these persons[27] :—

(L. 1.) Codaxericanden.

(L. 2.) Cherucaraprotachatencomeren, the king's chief door-keeper. Areundencounden, the king's councillor.

(L. 3.) Amen[atecou]ndeng[ueru]len, Captain of the army.

(L. 4.) Chirumalap[ro?]tatiriuicramen comeren, Regedor of the East side in Malavar.

(L. 5.) Peru[i] ualatiata adit[en], ... singer(?) of the said king.

(L. 6.) Perubal[atia]tacottocoudẽ, guard of the king's port (?) (gate?).

(L. 7.) Bichremenchinguen [de Car]turte, the said king's chamberlain.

(L. 8.) A[nan]iperumcouil, Srivener of (all ?) the affairs, with his own hand wrote this sealed (? *sedilat*[*a*] ?) and also lucky writing.[28]

" This is the writing of the ground (*chaõ*) of Cranganor, which the Emperor of all Malavar gave to Thomas Cananeo, Armenian, and to the other Christians of St. Thomas. And, as at that time they reckoned from twelve to twelve years according to the course of Mercury, therefore it is said in the *olla* (*Fol.* 527*r* ; 88*r*) that the said town (*povoaçaõ*) was founded in the year of Mercury of February. This manner of reckoning is quite forgotten, because for the last seven hundred and seventy-nine years they count in the whole of this Malavar by the Coulaõ era.[29] However, since the said Perumal, as we said above, died more than one thousand and two hundred years ago, so the Church and Christians of Cranganor are older than the same number of years : and much before there were Christians at Paru, in the said Magoderpatanam.[30] Afterwards, owing to evil times, the said Church and the settlement of Christians declined with the prosperity of Cranganor and was removed from the said place, and the Church was placed where it now is, on account of a private revelation received by a St. Thomas

26 *E ajora disto.*

27 The titles of the witnesses could not be deciphered properly from the rotographs, as the ink has spread. I help myself for the reconstruction of these titles and even for part of the Portuguese translations (1) by means of do Couto, who in my edition has however only the first five titles, the rest being omitted for fear of prolixity ; (2) by means of T. K. Joseph's *The Malabar Christian copper-plates* (Malayalam), 1925, who quotes Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1901, pp. 59–61, where we have the other titles, but imperfectly too. I do not know whence Mackenzie could have got the titles except from the Roz' MS. Possibly Mackenzie and Philipps communicated at this time. The copyist employed by Mr. Philipps at the British Museum may have succeeded better at times to decipher the writing than I can manage from the rotographs. I am now sending to Mr. T. K. Joseph the page with the titles, in the hope that he may succeed in deciphering or reconstructing the Malayalam titles

28 This is all I can make of this passage : *escri aò de (to los) os negoçeos cô sua* [*maò es*]*creueo* [*esta es*]*critura sedilat*[*a*] *e* [*tam*]*bĩ afortunada.* I do not know what *sedilata* may mean. All the letters of that word are clear, except the last. 'Sealed' would be *sellada*

We may notice that the date of the copper-plate is not given. Perhaps we have to understand that it was April 11, 345, when the first brick of the Church was laid.

29 1604 — 779 = A.D. 825, which is the generally accepted date for the beginning of the Quilon era. Mgr. Medlycott says it begins on Aug. 25, 825. Cf. *Cath. Encycl.*, New York, XIV, 681b.

30 If we can at all rely on the *Acta* of St. Thomas (Syriac and Greek), on the *de Miraculis* and the *Passio*, we get that the king of Sandarûk or Andrapolis, to be identified with Cranganore, was baptised by St. Thomas and became a deacon, called Xanthippus or Xenophôn, and by the St. Thomas Christians Andrew, that his son-in-law (perhaps a Parur prince ?) became a bishop, called Dionysius in the *Passio*, and by the St. Thomas Christians Kephas or Peter, that Dionysius' wife, called Pelagia in the *Passio*, vowed chastity and was martyred, a Greek inscription on her tomb stating that she was the spiritual daughter of St. Thomas

Christian of Paru.[31] So says a reliable tradition existing among these Christians which, having been received from the ancients, has been preserved till now. So that, already long before the coming of the said Thomas Cananeo, there were already St. Thomas Christians in this Malavar, who had come from Maliapur, the town of St. Thomas. And the chief families are four in number: Cotur, Catanal, Onamturte, Narimatan, which are known to-day among all these Christians,[32] who became multiplied and extended through the whole of this Malavar, also adding to themselves some of the gentios who would convert themselves. However, the descendants of Thomas Cananeo always remained above them without wishing to marry or to mix with these other Christians, and so up to the present there are among them two lineages: one which is descended from Thomas Cananeo on the father's side, the mother, they say, being a gentile woman who was baptised afterwards, the other lineage is that of those who on both the father's and the mother's side were originally descended from St. Thomas Christians. The latter[33] took greater care than the others to increase the Church: and so they received among themselves many gentios whom they baptised and even those who at any time served the said children (*filhos*) of Thomas Cananeo they likewise took under their protection: and, as these were rich and honourable, they wished to subject the others, saying they were their blacks.[34] Whence there arose between the St. Thomas Christians and the others great discord and there were anciently among them great disputes: wherefore at Carturte[35] and Cotete[36] it was necessary to make different Churches, each party keeping aloof from the other. And those of the Thomas Caneneo (*sic*) party went in one Church, and the others in the other. And last year, 1603, the same was the cause of the quarrels between those of Udiamper and Candanada each one holding out for his party. And it is wonderful to see the aversion which one party has for the other, without being able to forget their antiquities and the fables they have in this matter. The St. Thomas Christians descending from Thomas Caneneo are few. They are at Udiamper and at the great Church of Carturte and at the great Church of Cotete, and at Turigure.[37]

(*To be continued.*)

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31 Was there no Syrian church at Cranganore in 1604? We have to conclude the contrary from de Gouvea and do Couto. How old was the church of Parur in 1604? While I was at Parur, on Febr. 11, 1924, we pulled up from the open-air cross a small stone with a cross on both sides, and found an Indian inscription of Kollam era 728, or A.D. 1553. Did that year record the change from Cranganore to Parur here alluded to? Probably not. I understand from p. 125, n. 14 that Parur had a church in 1327.

32 I trust some of our Malabar friends will be able to comment on these names.

33 'The latter' seems to mean the Northists.

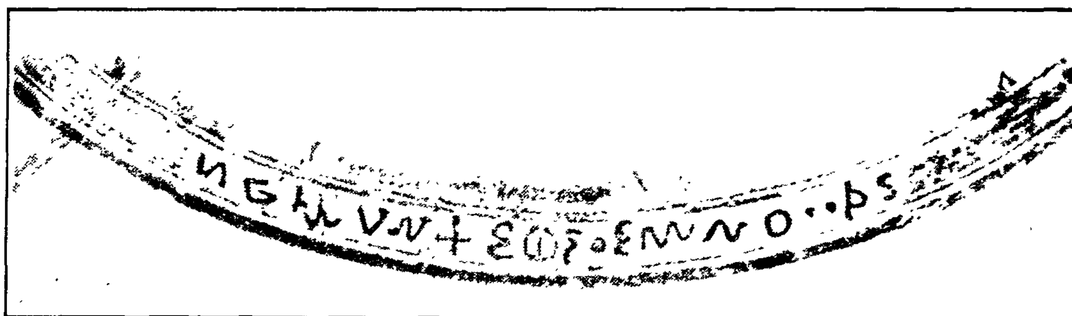
34 *E ficando estes, ricos, hòrados, os outros os quis rao asopear, dizēdo serē seus negros*, should mean strictly, I think, "these (the Northists) being rich and honourable, the others (the Southists) wished to subject them, saying they were their blacks." But the Northists were and still are the vast majority! That is true, and I believe the Northist theory is that the Southists are the descendants of the slave woman. Gouvea turns, however, the tables on the Northists, when he says that they, the Northists, are the descendants of the slave woman. Probably it will be said that de Gouvea is based on Roz, which is quite possible, as Roz supplied him with much material (cf. *Prologo*), and that Roz allowed himself to be circumvented by the Southists.

35 Karutturutti.

36 'Cotete' was visited by Menezes after Diamper and before 'Caramallu' (*Jornada*, fol. 76r and 79r). At Cotete there were two churches in 1599. It is Kottayam. *Cf.* Whitehouse, p. 298.

37 What place is this?

KURAVALANGĀD BELL INSCRIPTION



Scale one-sixth. T. K. Joseph

ANOTHER ENIGMATIC INSCRIPTION FROM TRAVANCORE.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

IN the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LI, pp. 356–7, I published a rough copy of one line of a seemingly Greek inscription on stone, discovered in the Nilakkal forests in Travancore. There are two other lines above it, much less legible.

Here is another such inscription[1] on the rim of a big bell, long kept unused in the Roman Catholic Church at Kuravalangâd in North Travancore. Though not one of the seven churches said to have been founded by St. Thomas the Apostle in the first century A.D., this church is very old, dating from 335 A.D. (if the *Catholic Directory*, Madras, 1924, can be believed). Fra. Paulinus says in his *Voyage to the East Indies*, 1776–89, that "the Nestorians[2] had formerly a monastery here," (at Kuravalangâd) "inhabited by people of their order from Persia and Chaldea, who were the spiritual guides of the Christians of St. Thomas." (English edition, London, MDCCC, p. 123).

The epigraph is in embossed characters and forms a single line of 19 or 20 symbols. The cross may stand for a full stop. It is earnestly hoped that the present facsimile[3] will be of use to scholars in publishing in this Journal a reading and interpretation of the inscription.

Several scholars have already expressed their opinion on the nature of this inscription. The following are some of the most authoritative.

(1) "All I can tell from the eye copy is that the inscription is not Greek." (Sir John Marshall's letter to me, dated 5th August, 1925)[4].

(2) "So, the greatest probability is that the language might be old-fashioned Portuguese." (Prof. Ernst Herzfeld's letter to me, dated 15th September 1925)[4].

(3) "It may well be that it represents nothing more than the barbaric result of an attempt to reproduce something like TE DEUM LAUS. ANNO. MDL. in which the year number is the most unsatisfactory part." (Mr. John van Manen's letter to me, dated 17th June, 1926).

(4) Dr. J. J. Modi says it is not Pahlavi, and Dr. Zwemer, Cairo, says it is not Cufic, inscriptions in both of which characters have already been discovered in Malabar. Could it be Armenian or Himyaritic ?

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1 I got a copy of it for decipherment three years ago on 14th December 1923.

2 Some of the Malabar Christians of St. Thomas entertain the notion that their church has never been under the influence of Nestorianism, and try to explain away the term Nestorian very frequently applied to the Malabar church in Portuguese and other records, by saying that to the writers of the Portuguese and Dutch periods a Nestorian church simply meant a church using the Syriac language and liturgy. But says Dr. Medlycott, some time Roman Catholic Bishop in Malabar: "By the year 530 the Christians in Male, Malabar, had been captured in the Nestorian net." (*India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, p. 199, note 1). Again the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., says in his letter to me dated 2nd October 1923: "I know the tendency of absolving the St. Thomas Christians of Nestorianism. It does not appeal to most of us."

Now let us hear Professor Dr. F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge. "If I may say so, all the trustworthy evidence connecting the old Malabar Christians with earlier bodies in the West connects them with the *Nestorians*, *i.e.*, with the Christians most numerous within the Sasanian Empire."

"It cannot be too often repeated that the Malabar Liturgy which the Jesuits revised and altered was a Nestorian Liturgy, and substantially remains so. It simply *is* a form of the Liturgy now best known to scholars as 'The Liturgy of Adai and Mari.'" (Letter to me, dated 4th January 1926.)

Further, "There can be little doubt that there was a time (say 9th or 10th century) when the Nestorian fully-developed rite was observed by the Christians of S. India." (Letter to me, dated 14th February 1927.)

3 This is an enlargement of the facsimile opposite p. 333 of the *Young Men of India*, Calcutta, for May 1926.

4 See my article on the present inscription in the *Young Men of India*, for June 1926.

THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF PUJA.

BY PROF JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA

(*Continued from page* 99.)

IV.

It can easily be observed that in all the more or less primitive cults spread all over India from the Himâlayas to Cape Comorin perhaps the most common way of adoring the various gods, *i.e.*, of performing their *pûjâ*, is to smear the wooden logs, uncarved stones or idols which represent the deities with oil, or rather with lac, cinnabar, turmeric or other red or yellow dye stuffs[37]. Materials concerning this form of cult are to be found in overwhelming masses in European sources; and in the following only a few instances relating to various parts of India, and which seem to the present writer rather typical, will be quoted.

In the Himâlayas the five Pâṇḍava brothers are often called *Panj pîr* and sometimes taken to be one single person: generally they are adored in the form of five stones put up beneath a *pîpal* tree and smeared with red ochre[38]. Hanumân, of whom more presently, all over the Punjab has his image smeared with red-stuff[39]. During the nine days' festival of the serpents (*Nâganavamî*) in the month of Bhâdon the women in the Panjâb make images of Nâgas from dough and smear them with red and black colour: and it is also usual to smear the brass images of the serpents with *ghee*[40]. When, in the Panjâb, the women perform *pûjâ* to the cows, they smear not only the forehead of animal, but also their own with sandal and minium[41]. In Pehowâ (Karnâl District) there is a temple of Swâmî Kârttikeya whose image is always smeared with oil and red ochre[42]. There is a special sect of Jogîs, who are followers of the terrible god Bhairon, who anoint themselves with oil and red ochre and go alms-begging in the name of the god[43]—apparently pretending themselves to be manifestations of Bhairon. The goddess of small-pox, in Hissâr generally called *Devî Mâtâ*, has her abode in a *pîpal* or in some sort of small shrine; this is festooned with red rags and painted with red colour-stuff[44]. Buffaloes which are to be sacrificed to Durgâ Mahiṣâsuramardinî are adored as deities by the *pûjârîs*, who smear their frontheads with saffron and rice-grains[45]. In the Kângṛâ District the god Nârsingh (who is, perhaps, not always identical with the fourth *avatâr*) is adored in the shape of a coco-nut which is daubed with sandal and rice-grains[46].

In Eastern parts of the United Provinces the adoring and daubing with red ochre of a drum belongs to the ceremonies preceding a wedding[47]. The late Dr. Crooke ingeniously suggested that the drum (especially perhaps the hour-glasslike drum attributed to Siva, the *ḍamaru*) belongs to "the very primitive fetishes of the aboriginal races[48]." The

37 That this way of adoring the deities is spread over practically the whole of India seems to suggest that, before the Aryan invasion, a somewhat uniform religion prevailed over greater parts of the sub continent. In this connection stress may be laid also upon the great similarity between myths of deities in the Himâlayas and myths of demons amongst the Tuluvas in the Far South (On the Devil-worship of the Tuluvas, *cf. I A.*, vols. XXIII–XXVI), *cf.* Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, vol. I, p. 443 n. 2.

38 *Punjab Notes and Queries*, vol. III, § 159; Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 121.

39 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 119 (*cf.* p. 284).

40 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I. pp. 144, 149. In the Râvi valley the idols are often washed with milk, curds and *ghî*, *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 232-233.

41 *Punjab Notes and Queries*, vol. III, §§ 480, 837.

42 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 324.

43 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 317; *cf.* Crooke, *Popular Religion*, vol. I, p. 109.

44 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 356; Crooke, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 135.

45 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 359. That sacrificial animals and men are treated as gods before being killed is a well-known fact and need not be dwelt upon here. Let us only remember the way in which the Khonds, before performing the horrid Meriâh sacrifices, treated the poor victims. It is sufficiently clear that they were looked upon as some sort of divine beings; amongst other things they were smeared with oil, *ghî* and turmeric. *Cf. e.g.*, Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. III, p. 475; Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, p. 200 *sq.*

46 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 376.

47 Crooke, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 28.

48 *Cf.* Elmore, *l.c.*, p. 67.

godling Bhîmsen at many places in the Central Provinces is adored in the shape of an uncarved stone daubed with red ochre; and a *grâmadevatâ* called Porû Mâî in Nadiyâ is represented by "a little piece of rough black stone painted with red ochre, and placed beneath the boughs of an old banyan-tree[49]. Scattered about at the very simple places of worship of the *grâmadevatâs* are generally a few rough stones, the tops of which are rubbed by the country people with oil and red ochre "as an act of worship[50]". Around the place sacred to Gausâm Deo, a Dravidian deity, are seen some boulders smeared with red ochre[51]. Mahisôbâ, a godling considered to be identical with Mahiṣâsura and chiefly revered throughout the Bombay Presidency, is represented by a rough stone daubed with red ochre; amongst the Santals several deities are thus represented: Mahâmâî, the daughter of Dèvî, by an oblong log painted red at the top, Burhiyâ Mâî by a white, red-daubed stone, and Hanumân (who is generally red-coloured) by a red-painted trident[52].

Since times of yore it has been common belief in India that certain trees are inhabited by demons who must be propitiated by bloody sacrifices; the *Jâtakas* frequently tell us about human sacrifices to trees, *e.g.* the *Dhonasâkhajâtaka* (No. 353)[53]. Trees are still frequently adored, but the blood—at any rate human blood—has mostly been exchanged for red colour. In Shâhâbâd the holy tree is the *karam* (*Kadamba, Nauclea*), twigs of which are planted in front of the houses and smeared with red ochre and *ghî*[54]. The *pîpal*, in which live the three great gods but also a number of lower beings, on certain days has its trunk daubed with red ochre and sandal by high-caste women; at the frequent weddings of trees daubing with red and yellow dye-stuffs are of common occurrence[55].

The materials collected by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson in her very valuable book *The Rites of the Twice-born* (1920) mostly originate from Gûjarât and Kâṭhiâwâr; the authoress especially seems to have drawn her information from Nâgar Brahmans. She tells us how Gaṇeśa is washed with the *pañcâmṛita* (milk, curds, *ghî*, honey and sugar) and is sprinkled with red powder at the *upanayana* (p. 29); and the same god is smeared with *ghî* and red ochre every Tuesday and Saturday (pp. 293-321). On those same days Hanumân is wholly or partly painted red and smeared with oil (pp. 327-406)[56]. The image of Pârvatî is daubed with red-stuff at the Holî (p. 285), and the roughly carved idols at the entrance of the Śiva temples are likewise painted red (p. 372 *sq.*). The earth, as an act of worship, is strewn with red powder (p. 353)[57] and the snake-stones which are so common (especially in the South) are painted with red ochre (p. 407). The Nâgar Brahmans look upon bride and bridegroom as being manifestations of Śiva and Pârvatî (p. 68); consequently they are daubed with red powder (p. 70), and the bride daubs the big toe of her husband with red paint in order to show that she worships a divine being (p. 73, *cf.* also p. 79 *sq.*)[58]. The head of a dead man is smeared either with *gopîcandana* or with red sandal (p. 143), a ceremony which would seem senseless if we did not, at the same time, learn that the dead body is looked upon as a deity until leaving the house (p. 145).

But not only this. In the daily *devapûjana* (p. 231 *sq.*) as well as in the worship of the cow (p. 312), the images of the Nâgas (p. 314), the threshold (p. 316), the Kṛishṇa-idol (p. 317)

49 Crooke, *l.c.*, vol. I, pp. 90, 108, 114 *sq.*

50 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 181

53 *Cf.* Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 7, n. 3; Vogel, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 5; IV, p. 228 etc. Nothing more can be said about this topic here.

54 Crooke, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 95; this reminds us of the description by Broughton, *Letters Written in a Mahratta Camp* (ed. 1892), p. 214, of the behaviour of Marâṭhâ Brahmans at a certain festival.

55 Crooke, *l.c.*, vol. II, pp. 99, 116 *sq.*

56 This throws a clear light on the primitive character of gods like Gaṇeśa and Hanumân.

57 *Cf.* Crooke, *Folk-lore*, vol. XXX, p. 292.

58 The faithful wife should every morning worship the big toe of her husband (p. 248 f.) but this seems to have gone out of use nowadays (p. 251)

or the different idols in the Śiva temples (p. 380 *sq.*) there always recurs the daubing or painting with red sandal, etc. The foreheads of the idols are generally daubed in a way which reminds us of the putting on of the *tilakas* amongst their worshippers. The image of Vishṇu is daubed with *gopîcandana* (p. 406), the sacred Śâlagrâma is washed in *pañcâmṛita* (p. 270). We need not doubt for a moment that what we see here is in reality the constitutive element of the *pûjâ*.

Very extensive materials from the Bombay Presidency (with the exception of Sindh) have been collected by Mr. Enthoven in his book *The Folklore of Bombay* (1924).[59] We read there how the low-castes in Konkan (Mahârs, etc.) daub stones with oil and red ochre and give them the names of mostly evil godlings such as Vetâl, Khandôbâ, etc., (p. 112). A certain species of tree in Kâthiâwâr have fruits like a human face and are consequently worshipped with red ochre and oil (p. 125). Âhirs and other cattle-breeding castes in Gûjarât erect stones called *pâlios* at the village frontiers in remembrance of dead caste-fellows; and these on certain days are daubed with red ochre (p. 143).[60] In the Ratnagiri District holy men are worshipped with sandal paste, etc., (p. 146). The *grâmadevatâs* are represented by stones on which are painted *triśûlas* with oil and red ochre.[61] or by wooden tridents the tops of which are painted red (p. 170). On the eighth day of the *Navarâtra* the "Mothers" are daubed with oil and red ochre (p. 171), and on the last day of *Âṣâḍha* the members of the low castes wash their idols with water and milk and smear them with oil and red ochre (p. 172). On other occasions the house godlings are washed in *pañcâmṛita* (p. 180).

The goddesses described as the "Mothers"[62] are sometimes represented simply by red spots on the wall which are daubed with *ghî*, etc., (p. 185 *sq.*). The image of Gaṇapati, here as in other parts of India, is smeared with oil and red ochre, the remnants of which are then put on doors and windows (p. 187 *sq.*);[63] and it goes without saying that Hanumân is regularly painted with those same substances (pp. 175, 188, 191 *sq.*)[64]. On the first day of *Mârgaśirṣa* in the Deccan the domestic animals are worshipped like deities, their horns are washed and painted red, lamps are swung in front of them, etc., (p. 221). Śitalâ, the goddess of small-pox, is mostly represented by a rough stone daubed with red ochre (p. 265). Chedâ, a *grâmadevatâ* of the Thana District, is represented by a stone or a stake erected at the village border and painted with red ochre (p. 303), and Mhâsôbâ, another godling, is worshipped with red ochre at the time of ploughing and sowing (p. 304). In other places the sacred stones are daubed with red ochre at the re-planting of the rice (p. 308). On the twelfth day of the dark half of *Kârttika* the inhabitants of certain villages of the Thana District worship Wâghôbâ, the tiger godling, by daubing his stone in the jungle with red ochre and bringing him food (p. 310).

Proceeding southwards we find that already Pietro della Valle, who journeyed from Surat to Calicut in 1623–1624, remarked how the Hindus painted the faces of their idols red.[65] About a century later Alexander Hamilton speaks about the red-painted stones representing godlings.[66] Also the good old Abbé Dubois had noticed how the idols were painted with various colours.[67] In our own day we learn that bulls and cows are daubed with red and yellow powder,[68] that pots which often seem to represent gods among the

59 *Cf. JRAS.*, 1925, p. 796 *sq.*
60 *Cf.* also p. 196 *sq.*
61 *Cf.* Stevenson, *l.c.*, p. 374.
62 On their worship, *cf.* Crooke, *Folk-lore*, vol. XXX, p. 302 *sq.*
63 *Cf.* also p. 327.
64 *Cf.* also the description of a curious ceremony (p. 259) where Bhangis (scavengers) sprinkle the image of Hanumân with the blood of a cow.
65 *Cf.* Professor Zachariae's extremely valuable *Kleine Schriften*, p. 217 *sq.*
66 *Cf.* Powell, *Folk-lore*, vol. XXV, p. 157.
67 *Hindu Manners*, p. 581.
68 Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions in S. India*, p. 166.

Dravidians,[69] are painted with saffron and turmeric, and that snake stones are daubed with oil and red ochre.[70] A *grâmadevatâ* called Usaramma is often washed and smeared with saffron; and this is also the case with other godlings.[71] The blood of the sacrificial animals is smeared on the stones or the rough idols, or these and the animals themselves are sprinkled with water and red paint.[72]

We might also remember that the castes in general seem to worship their various tools on certain occasions. Tod[73] tells us how the Râjpûts painted their guns with the blood of sacrificed goats before the battle. The ill-famed Thugs at certain times performed a regular *pûjâ* to the pick-axe, which was not only one of their most important tools but also one of their deities; they washed it with plain and sugared water, curds and liquor and then daubed it in seven places with red ochre.[74] In the Deccan agricultural tools are sometimes worshipped; they are then washed and smeared with red ochre.[75] From other regions is reported the painting of cart-wheels with red or white colours.[76] Also the weapons of the soldiers are daubed with red powder on certain occasions [77]; and at Jeypore in Vizagapatam a sword is smeared with red sandal and worshipped at the Dasahra, and the weapons are sprinkled with the blood of the sacrificial animals.[78]

Already the material quoted above which has been collected at random from various works is quite sufficient to show us that all over India a wide-spread form of worship consists in daubing or painting the sacred objects with oily and red-coloured stuffs. Nor can it be doubted that this rite has its origin in very primitive conditions as it is still mostly practised by low-caste people, who worship as their gods rough stones and uncarved logs of wood. We should also notice that this rite is frequently used in the worship of those gods of advanced Hinduism, who, like Gaṇeśa and Hanumân, still betray their low origin, though they have long dwelt within the pantheon of Brahmanism. The present *pûjâ* has long been at home in Brahmanism and has become very complicated, as have most of the rituals of the Brahmans; but, notwithstanding that, one of its main elements is the daubing and smearing of the idols with sandal, etc. and washing them with honey, sugar, *ghî* etc. Consequently, I can see no obstacle to the suggestion that this rite originated long ago with the primitive and still very wide-spread daubing and painting of the stones, logs or idols with oil and red dyestuffs. From this it follows that the only etymology of the word *pûjâ* which can possibly be correct is the one which derives it from the Dravidian *pûçu-*, *pûsu-* "to paint, to daub, to smear." The rite and the name of it alike must, however, have been introduced into Hinduism at a very early date; this is proved by the fact that already Yâska and Pâṇini use *pûj-* and *pûjâ* in a sense which is no longer the original one.

V.

I have now only to say a few words concerning the religious or magic ideas that may possibly underlie this smearing and daubing with red and yellow colours.

The explanation nearest at hand would undoubtedly be that the red colour is used instead of blood which, during an older and more brutal age, was only and alone used for smearing the idols. Such an explanation seems quite obvious and has probably been propounded more than once. And it is quite true that the daubing of idols and other cult

69 *Cf.* Elmore, *l.c.*, p. 24, etc.

70 Thurston, *l.c.*, pp. 170, 176, 178

71 Elmore, *l.c.*, pp. 35, 42.

72 Elmore, *l.c.*, pp. 56, 60.

73 *Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân* (ed. Crooke), vol. II, p. 1041 *sq.*

74 *Cf. e.g.*, Crooke, *Popular Religion*, vol. II, p. 184 *sq.*

75 Enthoven, *l.c.*, p. 304.

76 Thurston, *l.c.*, p. 175.

77 Stevenson, *l.c.*, p. 332.

78 Crooke, *Folk-lore*, vol. XXVI, p. 34 Herodotus, V, 62, tells us that the chief god of the Scythians was a sword which they worshipped with human sacrifices; *cf.* what Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI. 2, 23, tells about the Alans.

objects with blood is so well-known from different parts of the earth—and not least from India—that it would be simple waste of time to speak of it again here. But, according to the present writer's opinion, we must not always think of the red paint as a substitute for blood owing to the milder habits of a more modern time. It is true that human sacrifices which were, a century ago, of not unfrequent occurrence in India are now strictly prohibited ; just as it is true also that under certain conditions they would undoubtedly revive in places. But, notwithstanding this, it may well be doubted whether the humanitarian attitude in religious matters has become greater amongst the great masses of the population, and, at times, the blood of the animal victims flows in streams at various places from Nepâl in the North to the extreme South. Consequently, it seems to the present writer that we must suggest that red paint was used since times of yore instead of and besides blood. Animal and still more human sacrifices are always an expensive business while some red paint does not belong to very extravagant things. There is a utilitarian point of view even in religion.

The daubing and sprinkling of the idols with blood originally meant to sate them with the precious liquor and thus avert their malignant activities[79] ; this is well-known and need not be further dwelt upon here. This would thus account for the daubing of the idols[80], but scarcely for the smearing with blood of South Indian *pûjârîs*, etc., nor for similar ceremonies in which it is not the god but his worshippers who get their share of the blood or are smeared with the red colour-stuffs. We must try to find out another explanation for this ; and it must not be only the old one which tells about the establishment of a blood covenant between the god and his worshippers.

Red is the colour of blood, and it seems as if here the colour were the important factor. I do not enter upon any discussion of all the literature where this question has been dealt with ; in this connection it is sufficient to point to two papers by Professor Zachariæ[81] in which he has emphasized the fact that red (and blue)[82] are looked upon, in India and elsewhere, as apotropaic, devil-scaring colours. This eminent scholar here, as in other of his papers, has dealt with his subject in a very exhaustive way. In the following remarks will only be given a few instances from books published during later years, instances that make things still clearer[83].

In Gûjarât when a new village has been founded and the usual ceremonies are brought to an end the village headman, accompanied by a Brahman, walks round the village dragging with him a red thread with which he, in a way, encircles the whole area[84] ; this is doubtlessly done in order to avert evil influence. The Kammâlans in Madras, when a house has been completed, smear the walls and the ceiling with the blood of slaughtered fowls[85] ; it also occurs that the door-frame is daubed with saffron and red powder[86]. The following

79 *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Crooke, *Popular Religion*, vol. II, p. 19 *sq.* Elmore, *l.c.*, p. 130, etc.

80 Human victims (from whom criminals condemned to death cannot, during an early period, be sharply separated) were undoubtedly considered as deities ; the Sanskrit literature tells us that they were daubed with red, hung with garlands of red flowers, etc.

81 *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. XVII, pp. 147 *sq.*, 211 *sq.*

82 In this connection we need not speak about blue colour. We may only remember that Hindus seem to have a strong objection to blue stuffs and indigo, cp. *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. III, §§ 581, 715 ; Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, pp. 137, 239. It is an artificial explanation that this is because blue is a favourite colour with Muhammadans. Black apparently is also a devil-scaring colour, *cf.* Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 210.

83 Dreaming about red things is dealt with by Zachariæ, *l.c.*, p. 213 *sq.* To this add several passages in Jagaddeva's *Svapna Cintâmaṇi* ed. von Negelein, as *e.g.* II, 25, 51, 62, 69, 72, 75–76, 104, 105, 120, etc.

84 Enthoven, *l.c.*, p. 302.

85 Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vol. III, pp. 113, 127.

86 Crooke, *Folk-lore*, vol. XXIX, p. 142 (following Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, p. 11)

instance seems to me a very characteristic one : in the Simla Hills—as well as elsewhere—it sometimes occurs that a Brahman or a Sâdhu prohibits a man from taking possession of his own house ; but this interdict can be raised if the owner of the house sprinkles it with a few drops of his blood.[87] The curse of the holy man has brought the house under the influence of evil spirits, but they are sated and driven away by the red blood. In the Panjâb, when there is an outbreak of cholera in a village, the plague may be cured by painting a young buffalo red and driving it into the next village[88] ; it seems a bit doubtful whether it is only intended to drive away the plague demon or the animal is also looked upon as a sacrifice (scape-goat)—for, with red paste and red garlands one adorns the sacrifices to the god of Death, the condemned criminals[89].

When amongst low-castes in Northern India the parting of the bride's hair is daubed with red paint, this, according to my opinion, does not mean " a survival of the old blood covenant,"[90] but that there is a desire to protect her from evil influences at a very critical moment of her life. It is tempting to suggest, in view of this, that the *tilakas* which are in use all over India and are daubed on the forehead with red sandal, *gopîcandana*, etc., were originally meant to avert demons and the evil eye. I had long conceived this hypothesis, when, to my great pleasure, I found it suggested also by the late Dr. Crooke, *Popular Religion*, vol. II, p. 29.

Averting of evil influences no doubt is the idea underlying the mutual daubing with red powder and sprinkling with red-coloured water at the Holî[91] ; on this occasion the face is painted red [92], or red handprints are imprinted on one's own body and that of others [93]—all apparently with the same intention.

Extremely wide-spread amongst Aryan and non-Aryan peoples inside and outside India is the sacrifice connected with the erecting of buildings and bridges, the digging of tanks, etc. It formerly generally took the form of a human sacrifice, sometimes of horrible proportions. It is well-known that the Sultân Alâu'd-dîn Khiljî of Delhi (A.D. 1316) at the foundation of his new capital, Sîrî, had its walls sprinkled with the blood of thousands of Mongolian captives[94]. Dr. Crooke[95] and Mr. Enthoven[96] tell us about a curious habit : at the foundation of a house a red-painted wooden peg is driven into the ground and afterwards worshipped with lac, sandal paste and rice. It is called " the peg of Shesh Nâg ", and the idea is said to be that Seṣa, who carries the earth and, like other snakes, has a tendency to turn towards the right and thus cause earthquakes, should be made to keep steady. But this explanation is a late and artificial one. There is scarcely a doubt that the fixing of the red-painted peg was originally a sacrifice to the evil spirits of the earth who had been disturbed by the new foundation.

87 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 204 n. The author expressively states (I, p. 208) that in the Himâlayas any demon can be scared away by some red paint or red ochre deposited under a *pîpal* tree, at a cross road, at a tank or on a cremation ground.

88 Rose, *l.c.*, vol. I, pp. 140, 356.

89 Zachariæ, *l.c.*, p. 212. Scapegoats are still adorned with red flowers. Enthoven, *l.c.*, p. 266, tells how in Konkan and the Deccan at the outbreak of an epidemic a cock or a goat adorned with red garlands is led outside the village. Hanging with garlands is generally looked upon as an initiation to sacrificial death, *cf.* Rohde *Psyche*, vol. I, p. 220 ; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 184 n.

90 Crooke, *Popular Religion*, vol. II, p. 173 (*cf.* also what is said, *ibid.*, p. 257).

91 Crooke, *Popular Religion*, vol. II, p. 173 ; *Folk-lore*, vol. XXV, pp. 68, 72, etc.

92 *Folk-lore*, vol. XXV, p. 64.

93 Stevenson, *l.c.*, p. 286 *sq.* *Cf.* also Vogel, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen, Afd. Letterkunde* 5 : IV, p. 219 ff.

94 *Cf.* Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 234.

95 *Folk-lore*, vol. XXIX, p. 130.

96 *Cf.*, *l.c.*, p. 302.

Though infinitely more could be added, this may be sufficient for the present purpose.[17] Everywhere we meet with the same idea : the red colour is a devil-scaring one—often, but not generally, a substitute for blood—and serves the purpose of averting the influence of the evil spirits present everywhere. Thus the painting and daubing of the idols and of one's own person with red colour-stuffs originate in the same idea ; and from these rites which belong to a very primitive stage of religious development the central elements of the *pûjâ*, which has for long been of so great importance within Hinduism, draw their origin.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 116.)

4. Phaliga.

This is a rare word which occurs but in four passages of the Ṛgveda (1. 62. 4 ; 1, 121, 10; 4. 50, 5 ; 8. 32. 25) and except in a repetition of one of these passages (4. 50. 5) in the TS., MS., KS., and AV. does not occur elsewhere. The meanings assigned by the commentators to this word are various. The Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* 1, 10. 17. includes this word among the *meghanâmâni* ; and it is divided in the RV. Padapâṭha (but not in the TS. Padapâṭha) into *phali*s*-ga*. Sâyaṇa explains the word, RV., 1. 62. 4. as *phalaṃ pratiphalaṃ pratibimbaṃ tad asminn astîti phali svaccham udakam tad gacchaty âdhâratveneti phaligo meghaḥ* ||[19] This etymology is repeated in his comment on TS. 2, 3, 14, 4 (p. 1663 of the Ânandâśrama ed.) ; but *phaliga* is here made out to be equivalent to *pratibandha*, obstacle, thus : *phaligam* | *phalam asyâstîti phalî yajamânaḥ* | *taṃ gacchati prâpnotîti phaligaḥ tâdṛśam . . . . prati-bandham.* In RV., 4, 50. 5 he explains the word as *ñiphalâ viśaraṇe* | *phalir bhedaḥ* | *tena gacchatîti phaligam* | *valaṃ valanâmânam asuram.*[20] Bhaṭṭabhâskara too, on the above passage of the TS. explains (p. 102) the word as *phaligam* | *svacchodakapûrṇaṃ balavadudakaṃ vâ raveṇa śabdena upalakshitaṃ valaṃ* | *raveṇa vâ phaligaṃ giriguhâdishu pratiphalavantam.*

Böhtlingk and Roth in their dictionary say that the word means a cask, bag, or similar receptacle of a liquid. So also does Grassmann in his *Worterbuch* where he however gives a second meaning, 'cloud'. In his *Translation* he has further interpreted the word as 'cave' (1, 62, 4 ; 4. 50, 5 ?). Ludwig has translated it variously as 'flaming' (1, 62. 4), 'dark' (4, 50. 5), 'water-cloud' (8. 32, 25), and as a proper name (in 1, 121, 10). In this last respect he is followed by Geldner (*Ved. St.*, 2. p. 173) who, however, in his *RV. Glossar* suggests the meaning

17 As Professor Zachariæ, *l.c.*, p. 153 n. 2, has also said something about the devil-scaring power of the yellow colour, a few additions to this may be given here. The Râja of Bastar in the Central Provinces, who at the Dasahra functions as a priest, is thus smeared with sandal and dressed in yellow clothes, Crooke, *Folk-lore*, vol. XXVI, p. 33; a man who on his death-bed becomes a Sannyâsi dons a saffron-coloured robe, Stevenson, *l.c.*, p. 139. The clearest instance is perhaps furnished by the Râjpûts by their well-known habit of donning saffron-coloured robes when going to battle and especially when trying their last outbreak from a besieged fort, *cf.* Tod, *Annals* ed. Crooke, vol I, p. 226 and *passim*; at the same time their woman-folk committed the horrible holocaust called *jauhar* (*cf.* on this word the remark of Sir G. Grierson in Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 72 n), and all became *satis*. In this connection it seems possible to suggest that the yellow or orange-coloured robe (*kâshâya*) of the Buddhist monk was originally meant to be a means of scaring the evil spirits ; like several other implements, etc., it may have its origin in pre-Buddhist monkhood. As demon-scaring colours are at the same time often considered to be ominous, this may account for the circumstance often alluded to in literature, that the meeting with a Buddhist friar was considered unlucky. Saffron, just as well as turmeric, is looked upon as demon-scaring, *cf. Folk-lore*, vol. XXXVI, p. 42. According to Tod, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 1050, men condemned to death were smeared with saffron ; in the South, walls are at times daubed with saffron or yellow clay in order to drive off the evil spirits, *cf.* Elmore, *l.c.*, p 66; and the Mâtangi, the curious priestess of certain Dravidian castes, daubs the foreheads of her worshippers with saffron and turmeric, *cf. ibid.*, p. 44 n.

19 This is the explanation given by Devarâja in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*.

20 This is the explanation of Mâdhava as cited by Devarâja, *loc. cit.*

of 'robber' in 4, 50, 5 and 8, 32, 25. Hillebrandt suggests (*Ved. Myth.*, 3, p. 262, n. 5) that *phaliga* is a dialectal form of the word *sphaṭika*, and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 121), that it is another form of the word *parigha*.[21] Bergaigne (*Rel. Ved.*, II, p. 292; 320) interprets the word as 'reservoir' and Macdonnell (*Ved. Reader*, p. 87) as 'cave.'

Of these meanings mentioned above, it is improbable that *phaliga* denotes the name of a person in one out of the four passages in which the word occurs. It can also be readily seen that none of the meanings proposed, like 'cave', 'cloud,' 'robber' fits in in all the four passages. It is otherwise with the suggestions of Oldenberg (that *phaliga=parigha*) and Hillebrandt (that *phaliga=sphaṭika*). The latter is indeed the correct explanation; but perhaps because it remained as a mere suggestion and was not followed by an exposition, in the light of that suggestion, of the passages in which the word occurs, it has not found favour with later writers (Oldenberg, Geldner in his *RV. Glossar*, Macdonnell) who have preferred to suggest other interpretations of their own.

Pischel, in his *Prakrit Grammatik*, p. 167, § 238, has given references to many places where the Sanskrit word *sphaṭika* appears in Prakrit as *phaḷiha* with cerebral *ḷa*. He has also noted the occurrence of the form *phaliha* with dental *la*. The dental *la* appears in the Pali form *phalika* also. I believe that the Vedic word *phaliga* is but another form of the above-mentioned *phalika*, the surd *ka* of the latter being changed into the corresponding sonant in the former (for examples, see Pischel, *op. cit.*, § 202). The course of transformation of the Sanskrit *sphaṭika* into Prakrit would therefore be as follows:

sphaṭika—*phalika* < *phaliga* (Vedic)
(Sanskrit) (Pali) < *phaliha* (Prakrit)—*phaḷiha* (Prakrit)

Similar is the case with the Sanskrit word *parigha* also. This, too, appears in Prakrit as *phaliha* (for references, see Pischel, *op. cit.*, § 208); and an alternative form *phaliga* may with probability be posited for this *phaliha* also (for examples of the unaspirated sonant replacing an original sonant aspirate, see *ibid.*, § 213). And further, this meaning would fit in in all the passages where the word occurs. For, *parigha*, which originally means 'the pin of a door', has the sense of 'weapon' and of 'hindrance, obstacle', also. The last mentioned of these senses would be not unsuitable in 1, 62, 4; 4. 50, 5; and 8, 32, 25 (compare 1, 51, 4: *tvám apâ'm apidhâ'nâ vṛṇor ápa*) while that of 'weapon' would pass well in 1, 121, 10. This interpretation however is open to the objection that it is not in the least connected with the meaning mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu*.

As this is not the case with the meaning *sphaṭika* (crystal; quartz) which denotes a kind of stone and is therefore not improperly associated with the words *adri*, *gotra*, *aśman*, *parvata*, etc., in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and as moreover 10, 68. 8 seems, as I shall show below, to point to this meaning, I believe that this is the correct meaning of *phaliga*. I shall now show that this meaning yields good sense in all the passages where the word occurs.

1, 62, 4: *sá sushṭúbhâ sá stubhâ' saptá víprais*
svaréṇâ'drim svaryò návagvaiḥ |
saraṇyúbhiḥ phaligám Indra śakra
valám rávena darayo dáśagvaiḥ ||

'He, the roarer, with the well-praising, lauding (throng), the seven seers, and the Navagvas, cleft the rock with his roar. Thou, O mighty Indra, hast with the Daśagvas, cleft the enclosure of crystal with thy roar.' There is a transition here from the third person in the first half-verse to the second person in the last which makes it necessary to supply the word *adârayat* with third person ending, in the first half. The word *saḥ* that occurs in it, I have here taken as referring to Indra who is mentioned in the third *pâda*. It is however possible to understand

[21] This suggestion was originally made by M. Regnaud in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1890.

the word as referring to Bṛhaspati who is mentioned in the last half of the preceding verse, *Bṛ'haspátir bhinád ádriṃ vidád gâ'ḥ sám usriyâbhir vâvaśanta náraḥ*. Further, I have, on the analogy of 4, 50, 5 (see below), understood the words *sushṭubhâ* and *stubhá* as referring to the *gaṇa* of Aṅgirases mentioned in the preceding verse. See also Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

The enclosure of crystal mentioned in the second half of this verse is the same as the rock, *aśman, parvata, giri, adri*, that Indra (or Bṛhaspati) is elsewhere mentioned as having, with the Aṅgirases and others, broken open in order to set free the imprisoned waters and cows; compare the first half of this verse: compare also 10, 68, 4: *Bṛ'haspátir uddhárann áśmano gá' bhú'myâ udnéva ví tvácaṃ bibheda*; 5, 30, 4: *áśmânaṃ cic chávasâ didyuto ví vidó gávâm ûrvám usriyâṇâm*; 4, 16, 6: *viśvâni śakró náryâṇi vidvâ'n apó rireca sákhibhir nikâmaiḥ* | *áśmânaṃ cid yé bibhidúr vácobhir vrajáṃ gómantam uśijo ví vavruḥ*; 10, 68, 3: *Bṛ'haspátiḥ párvatebhyo vitû'ryâ nír gâ' ûpe yávam iva sthivíbhyaḥ*; 1, 57, 6: *tváṃ tám Indra párvataṃ mahâ'm urúṃ vájreṇa vajrin parvaśáś cakartitha* | *ávâsṛjo nívṛtâs sártavá' apáḥ* 4, 17, 3: *bhinád giríṃ śávasâ vájram ishṇánn âvishkṛṇvânás sahasâná ójaḥ* | *vádhîd vṛtráṃ vájreṇa mandasânás sárann â'po jávasâ hatávṛshṇîḥ*; 10, 68, 11: *Bṛ'haspátir bhinád ádriṃ vidád gâ'ḥ*; 10, 112, 8: *satînámanyur aśrathâyo ádriṃ suvedanâ'm akṛṇor bráhmaṇe gâ'm*.

4, 50, 5 : *sá sushṭúbhâ sá ṛ'kvatâ gaṇéna*
válaṃ ruroja phaligáṃ rávena |
Bṛ'haspátir usriyá havyasû'daḥ
kánikradad vâ'vaśatîr úd âjat ||

'He, with the well-praising jubilant throng has shattered the enclosure of crystal with his roar. Bṛhaspati, roaring, drove forth the lowing cows that sweeten the oblation (with their milk).'

8, 32, 25 : *yá udnáḥ phaligáṃ bhinan*
nyàk sindhûm̐r avá'sṛjat |
yó góshu pákvaṃ dhârâyat ||

'Who (Indra) cleft the crystal containing the waters and discharged the rivers downwards: who put the ripe (milk) in the cows.' The construction here is somewhat peculiar: it is similar to that in 4, 16, 8: *apó yád ádriṃ puruhûta dárdaḥ*, and 3, 20, 21: *â' no gotrâ' dardṛhi gopate gâ'ḥ*, where the verb seems to govern two objects. It is possible to regard *udnaḥ* in this passage as genitive singular (so Grassmann does with regard to *apaḥ* in 4, 16, 8 in his *Worterbuch*) governing the word *phaligam*; but I am inclined to think (as does also Geldner, *Ved. St.*, 2, p. 275) that these words are really in the accusative plural, and that we have to supply here the word *vavrivâmsam* or other similar word.

1, 121, 10 : *purâ' yát sû'ras támaso ápîtes*
tám adrivaḥ phaligáṃ hetím asya |
Śushṇásya cit párihitaṃ yád ójo
divás pári súgrathitaṃ tád âdaḥ ||

'Hurl, O thou (Indra) with the dart, thy weapon of rock-crystal before the disappearance of the sun in darkness: shatter the consolidated might of Śushṇa which has spread over heaven even'. Indra's 'weapon of rock-crystal' mentioned here is the well-known Vajrâyudha which is frequently referred to as *adri, parvata, aśman*; compare 1, 51, 3: *tváṃ gotrám áṅgirobhyo vṛṇor ápotá'traye śatádureshu gâtuvit* | *saséna cid vimadâ'yâvaho vásv âjâ'v ádriṃ vâvasânásya nartáyan*; 6, 22, 6: *ayâ' ha tyáṃ mâyáyâ vâvṛdhânáṃ manojúvâ svatavaḥ párvatena* | *ácyutâ cid vîḷitâ' svojo rujó ví dṛḷhâ' dhṛshatâ' virapśin* 4, 22, 1: *yó (Indraḥ) áśmânaṃ śávasâ bibhrad éti*: 2, 30, 5: *áva kshipa divó áśmânam uccâ'*. Compare also the word *adrivat* 'he who has the stone (as a weapon)' used almost exclusively of Indra in the RV.

The characteristic that specially differentiates *sphaṭika*, rock crystal, from ordinary stone or rock (*adri, aśman, parvata*) is its transparency. In the last passage of those given above (I, 121. 10), the context is such that it is sufficient to note that the weapon is of stone : its transparency or otherwise is not material. In the other three passages, on the other hand, which mention the enclosure of crystal that imprisons the waters and cows, it would seem, to judge from 10, 68, 8, *áśná' pinaddhaṃ má'dhu páry apaśyan mátsyaṃ ná dīná udáni kshiyántam | nísh ṭáj jabhāra camasáṃ ná vṛkshá'd Bṛ'haspátir viravéṇá vikṛ'tya* that the transparency of the walls of the enclosure should also be taken into consideration. For, in this verse we read : ' Bṛhaspati saw the sweet (water) enclosed in the stone, as (one sees) a fish in shallow water. Having with his roar, broken (the stone) open, he brought it out as (one does) a goblet from a tree.' Thus the water could be seen by Bṛhaspati through the enclosing stone as a fish in shallow water can be seen through the water ; in other words, the stone was transparent, it was a *sphaṭika* or crystal.

The rock that imprisons the waters and cows, represents, as is well-known, the cloud : see Bergaigne, I, p. 257f. and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 60. The author of the *Nighaṇṭu* has therefore rightly included this word, along with *adri, grâvan, gotra, aśman, parvata, giri, upara* and *upala*—all meaning ' stone ', ' rock ', etc., among the *meghanâmâni*.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

DOM MARTIN, THE ARAKANESE PRINCE

The April number of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (vol. XVI, pt. I), 1926, contains an article of great interest on Dom Martin, 1606–1643, the first Burman to visit Europe, by Mr. M. S. Collis and San Shwe Bu. It is as romantic a story as one could wish and it might be said as one could find even in Burma, the land of romance. Dom Martin—observe the high Portuguese title—was born in 1606 as a son of Min Mangri, himself a younger son of Rajagri, king of Arakan. Min Mangri became Viceroy of Chittagong in 1610. His elder brother was Min Khamaung, afterwards a famous king of Arakan. The two brothers were not on good terms, and Min Mangri feared for his position. About 1610 the celebrated Portuguese corsair Gonsalves Tibau established himself in Sandwip and with him the disaffected Min Mangri consorted. Gonsalves saw his chance and sent Father Rafael of Santa Monica to convert Min Mangri's family to Christianity. In this errand Father Raphael succeeded and Min Mangri's daughter was married as a Roman Catholic to Gonsalves' son. All this naturally did not please Rajagri of Arakan, and Min Khamaung was sent against Chittagong in 1612. That was the end of Min Mangri, but his little children, a boy and a girl, were spirited away by Father Raphael to the convent of St. Nicholas at Hugli. Here they were brought up, the boy as a Christian prince named Dom Martin, and the girl as Princess Petronilla. In due course Min Khamaung became king of Arakan and the future looked black for Dom Martin, but he was sent to Goa, where he did well and became, as an Oriental Christian of high standing, a Portuguese military cadet.

In 1622 Min Khamaung died and Thivithudhamma succeeded him, while Dom Martin was still a Portuguese officer. In 1627 he greatly distinguished himself in the defeat of the king of Achin off Malacca, and then continued to serve with distinction about the Indian coasts from Jacatra (Batavia) to Ormuz (Bandar Abbas) until 1640. In 1638 Narapatigri had usurped the throne of Arakan, and in 1641 the Duke of Braganza had recovered the Portuguese throne from the Spaniards and ruled as John IV. So Dom Martin proceeded to Portugal to see if he too could get back his rights from the usurper of Arakan with the help of John IV. John knew his story and could feel for him, and thus he equipped Dom Martin for the purpose in 1642. Dom Martin duly set out with high hopes, but in 1643 he died on the voyage out and never even reached Goa. What a story !

R. C. TEMPLE.

NAUGAZA TOMBS TO THE WEST OF INDIA.

Tombs known as *naugaza*, of inordinate length, more or less approximating nine yards, and dedicated to saints, are not uncommon in Upper India and have frequently been noticed by European observers : e.g., *ante*, vols. XXV, pp. 146, 254 ; XXVIII, p. 28. They are no doubt a Semitic importation from lands to the West of India during the Muhammadan invasions.

In the course of some amusing notes on "discoveries" by Lord Curzon in his *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-book*, p. 363, occurs the following passage : "I had, I thought, already left Noah safely buried

at Hebron, when later on in the neighbourhood of Baalbek I came upon him again, and this time he was interred in a tomb forty yards long by two or three feet wide . . . . Noah must have been a person of exceptional stature, even in a part of the world where the Sons of Anak, 'which come of the Giants,' and compared with whom all other men 'were as grasshoppers,' would appear to have abounded. But even in his day the standard of human height must have been rapidly deteriorating. For the grave of Eve, near Jeddah in the Hedjaz, which corresponds accurately to the measurement of her body is no less than of 173 yards long by 12 yards wide: so that in comparison with the Mother of Mankind the builder of the Ark was only a pigmy. At Jeddah, however, the guardians of the tomb have a ready and indeed a plausible explanation of the decline, for they say that when Eve fell, with her fell the stature of the race she originated."

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY, by HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D. University of Calcutta, 1923.

In the issue of this *Journal* for January, 1924, I reviewed Professor Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisâra. That work forms the first part of the present volume, which continues the story of India's past history to the end of the Gupta age. As the author states in a foreword to the second part, he claims no originality for his treatment of the period from Bimbisâra to Aśoka, but he has added fresh material from epic and Jain sources and occasionally arrives at conclusions differing from those adopted by previous workers in this field. As an indication of the suggestive and interesting character of his succinct *resumé* of the political features of this obscure period, a few of his views and conclusions may be here recorded. He accepts the Ceylonese tradition that Śiśunâga was later in date than Bimbisâra: he rejects Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's suggestion that the headless Patna statue is that of Nandivardhana, and that the Nandarâja of the Hâthigumpha inscription is also Nandivardhana. He considers it more likely that Mahâpadma Nanda is referred to by Khâravela. He accepts the date of Buddha's death as 483 B.C., and believes that the earlier date, 513 B.C., must have gained currency by being confounded with the era which commenced with Bimbisâra's accession. He suggests that Chandragupta belonged to the Moriyas (Mauryas), the ruling Kshatriya clan of Pipphalivana in ancient times, and corrects Vincent Smith's view of the character of the Mauryan *Uttarâdhyakshas.* The epithet Râshtriya, applied to Pushyagupta in the time of Chandragupta, he regards as equivalent to imperial high commissioner, and suggests that the Râshṭriyas, who are not mentioned either in the *Arthaśâstra* or in Aśoka's Edicts, were probably identical with the Râshṭrapâlas, who drew the same salary as Kumâras or princely viceroys of the blood royal.

Tushâshpha, the Yavanarâja, he considers to have been a Greek, not a Persian, as originally stated by Vincent Smith. But had the author consulted the recently published fourth edition of Smith's work, he would have found his own opinion duly recorded in a footnote qualifying Smith's original opinion. He does not accept the view that Pushyamitra, who slew the last Mauryan ruler, was the head of a Brahman reaction against the Mauryan empire, and attributes the fall of the Mauryan power to (*a*) the oppression of the state officials, which was rampant long before 185 B.C., (*b*) the feebleness of Aśoka's successors, and (*c*) the decay of the State's military power owing to the spread of the Aśokan doctrine of *Dhammavijaya.* Pushyamitra, according to this view, merely gave the *coup-de-grâce* to a moribund power. This may be so: but at the same time it does not preclude the possibility of Pushyamitra having been the protagonist in a conservative Brahman reaction against a system which had obviously rendered the empire powerless to cope with foreign invasion.

The author's arguments as to the identity of the Indo-Greek invader of India during Pushyamitra's reign are well martialled and deserve study, as also do his views on the Saka Satraps of Northern India. He proposes a new chronology for the early Sâtavâhanas or Andhrabhṛtyas, placing Simuka in the 1st century B.C., and the end of his dynasty in the 3rd century A.D., while the Kuntala or collateral Kanarese line of Sâtakarnis continued to rule till the 4th or 5th century A.D. He suggests that the Sâtakarni of the Nânâghât inscription is identical with the Sâtakarni who defied Khâravela, with the Sâtakarni of the Sanchi inscription, and with the elder Saraganus mentioned in the Periplus. He has much of interest to say about the Sâka and Pahlava rulers of the Panjab, the Kushâns, and the Western Kshatrapas. I have perhaps said enough to show that Professor Raychaudhuri's book forms a solid contribution to the discussion of the various problems implicit in the early history of India. The book is succinctly written, partaking rather of the nature of an outline than a literary essay in history: but it furnishes the evidence upon which the author relies for his views and contains a good bibliographical as well as a general index. It is well worth a place on the bookshelf of the student of Indian history.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE DATE OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN.

BY K. G. SANKAR, B.A., B.L.

KERALA is the part of South India inhabited by people who speak Malayâḷam (an offshoot of Tamiḷ). It is now split up into the Indian States of Travancore and Cochin, and the British district of Malabâr. But in ancient times it was undivided and owned the sway of a single dynasty of emperors. Bhâskara Ravivarman was one of such emperors. His inscriptions and copper-plates have been found in all parts of the Keraḷa country. They reveal to us the fact that Malayâḷam was already developing into a distinct language, with its own grammar and diction. Bhâskara Ravivarman was moreover the earliest emperor in India to give special privileges to the Jews, which he did in his 38th year, as we know from his Cochin plates published in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. 3, No. 11). His date is therefore of peculiar importance for the history of the Malayâḷam language and also of the Jews in India.

But unfortunately scholars are not yet in agreement as to his date. The vast majority of them place it in the eleventh century A.D. But recently (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. 53, pp. 220–223) Mr. K. N. Daniel has attempted, relying mainly on astronomical evidence, to take him back to the sixth century A.D. If his conclusion be accepted, we shall have to revise the current notion that Malayâḷam branched off from Tamiḷ as a distinct language only in the ninth century A.D. This notion is based on a comparison of the Tiruvallâ plates (eighth century A.D.) of Râjaśekhara, published in the *Travancore Archæological Series* (vol. 2, No. 1), which are entirely free from Malayâḷam forms, with the Koṭṭayam plates of Sthâṇu Ravi (*circa* 900 A.D.). Mr. Daniel's arguments therefore deserve careful scrutiny.

He has recently admitted that arguments based on linguistic and palæographic evidence are, taken by themselves, inconclusive, and he therefore mainly relies on the astronomical evidence. I shall therefore confine myself here to examining his astronomical argument. But, before doing so, it would be well to consider whether there is no other definite historical evidence that may throw some light on the date of Bhâskara Ravivarman.

Mr. A. S. Râmanâtha Ayyar has recently pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary* and elsewhere that the Tirukkaḍittânam inscription of Bhâskara Ravivarman (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 5, No. 61) refers to a festival instituted by Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Veṇâḍ (*i.e.*, Sout Travancore). But he concludes that Śrî Vallabhan was a feudatory of Bhâskara Ravivarman. This, however, is by no means certain. The inscription does not say that the festival was instituted in Bhâskara Ravivarman's time. We can therefore only infer that Śrî Vallabhan lived at or before the date of the inscription, and that Bhâskara Ravivarman was not earlier in date than Śrî Vallabhan. Now the Mâmpaḷḷi plates of Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Veṇâḍ date themselves definitely, through their astronomical data, on the 10th November 973 A.D. (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 4, No. 1), and as we know of only one Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Veṇâḍ, it is almost certain that Bhâskara Ravivarman did not live before the end of the tenth century A.D. Mr. T. K. Joseph, on the other hand, told me that he was able to read the word *paṇḍu* (*i.e.*, of old) in the original inscription, in connection with the festival instituted by Śrî Vallabhan Kodai. But, as his statement is not supported by the plate published by Mr Râmanâtha Ayyar, and as he himself has not yet thought fit to publish his reading of the inscription, we cannot for the present rely on his statement. We can therefore only conclude that Bhâskara Ravivarman lived in or after the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

To this conclusion Mr. Daniel opposes his astronomical argument. He says that the astronomical data given in the Perunna inscription (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 2, p. 34) and the Tirunelli plates (*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 31) of Bhâskara Ravivarman agree only with dates in the sixth century A.D., in a period of 5000 years starting from the Kali era. If this statement were correct, we should have to assume the existence of an earlier Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Veṇâḍ, however unwilling we might be to postulate so early a date for Bhâskara Ravivarman. Messrs. Râmanâtha Ayyar and Joseph, no doubt, fight shy of the astronomical

argument, and the latter urges that astronomical data need not be always correct or reliable. But he forgets that the burden of proof is on him to show why the astronomical data should be discredited, when they work out correctly, as they do in the present instance, and he has not even attempted to discharge that burden. We have no alternative but to disprove Mr. Daniel's statement, or, if we cannot do so, to accept his conclusion. I shall therefore examine Mr. Daniel's astronomical argument in detail.

To begin with, several of the inscriptions of Bhâskara Ravivarman give the positions of Jupiter at the times when they were engraved. The following is a list of such positions given in the order of the dates of the inscriptions:—

(1)	6th year	Jupiter in	Rishabha	(*Trav. Arch. Ser*, vol. 3,	p. 180).
(2)	15th		..	(.. 2,	p. 36).
(3)	23rd ..	..	Makara	(.. 2,	p. 39).
(4)	31st	..	Dhanu	(.. 2,	p. 43).
(5)	,, ..	..	Kumbha	(.. 3,	p. 183).
(6)	33rd ..	..	Rishabha	(.. 3,	p. 44)
(7)	43rd ..	..	Tulâ	(.. 2,	p. 31).
(8)	48th ..		Simha	(*Ind. Ant.*, 20,	p. 290).
(9)	50th ..	..	Tulâ	(*Trav. Arch. Ser.* .. 5,	p. 190).
(10)	58th ..	..	Simha	(.. ,, 2,	p. 49).

Now Jupiter moves approximately over one *râśi* (solar sign) every year. The reader can therefore calculate for himself and easily find out that these positions cannot be reconciled with each other, unless we postulate the existence of at least *four* different Bhâskara Ravivarmans. Since there is no justification for doing so, we have no alternative but to give up the problem as for the present insoluble.

Mr. Daniel however claims to have solved the riddle. He does so by assuming (1) that some of the given years are current and some expired, and (2) that some of them refer to the king's age, while others to his regnal years. The former of the assumptions is barely possible, but the latter is clearly gratuitous. This is not all. He has some of his facts wrong. For instance, (1) in the 15th year inscription he reads 13th for $13+x(=2)$nd year; (2) in the 23rd year inscription he reads 13th for 23rd year: and (3) in the 48th year inscription he reads 46th for 48th year. It is therefore clear that, in spite of Mr. Daniel's praiseworthy efforts, we are as far as ever from a solution of the riddle.

I shall now examine the data of the Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates. All scholars, including Mr. Daniel, have hitherto assumed that the former is an inscription of Bhâskara Ravivarman. But there is no justification for it in the inscription itself. The portion referring to the king's name is missing, and there is in it no mention either of Bhâskara's feudatory Govardhana Mârttâṇḍa of Veṇâḍ. The style, palæography and language no doubt resemble those of Bhâskara Ravivarman. But this fact is not inconsistent with the ascription of the inscription to the immediate predecessor or successor of Bhâskara instead of to that king himself. Mr. Daniel has made much of the condition that the interval between the two inscriptions should be exactly 45 years and challenged Mr. Joseph to produce any other couple of dates satisfying that condition in the said period of 5000 years. It is therefore necessary to point out that there is no warrant in the inscriptions themselves for any such condition. It is entirely his own creation, based on the *fact* that the interval between *his* dates is exactly 45 years, and on his *assumption* that the Perunna inscription is an inscription of Bhâskara Ravivarman.

Coming now to the data themselves of the two inscriptions, they are :—

(1) *Perunna inscription*—14th year, 20th Mîna (solar month), Sunday, Punarvasu (*nakshatra*), Jupiter in Makara;

(2) *Tirunelli plates*—43rd year, 8th Mîna, Wednesday, Uttara Phalguni, Jupiter in Tulâ,

Mr. Daniel says, and I agree, that the data of the Perunna inscription are satisfied by both 526 and 1060 A.D. But, as to the data of the Tirunelli plates, he says that, between 1 and 1400 A.D., only 571 and 666 A.D. satisfy them, and that therefore Bhâskara Ravivarman cannot be placed so late as the tenth or eleventh century A.D. He notices the suggestion of the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai that A.D. 1116 is a likely date for the Tirunelli plates, but dismisses it as a mistake and even claims that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself agreed with him, shortly before his death. If Mr. Swamikannu Pillai had done so, I believe it must be due to his ignorance of the prevalence in ancient times of the Malabar rule that, if the *sankrama* of a solar month (the point of time at which the sun passes from one solar sign to another) occurs after eighteen *ghaṭikâs* (one *ghaṭikâ* = two-fifths of an hour) from sunrise, the next day should be the first of that month. Mr. Daniel has himself pointed out that this usage was prevalent as early as *circa* 1200 A.D. and that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was not aware of it, when he suggested 1155 A.D. as a suitable date for the Perunna inscription. For myself, I contend that 1st March 1116 A.D., satisfies the data of the Tirunelli plates in all respects. The Mîna *sankrama* of that year fell on 24 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise of the 22nd February. The 1st Mîna therefore, according to Malabar usage, was the 23rd February, and, as 1116 A.D. was a leap year, the 8th Mîna fell on 1st March. It was a Wednesday, and the *nakshatra* Uttara Phalgunî ended on that day shortly after daybreak, allowing for an error of one *ghaṭikâ* at the most. Uttara Phalgunî was therefore most probably the *nakshatra* of that day, and the geocentric longitude of Jupiter was 196° It was thus in 16° of Tulâ *râśi*. The 1st March 1116 A.D. therefore completely satisfies the astronomical data of the Tirunelli plates, and there is no need to assume, without evidence, the existence of an earlier Śrî Vallabhan Kodai of Veṇâḍ, or to take Bhâskara Ravivarman back to the sixth century A.D. We can therefore safely conclude that the 43rd year of Bhâskara Ravivarman was 1116 A.D., and that he ruled from 1073 to at least 1131 A.D.

It is agreed on all hands, with the single exception of Mr. Joseph for reasons which he has not revealed, that the Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates could not be removed from each other by any long interval, though of course it is not necessary that they should belong to the same king or that the interval should be exactly 45 years. It is therefore almost certain that, of the two astronomically suitable dates for the Perunna inscription 526 and 1060 A.D., the latter is more probable, if we place the accession of Bhâskara Ravivarman in 1073 A.D. The 14th year of an unnamed king was therefore 1060 A.D., and, as this is only thirteen years before Bhâskara Ravivarman's accession, the unnamed king was most probably Bhâskara's immediate predecessor.

Now there is evidence to show that Indukodaivarman was the immediate predecessor of Bhâskara Ravivarman. One Perumanaikkoṭṭattu Keśavan Sankaran is known to have been the contemporary of both Indukodaivarman and Bhâskara Ravivarman (*Trav. Arch. Ser.*, vol. 3, pp. 173, 181). But Velliyâmpaḷḷi Poḷan Śâttan and Panṛitturutti Kaṇṇan Poḷan are known to have been the contemporaries of Indukodaivarman (*ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 165–168), while Veḷḷiyâmpaḷḷi Śâttan Kumaran and Panṛitturutti Poḷan Kumaran, who were evidently their immediate successors, are known to have been the contemporaries of Bhâskara Ravivarman (*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp 49, 53). It is therefore almost certain that Indukodaivarman was the immediate predecessor of Bhâskara Ravivarman, and, as he is known to have ruled for at least sixteen years while the interval between the Perunna inscription and the accession of Bhâskara Ravivarman was only thirteen years, he must almost certainly be identical with the unnamed king of the Perunna inscription. As his fourteenth year was 1060 A.D., his accession must be placed in 1046 A.D.

The result, therefore, of this brief inquiry is that we are now able definitely to place Indukodaivarman in 1046 to 1073 A.D., and Bhâskara Ravivarman in 1073 to at least 1131 A.D.

MOSLEM EPIGRAPHY IN THE GWALIOR STATE.[1]

BY RAMSINGH SAKSENA.

(*Continued from page* 104.)

THESE inscriptions belong to one of the many cities of historical importance which lie within the territories of the Sindhias of Gwalior. This sacred city of hoary fame and mysterious origin rightly deserves the name of Ujjain (the City of Light). It has been given a dozen names in the Hindu scriptures, *viz.*, Avantî, Kanaksharanga, Kush-sthalî, Vishala, etc.; but is more extensively styled Ujjayinî, and has been noticed by every known historian or traveller. The present town, however, though enjoying its ancient historic attributes and traditions, is devoid of any remains earlier than the tenth century A.D. It lies two miles south of its ancient site, the remains of which still yield interesting antiquities, whenever tapped. It lies in 23° 11′ North and 75° 50′ East, on the Sipra river, and is still, as in the past, the Government head-quarters of the Mâlwâ Division and is reached by the Bombay Baroda & Central India and the Great Indian Peninsula systems of Railways.

Unfortunately Ujjain has escaped expert antiquarian survey by the modern archæologists. Even Sir A. Cunningham and his successors seem to be content with the undisputed identification of the site and by its mention in different epigraphical records, with brief descriptions thereof published in various journals from time to time. An authoritative, systematic and well-linked history of the old and new sites is a keenly felt need, and let us hope that the Gwalior Archæological Department will try to fill this gap. Scientific excavations at the site may yield startling discoveries, which may be as valuable as those of Mohenjo-daro (Sind) and Harappa (in the Panjab).

The Muhammadans laid their hands on Ujjain (Mâlwâ) as early as A.D. 724 under Junaid,[2] governor of Sind, but they actually occupied it only from the time of Qutbu'd-dîn, A.D. 1196–97, up to the fall of the Mughals. The following are a few of the many unnoticed and unpublished Moslem inscriptions to be seen at Ujjain.

A.—Inscription on Binâ-nîm-kî Masjid (or Mosque without Foundation), Ujjain.

This epigraph though belonging to one of the interesting monuments of Ujjain, has remained unnoticed for the reasons given above. The building is wittily known locally as Binâ-nîm-kî-Masjid (the mosque without foundation) on account of its having been erected on the (still visible and intact) plinth, and from the materials, of some Hindu temple. Though numerous mosques of this type are extant all over India, the adoption of this fanciful name in this case baffles explanation, except as a local joke.

The inscription is said to consist of a piece of slaty stone of the bluish colour common in Mâlwâ, measuring 2′ 7″ by 2′ 4″ and to have been fixed over the only entrance of the mosque. It consists of raised letters and contains five lines of Persian verse,[3] each of which has been relieved by a plain line ½-inch in breadth. The style of writing is Naskh, but poor in execution. It has been difficult to fully decipher it, because the small photographic reproduction, which though apparently neat, has apparently been made after inking over the original inscription, and the ink has run into the curves of already crude letters. However, as I have been able to make out the salient points, I feel no hesitation in publishing this small record, since I believe that the undeciphered portion of it would probably reveal nothing more than a mere eulogy of the Prophet or the king, couched in elegant and forcible words. The record refers to the completion of the mosque in A.H. 806 (A.D. 1403) and names Dilâwar Khân as king. Dilâwar Khân[4] Ghori (whose real name was Hasan, a descendant on his mother's side from Sultân Shihâbu'd-din Ghorî) is a well-known personage in history. He was appointed Governor of Mâlwâ by Muhammad IV *ibn* Firóz of Delhi about A.H. 794, asserted his independence in A.H. 804, and proclaimed himself Dilâwar Khân Ghorî, Sultân of Mâlwâ. As

[1] See *ante*, vol. LV, p. 4.

[2] Elliot, *H I*, I, 126.

[3] In *mujtathth muthmin wafi muzahaf makhbun maqsur* metre. (مجتث مثمن وافی مزاحف مخبون مقصور)

[4] Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. IV, pp. 167—173.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN DILAWAR KHAN GHORI FIRST SULTAN OF (MANDU) MALWA, ON THE BINA NIM KI MASJID AT UJJAIN, GWALIOR STATE

A.H. 806 = A.D. 1403.



R. S. SAKSENA

the mosque was completed in A.H. 806, only two years after the assumption of kingship, it is certainly the outcome of the early orders of this king, though the temple itself may have been pulled down by some previous invaders of Mâlwâ.

I read the text as under:—

Inscription on Binâ-nîm-kî Masjid, Ujjain.

1. شہ ملوک مدار زمان دلاورخان
. . . .

2. بدہر گشت چو خورشید در آخرین
. . . .

3. . . . .
بزیر گنبد این برج گنبد است نہان ؟

4. بشد تمام بتاریخ صیصد و شش سال
بہ یمن ہمت صاحب زمان دلاورخان ؟

5. مراد دنیا و دین در کنار او بادا
بعون قاضی حاجات و خالق دوران

Translation.

1. (1) King of kings, pillar of (supporter of) the world, Dilâwar Khâñ
(2) . . . .
2. (1) He is proved true like the sun in . . . .
(2) . . . .
3. (1) . . . .
(2) . . . .
4. (1) Was completed in date eight hundred and (sixth) year.
(2) Through the felicity of the valour of the master of the times (world) Dilawar Khan.
5. (1) May the desires of the world and religion be in his skirt.
(2) Through the aid of the Disposer of necessities (God) and the Generator of the times.

B.—A Loose Inscription picked up from débris at Ujjain.

This fine epigraph was picked up from the débris, during operations in the heart of the (modern) town under a town improvement scheme, and is stored in a collection of antiquities maintained by the Mâdhav College, Ujjain. It consists of raised letters on a piece of basalt stone available locally and is reported to measure 18 inches by 10 inches. A line running round the margins at the top and both sides contains a quotation from the Qurân in elegant Naskh characters, with an air of Tughra. The rest consists of ten lines (five couplets) of Persian verse in neat Nastâliq characters. The metre of the verse is *Hazaj muthmin wafi salim.* (ہزج مثمن وافی سالم).

The record after a eulogy of Emperor Akbar refers to the construction of a strong *sarâî* in Akbar's reign—a portion of which still exists. The date, as found from chronograms contained in it, works out to A.H. 987 = A.D. 1579, while that given in ciphers reads A.H. 986 = A.D. 1578.

My reading of the text is as under :—

A loose inscription picked up from débris at Ujjain.

Top.— اللہ لا الہ الا ہو الحی القیوم لا تاخذہ سنۃ و لا نوم لہ ما فی السموات

وما فی الارض من ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم وما خلفهم ولا یحیطون — Left.

بشیء من علمه الا بما شاء وسع کرسیه السموات والارض ولا یؤده حفظهما وهو العلی العظیم — Right.

1. (1) بدوران جلال الدین محمد اکبر غازی

(2) که عالم را مسخر کرد اقبال خدا دادش

2. (3) شه پاکیزه سیرت شاه فخر الدین که پیوسته

(4) جهانی را باحسان بنده دارد طبع آزادش

3. (5) پی آسایش مردم سرائی ساخت زینگونه

(6) که خواند آسمان از محکمیها حصن فولادش

4. (7) چو در وقت بنایش استعانت خواست از ایزد

(8) خرد زان استعانت یافته تاریخ بنیادش

5. (9) وگر تاریخ جوئی از پی اتمام این بقعه

(10) بجو از بقعهٔ خیر و به بین در کار استادش

٩٨٧ ٩٨٧

Translation.

Line on margin. God, there is no God but He, the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes Him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they comprehend not aught of His knowledge, but what He pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth and the guarding of both of them wearies Him not. And He is Exalted and Great.[5]

1. (1) During the reign of Jalâlu'd-dîn (the Dignity of the Religion) Muhammad Akbar, the victorious.
   (2) Whose (God)-gifted fortune subdued the whole world.
2. (3) The king of refined temperament (who is the) pride of religion, who always
   (4) By his liberal disposition, keeps the world bound (as a slave) through obligation
3. (5) Caused to be built a *sarâi* (mansion) for the comfort of mankind in such a way
   (6) That the sky calls it, by (virtue of) its stabilities (a) " steel castle ";
4. (7) When at the time of building it, divine help was invoked,
   (8) Wisdom found the date of construction through that (invoked) assistance,
5. (9) And if (thou) seekest the date of completion of this edifice,
   (10) Seek it in (the words) بقعهٔ خیر (the house of welfare = 987[6]) and look for it in ٩٨٧ کار استادش (the work of its expert = 987[6]). ٩٨٧

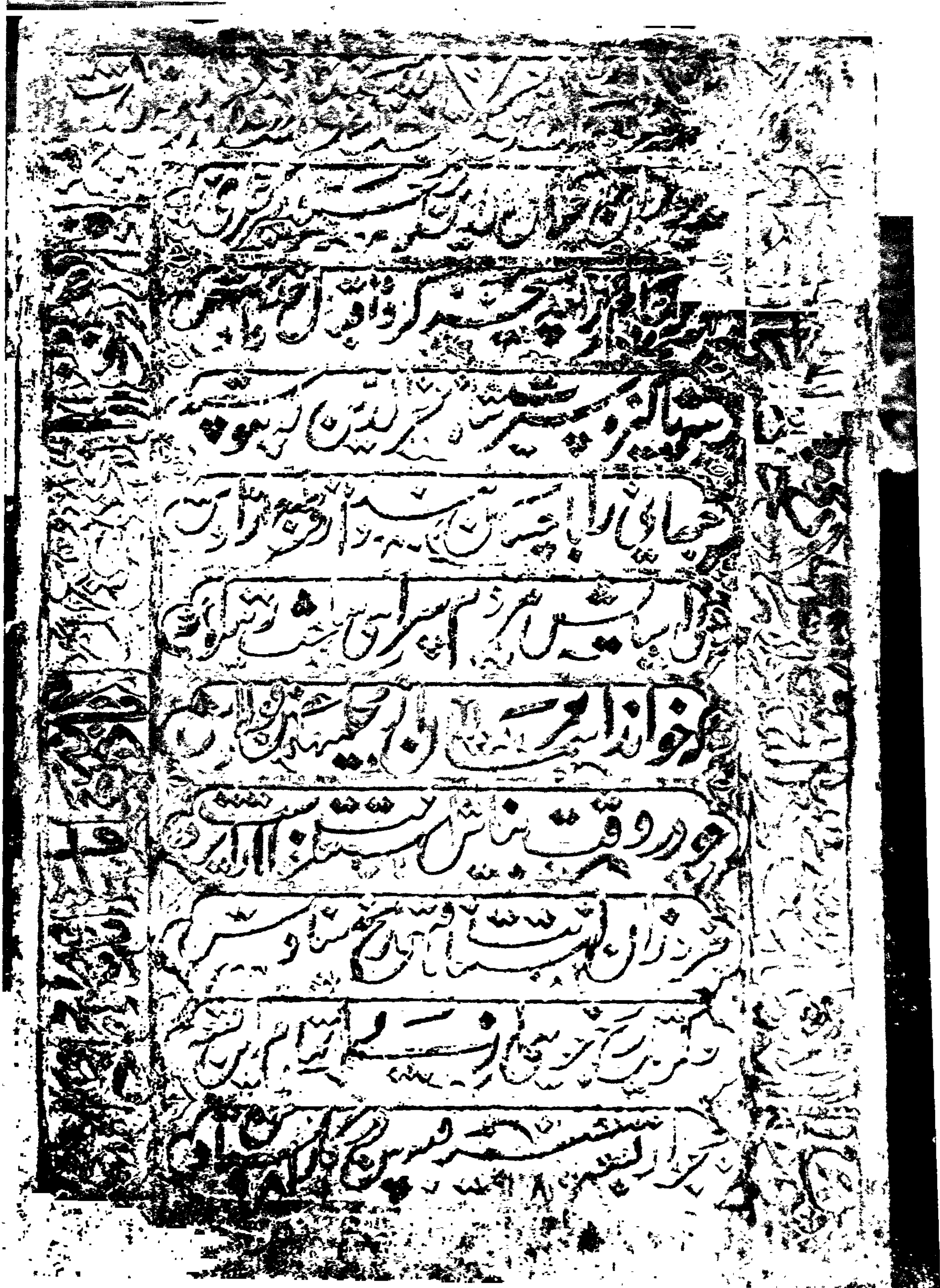
(*To be continued.*)

5 From the Qurân (Âyatu'l kursi), Sûra II. v. 255

6 According to the Abjad system.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR THE GREAT, MUGHAL EMPEROR OF DELHI, AT UJJAIN GWALIOR STATE.

A.H. 986-87 = A.D. 1578-79.



R. S. SAKSENA

THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

BY THE REV H HOSTEN, S.J

(*Continued from page* 128.)

"From what has been said it can be seen that wrong information was given to the author who, treating of the origin (*fol.* 527 ; 88*v.*) of the St. Thomas Christians, [says that it was] from the foundation of the [. . . . and . . . .] of Cranganor and [gives ?] the said Thomas Cananeo as the beginning of the St. Thomas Christians in Malavar. In this it seems that he had not full information, [since it appears ?] from very ancient traditions and reliable surmises that there were St. Thomas Christians in Malavar already before the said Cananeo. Xaram Perumal's *olla* bears clear witness to this : for it says that on the said ground of Cranganor seventy-two houses (*setenta e duas casas*) were established, which were of Christians, together with the Church, and it is clear that the said Thomas had not [other ?] people with him, since he came to trade ;[38] and, as between this arrival and the foundation of the city of Cranganor there was no longer interval than from the seventh of March to the eleventh of April,[39] it is clear that the said city could not have been built by his descendants ; hence, the fact is clear and strongly established that there were already St. Thomas Christians in Malavar, and this the other Christians who descend from the said Thomas Cananeo also confess : and also that (*assy que*) through this Thomas Our Lord greatly helped the Christians who in this Malavar were forsaken, although before and after they were sometimes visited by some Armenian pilgrims[40] who were going on a visit to the sepulchre of the Apostle St. Thomas, and some would remain at Maliapur, and others in Malavar.

"In this Church of Cranganor there was, before the coming of the Portuguese, a Bishop called Mar Johanan, of whom it is said in an old manuscript book written in Chaldean that he restored to life the sacristan of the said Church, who had died of a fall.[41] I found moreover the name of the said Thomas Cananeo among the names of the Saints which the Deacon names in the Mass, and it was said of him that he gave a large sum of money to the king of Malavar to buy that ground of Cranganor. Hence, I consider as a fable what these Christians relate, when they say that the said Thomas had a wife and a concubine,[42] from whom are descended the two kinds of Christians living in this Malavar of whom we spoke above. In the old manuscript book of prayer (*livro da resa*) of a (?) Church of Mangate[43] I found written at the end how the said book was made and written at Cranganor, where it says there were

38 It is passing strange that neither Monserrate, nor Gouvea, nor Roz in 1604, nor do Couto mentions the 400 who are said to have come from Mesopotamia with Thomas Cana, nor the vision of the Katholikos of Edessa. How is that ? When do we first hear of that vision and migration ? Certain Christian songs sung during a religious dance which I witnessed at Kottayam were full of Thomas Cana, the vision, the migration, etc. Are these songs later than 1604 ? Who will publish a translation of these songs ?

39 Bishop Roz therefore clearly understood that March 7 and April 11 belonged both to a year other than the Perumal's death on March 1, 346. We should take it that he means A.D. 345.

40 There are places in Malabar where real Armenians, not Arameans, are said to have settled. Palayur near Chavakat is one, I believe.

41 Compare with the following in F. de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Conq. 1, Div. 2, § 16 : "In this Church of Cranganor, there was, before the arrival of the Portuguese, a Bishop called Mar Johanan (Mar means Lord), who resuscitated the sacristan of the said Church, who had died from a fall. Such is the story which the *Illustrissime* Archbishop of Angamale, D. Francisco Roz of the Company of Jesus, read in an old Chaldean manuscript." It is on the authority of this passage in de Souza, who at Goa had before him the MS. now in the British Museum, that we identify our anonymous Jesuit author with Bishop Roz, appointed Bishop of Angamale by a bull of August 4, 1600.

42 There is some similarity between the stories related by the Northists about the Southists, and vice versa, and those which the Navâyats relate of the Labbâis. "The Lubbè pretend to one common origin with the Nevayets, and attribute their black complexion to inter-marriage with the natives ; but the Nevayets affirm that the Lubbè are the descendants of their domestic slaves." Wilks, *Hist. Sketches*, I. 243, quoted in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*, Lubbye.

43 *Em o liuro ãtigo da resa scritto da m ũ dhũa (?) Igr a de Mangate.*

three Churches, one of St. Thomas, another of Our Lady, and another of St. Cyriacus,[44] I say St. Quirce, a martyr-child, the son of St. Julita, and very famous (*muy celebrado*) among these Chaldeans, whose feast they celebrate on the fifteenth of July. According to the era in which the said book was written, it was written ninety-seven years before this year 1604."[45]

Diogo do Couto, who died in 1616, and was some 40 or 50 years in India writing the history of the Portuguese in the East, says :—

"Many years after that, there landed at that harbour of Patana a ship, (p. 283) in which came an Armenian Christian, called Thomé Cananeo, a very rich man : and, on meeting that king, he gave an account of himself and he gave the place of Patana for him to settle with his people, who brought their wives ; and after that the same king gave him the field of Cranganor, where now is our Fortress, where Thomé Cananeo ordered to make the Church at the place where it now is, under the invocation of the same Apostle ; and afterwards he made two others : one of the title of Our Lady, and another of St. Cyriac, Martyr. And, as the grant of these fields, which the king ordered to pass, is remarkable and declares many things which deserve knowing, it appeared good to me to put them here word for word, as they were found in certain copper-plates, to which I refer in my seventh Decada, which disappeared from the Factory of Cochin, and from them I conclude that this king was a Christian and was called Cocurangon."[46]

In his Decada 7 do Couto writes :—

(P. 14) "The Bishops whom he (St. Thomas) left in those parts of Malavar, governing that Christianity, founded Churches in the City of Cranganor and in that of Coulão, which still to-day are seen in the same places, and they keep (p. 15) in many things their memory and antiquity,[47] and, among them[48] on certain *padrões* (memorials),[49] and on plates of metal, of lands and revenues, granted by those kings for the building of those Temples, which we[50] still found in the Factory of Cochin a very few years ago,[51] which, from the beginning of that Fortress, had passed from Factor to Factor to be kept in the house.[52] And, when I wished to know about them, in order that, according to duty, we might place them in the Torre do Tombo,[53] considering they were such an ancient thing, and so greatly worth keeping and

44 Barbosa wrote before 1516 : "Further along the coast [than Chatua] is another river which forms the frontier with the Kingdom of Cochım, on the hither bank of which is a place called Cranganor [p. 89] where the King of Cochin holds certain dues. In these places dwell many Moors, Christians, and Heathen Indians. The Christians follow the doctrine of the Blessed Saint Thomas, and they hold here a Church dedicated to him, and another to Our Lady. They are very devout Christians, lacking nothing but true doctrine whereof I will speak further on, for many of them dwell from here as far as Charamandel, whom the Blessed Saint Thomas left established here when he died in these regions." Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, II. 88-89.

Correa (*Lendas da India*, I. 509) says that the Christians of Cranganore asked of Lopo Soares (1504) not to burn their Church. "Some Christians of the land came to the Captain-in-chief asking mercy, that he might not order to burn the settlement, because (p. 509) they had there a Church and crosses in their houses, being Christians of the teaching of St. Thomas ; wherewith the Captain-in-chief was pleased, and therefore he would not burn the settlement, which was depopulated, as all the people had fled with the King."

When the Portuguese came to India, "there was still in existence at Cranganore an old Christian Church called The House of St. Thomas. This was destroyed in 1536 by the troops of the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Portuguese then built two churches under the title of St Thomas and St James (*Lendas da India*)." *Trav. Man.*, II. 192.

45 1604—97 = A.D. 1507.

46 Dec. 12, l. 4, c. 5 (Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 282-283).

47 *Sua memoria e antiguidade*, *i.e.*, the memory of their antiquity.

48 Among the things of the antiquity of which they keep the memory.

49 Does he refer to *padrões* like the pillar of Quilon ?

50 Do Couto means himself.

51 *Ha bem poucos annos.*

52 *Por entrega da casa*

53 The record-room of Goa

honouring, they could no longer give an account of them, nor can the Factors who come from there give an account of them."[54]

Do Couto wrote his Decada 7, liv. 10, c. 10, in 1610. Cf. Tom. 4, Pte. 2, Lisboa, 1783, p. 528.

Mr. T. K. Joseph, in *The Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians* (*Asiatic Review*, April 1925, p. 300) writes : " In 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop, in distressful circumstances, pawned the two copper-plates to the Portuguese treasurer in Cochin, and obtained two hundred reals. . . . So says Manuel de Faria y Sousa of the seventeenth century, in his *Portuguese Asia*, vol. 2, p. 506."

Faria y Sousa was a compiler, writing in Europe. He must have found his statement somewhere, as historians, if conscientious, remain within the limits of their materials. This notwithstanding, I believe that the Jesuit of 1604, being on the spot, must be regarded as our best authority.

Father Lucena (*Hist. da vida do P. Fr. de Xavier*, Lisboa, 1600, p. 162, col. 2) speaks of "tablets of metal which were found in India in one of the first three years that Father Master Francis was in India. They presented them to the Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa, with the writing already almost spoiled by age, and the letters and the language were new to all, as they were very old. However, there was found (p. 163, col. 1) a Jew, (who as such is herein less suspect), who, being curious of antiquity, had great knowledge of it and various languages. He, though with much trouble, translated it into Portuguese. It contained the grant which the then king made to the Apostle St. Thomas, of certain fields to build a Temple and a Church on."

This discovery was therefore made in 1542–1545. St. Francis Xavier came to India with Dom Martin Affonso de Sousa, and arrived at Goa on May 16, 1542. Dom Affonso governed three years and four months, his successor leaving Lisbon on March 28, 1545. We know from his history that he visited Cochin and Quilon. Did he perhaps take these copper-plates with him to Lisbon on his return ? Other authors should be consulted on this incident, for instance Polanco's *Chronicon*, and Maffei ; but I cannot now consult these here.

As Lucena opposes this discovery to others in Narsinga, and as Cranganore and Coulam are mentioned by him immediately before as possessing ancient memorials of the St. Thomas Christians, it would seem we have here an allusion to the Thomas Cana copper-plates, and a confusion between his name and that of St. Thomas.

Three copper-plates, supposed to contain a donation of lands by Bukka Raja to the Church of St. Thomas at Mylapore, were produced by a Brahman in or before 1552 and sold for 300 pardaos. They were probably forged. A Brahman of Kanjiviram was called to decipher them. These plates are not now found at Mylapore. Where could they be ? At Cochin, Goa or Lisbon ? (Lucena, pp. 172–173 ; do Couto, Dec. 7, l. 10, c. 5, Tom. 4, Pte 2, Lisboa, 1783, pp. 482–487, where we have a translation of the three plates, which were written on one side only.)

Do Couto says that Thomas Cana's arrival was put down in A.D. 811, "as is found in the Chaldean books of these Christians ; and, from many conjectures, it seems to me that he is the king of whom St. Antoninus writes in his history that he sent every year a present of pepper to the Sovereign Pontiff."[55]

I do not think that we need pay any attention to do Couto's date of A.D. 811, no more than to de Barros, who states of the 'Sarama Pereimal,' who was said to have gone to Mecca, *i.e.*, the last Perumal, as he is generally called, that he reigned 612 years before the arrival of the Portuguese,[56] *i.e.*, in 1498—612 = A.D. 886.

54 Dec. 7, l. 1, c. 2 (Tom. 4, Pte 1, Lisboa, 1782, pp. 14-15).

55 Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 5 (Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 285). Could the passage in St. Antoninus and perhaps others like it touching the Christians in India be discovered and translated ? It might throw light on the history of the St. Thomas Christians.

56 De Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. 1, l. 9, c. 3 (Lisboa, 1777, p. 321) Do Couto's date and that of de Burros may refer correctly to later Perumals.

Do Couto himself has stated that the last Perumal, who would be the Perumal of the Thomas Cana copper-plates, ceased to reign in A.D. 347, according to the calculations of the Brahmans of Calicut, in A.D. 588 according to the Brahmans of Cochin.[57] The date A.D. 347 is remarkably close to that of the Jesuit of 1604, who gives March 1, 346, as the date of this Perumal's death. At first sight the Jesuit's date appears to be wrong by at least one year: for, if the king who welcomed Thomas Cananeo died on March 1, 1258 years before 1604, *i.e.*, on March 1, 346, how did he, as the Father also states in one place, lay the first brick of a church in April "of the said year," the year immediately preceding being A.D. 346? It is clear, however, that the Jesuit Father meant the April of 345 for this ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone. This latter date is therefore April 11, 345, and the date of the king's death is given as March 1, 346. The year 345 for Thomas Cana's arrival is the date regularly ascribed to that event by the St. Thomas Christians. They have it in a chronogram, "Shovala." Probably they had that chronogram in 1604. They, must however, have had other data to determine the time of the Perumal's death.

It is a fact that, though copper-plates were found by Col. Macaulay in the Cochin record-room in 1806, the plates of which the Jesuit (1604) and do Couto (1610) quoted similar translations, did not appear. We might, therefore, doubt whether the copper-plates of Thomas Cana were ever deposited in the Cochin record-room. If they were in that room, when do Couto saw Christian copper-plates there, it would seem that the Thomas Cana copper-plates were removed before 1599, when the Christians complained of their disappearance. The Jesuit's reflexion in 1604 that the Franciscans sent these particular plates to Portugal, "a copy of them remaining here," would be based on actual enquiry.[58] The identical translation given by the Jesuit and do Couto would be based on the copy kept by the Franciscans, or on copies from that copy. It may well be, therefore, that when do Couto saw copper-plates in the Cochin record-room, the Thomas Cana plates were not there. There is no need to think that do Couto obtained his translation on the occasion of a visit to the Cochin record-room.

My surmise is, therefore, as expressed in the *Catholic Herald of India*, December 17, 1924, p. 801, "that the Magna Charta of the Malabar Syrians lies now in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent in Portugal."

It does not mean that, before making an enquiry in Portugal, it would not be wise to examine again the Cochin record-room. Do Couto's complaints were not about the disappearance of the Thomas Cana plates only; yet, 200 years later, several Syro-Christian copper-plates supposed to have disappeared were found.

We have still to compare the story of Thomas Cana with that of another merchant in *Conversão de um Rei da India ao Christianismo. Homilia do Archanjo S. Michael por Severo Arcebispo de Antiochia. Estudo de critica e historia litteraria* por F. M. Esteves Pereira. (Lisboa, Imprensa Lucas, 93. Rua do Diario de Noticias, 1900.) There the scene is laid in India, apparently in the days of Thomas Cana, the story of the merchant Ketsôn (Qesôn, Qîsôn, after

57 Do Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. 7, l. 10, c. 10 (Tom. 4, P.te 2, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 523–525).

58 Mar Jacob had died in the Franciscan Convent of Cochin in 1549. Cf. *Travancore State Manual*, II. 169.

Fr. Nicolo Lancilotto, S.J., wrote from Cochin, Dec. 26, 1548, about Mar Jacob: "To us it appears that some heretical Christians went to China to preach, because of the similarity of their customs and ours. Here in Cochin there is a very old Harmeni (*Harmeno*) bishop, who these forty-five years has been here, teaching the things of our faith to the Christians of St. Thomas, who are in this land of Malavar. This bishop says that in the primitive Church the Hermeni went to China to preach and that they made a big Christianity there." L. Delplace, S.J., *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc primum editae*, Florentiae, 1887, p. 67. St. Francis. Xavier wrote from Cochin, Jan. 26, 1549: "A bishop of Armenia, by name Jacob Abuna, for forty-five years has served God and Your Highness in these parts, a very old, a virtuous and a holy man. . . . He is noticed only by the Fathers of St. Francis and they take so good care of him that nothing more is wanted." *Trav. Man.*, II. 157.

baptism Matthew) of Qonya, of his wife Helena, and of his four sons (John, Stephen, Joseph, and Daniel) being possibly a mixture of the story of the merchant Thomas Cana and that of Meropius and his nephews Frumentius and Edesius. King Kasititos or Kesanthos, before whom a dead man is brought to life to establish the innocence of Ketsôn's sons, would be the king of Kerala or Malabar: for doubtless Ketsôn's story resembles greatly that of Thomas Cana. The moment king Kesanthos, at the instigation of Ketsôn's son, John, wrote to Emperor Constantine the Great for a bishop from his dominions, John, the Archbishop of Edessa (*sic*), came to India with three deacons and a priest, the homily goes on to say, and with church-books and ornaments. He built a church at the king's capital and baptised the king and his people. Next he ordained John, Ketsôn's son, a bishop, one of his brothers a priest, and the two others deacons. Agelas or Echillas, the king's son, was also ordained a deacon. After that the Archbishop of Ephesus returned home.

This story is found in a Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic text, and, according to E. Drouin, writing to Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira (18-11-1900), it is also found in a Georgian chronicle. No Greek, Syriac, or Armenian text is yet known to exist. The homily in which it is found is, it would seem, falsely attributed to Severus, Archbishop of Antioch (A.D. 512), who died in exile at Alexandria in Egypt (A.D. 539). The author of the homily says he had the story from trustworthy persons. If Constantine, who reigned from A.D. 308 to 337, was really written to, and if the identification of Thomas Cana with the merchant Ketsôn of Qonya could with sufficient plausibility be established, we should have to shift Thomas Cana's arrival in Malabar to a period somewhat earlier than the generally accredited date A.D. 345, and the homily would contain proofs of the existence in India of Christians and of a bishop before Ketsôn's arrival at Kesanthos' capital, the name of which, Qalonya, in the Coptic text, appears to be identifiable with Coulam, Quilon, the country of Philippois (Coptic text), where it was, being perhaps the country of the Pahlavas. I have translated into English the whole of Senhor F. M. Esteves Pereira's study, and hope to publish it with the necessary comments as a contribution to the Thomas Cana episode.

In 1599 there was at least one more set of copper-plates which was not deposited in the Cochin Factory, but was in the treasury of the Tevalikara Church, near Quilon.

Let me quote Gouvea's *Jornada*:—

"To the increase secured by their descent from the Armenian Thome and the privileges he obtained, was added another, which greatly enhanced the Christian community. It was this. Not many years after the foundation of Coulão (that is the era by which the Malavars count, as this city was the noblest (*nobilissima*) among the people of Malavar: for just as we count our era from the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so do they count the year of the foundation of Coulão: hence, the year in which we are, that is the year six hundred and two,[59] is for them the year seven hundred and eighty from the foundation of Coulão):[60] at this time there came from Babylonia two Chaldeans, (*Fol. 5r. col.* 1) Mar Xabro and Mar Prod, who, it is understood, were Nestorians by sect, and they went to Coulão, where the king received them with many favours, because he saw them much honoured by the Christians. And he

59 Understand 1602.

60 *Sic.* We expect 783, as the occasion for the era should be computed to fall in A.D. 825. The occasion for the era is far from clear. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Quilon, will not admit that Quilon did not previously exist. There must be question of a new foundation or the foundation of something new. The *Madurattala-Varalaru* (Account of the Sacred City of Madura) dates a certain fact in Sālivāhana Śaka 1246, 501 years "after the destruction of Kollam". Cf. *Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1924, p. 108. This would place the fact in 1246 + 78 = A.D. 1324. But 501 + 825 gives A.D. 1326, or 2 years in excess. The author of this chronicle wrote in A.D. 1801, and, as he did not compute the beginning of the Kollam era correctly, his explanation about the origin of the era, a destruction of Kollam, is perhaps to be neglected. Might not the occasion have been the dedication of a church or a new settlement of the Christians under Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh, as Yule suspected?

allowed them to build Churches and temples in the places where they might choose, and to make Christians of those who wished to be : wherewith they made many and much increased the Christianity ; wherefore, the king gave them a site at Coulão to build a Church, in the same place where the Portuguese have it to-day, and much revenue for it, together with many great privileges for the whole Christianity ; which privileges were written on *ollas* of copper, like the *ollas* of Cranganor, in different letters and characters, Malavar, Canarin, and of the Tamul, and letters of Bisnagaa. And at Tevelacare these *ollas* were produced and shown to the Archbishop by the Christians, among the most precious things of the Church, as inestimable treasures of their honours and privileges. For all these things these Christians regard these two Chaldeans as holy men, and call them *gadejagal*, which, in their language means "the saints," and twice every day make the commemoration of them in their divine office, and they have dedicated many Churches to them : all which, at the Synod, the Archbishop suppressed, ordering that they should not pray to them, since it was not allowable to reverence as saints men of whom no one knew who they were or how they had died and lived, and since there was much probability and indications that they were Nestorian by sect, having come from its fountain-head, Babylonia, and had been received by these peoples ; for they were of the same sect as that which they professed." (Fol. 4v, col. 2—Fol. 5r, col. 1.)

De Glen, the French translator of Gouvea's *Jornada*, has a curious mistranslation, which on former occasions, when I could not consult the Portuguese text of 1606, gave me much trouble. De Glen says of the privileges that they "were engraved on copper-plates (as we have said those of Cranganor were) in different forms of characters, Malabar, Canarin, of Tamul, in letters also of Busnagaa, which (*lesquelles*) were translated in the Tanalerate tongue ; and these plates were exhibited and shown to the Lord Archbishop."[61]

The relative '*lesquelles*' can refer to the 'plates' or to the 'letters'. The only word with which I could compare 'Tanalerate' was 'Tolinate' in Duarte Barbosa,[62] *i.e.*, Tulu-nada, Tuluva, *i.e.*, Tulu of S. Canara. I now find that de Glen has grossly misunderstood his text, as he often does, to the extent that one should never use him for translation. The words "which were translated in the Tanalerate tongue . . . . " correspond to the Portuguese "*as quais em Tevelecare forzam trazidas, and mostradas ao Arcebispo*"; and this means : "which (copper-plates) at Tevalecare were brought out, and shown to the Archbishop." De Glen read "*traduzidas*," "translated," when it was a question of bringing the plates out of the church treasury, which in Malabar is an enormous safe, often as big as a room.

When Archbishop de Menezes left the Church of Tevalikara, in the kingdom of the queen of 'Changanate', to go to 'Gandara', "the Christians brought to him, for him to see, three big copper *ollas* written in divers characters, which contained many privileges and revenues, which the king who founded Coulão (Quilon) gave to the Church which the two who came from Babylonia, Mar Xarão and Mar Prodh, built there, as we said above : which *ollas* the Christians of this Church keep as an inestimable Treasure. And so, before showing them to the Archbishop, they asked him to swear never to take them from that Church ; and he did so : for they feared he might take them to Angamalle, because it is the headquarters of the Bishopric, where its Archives are. And about others, like these, granted to the Church at Cranganor, (*Fol. 91r, col.* 1) the Christians complained that they were lost in the hands of the Portuguese in the factory of Cochin, where an Archbishop of the Serra, Mar Jacob, deposited them on a certain occasion. And they value these *ollas* so highly, because in them are contained their privileges and honours, in which they want the Malavar Kings ever to maintain them. And each one was two palms long and four fingers broad,

61 J. B. de Glen, *Hist. Orientale des grans progrès* . . . . . . Bruxelles, 1609, p. 21.
62 Dames, *Duarte Barbosa*, I. 182.

and was written on both sides ; and all three hang from an iron ring." (Gouvea, *Jornada*, 1606, fol. 97r—97v.

While I was at Quilon, at the end of January 1924, I motored to Tevalikara, to inquire about these copper-plates : but, as in the time of Fra Paulino, no one there knew anything of them. From the description given, some one in Malabar might be able to tell us whether these plates are possibly any of those now known to exist.

Friar Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo sought in vain for the Quilon and Tevalikara plates mentioned by Anquetil Du Perron. He writes:—

"Matay Matay, a Cassanar, born at Angamaly, and secretary at Verapoli to Dom Florentius a Jesu, Bishop of Areopolis, wrote *Lives of Saints*. But uncertain and supposititious is a copy of the privileges granted by Emperor Ceramperumal to the Christians of St. Thomas, which Anquetil du Perron produces in his *Zend-Avesta*, *Dics. prél.* p. clxx sqq., as having been received from that priest in 1758 (*p. 197*). For :

"1. D. Florentius, Bishop of Areopolis, in his letter to Anquetil, does not mark the place whence that copy was taken, or where it was found.

"2. La Croze and Raulin, in his history of the Diamper Synod (ch. 1, p. 8), tell openly and clearly that the copper-plates, on which were written the privileges of the Christians granted by Ceramperumal, were lost through the carelessness of the Portuguese Procurator, with whom Mar Jacob the Bishop had deposited them. Such too is the general tradition of the learned in Malabar.

"3. The Christians never produced this copy before the king of Cochin and of Travancore, when there was question of the privileges [of the Christians], of their infraction, of the dignity of the Christians, or the honour of the churches, or when any persecution was moved against the churches.

"4. I made a diligent enquiry for these privileges at Collam and at Tevelicare, where Anquetil had thought these writings were hiding, and I could not find them.

"Therefore, that copy of the Priest Matay is uncertain and supposititious, like two apocryphal letters by him : one of the Blessed Virgin Mary, written to St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, and another of the B. V. M. to the people of Messina, which Matay circulated (*venditabat*) as true and genuine at Verapoli."[63]

Friar Paulinus is mistaken if he thought there could not be copies, more or less exact, of the privileges granted to Thomas Cana. In 1924 the Rev. Fr. J. Panjikaran and Mr. T. K. Joseph collected in a short time 13 versions of these privileges. I am afraid many are not genuine, and have been made to air the peculiar views of the Northists against the Southists, and *vice versâ*. One such version which came to light at Goduruti during my journey would have deserved being printed at once. Will it be suppressed, because it recites the origin of most of the Seven Churches of St. Thomas and attributes them to Thomas Cana? St. Thomas' claim on India is built on stronger grounds than the Seven Churches. Such is precisely the state of the St. Thomas Christians that, if the publication of the different versions of these privileges now current were attempted, it might be viewed by one section of the community as an attack on their dignity. All the old antipathy of Southists and Northists would blaze up again, and who knows whether new faked documents would not be produced ! There is still a class of professional bards, who go about the houses of Christians singing these privileges, and from whom variants of the privileges could be extracted. These songs should be compared, translated, published on their own merits, and without any regard for the susceptibilities of

63 Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794, pp. 195-196.

"From him [Bishop Florentius] Du Perron got a Sanscrit (?) version of the copper-plate grant by Cheraman Perumal to the Syrian Christians. Du Perron showed this to a Syrian priest at Mattancheri, who in bad Portuguese gave him an oral translation, which Du Perron produces at page 175 of his book [*Zendavesta*]. This version in no way resembles the Portuguese version which has already been given."—*Trav. Man.*, II, 193.

certain classes of the Christian community. We complain of the dearth of materials for a history of the Malabar Churches. The materials are plentiful. They are to be found in songs, religious or patriotic, in the songs of the different churches, for many churches have a song of their own recording their beginning, their traditions, etc. The scholars in Malabar now know that they can compare the present songs or versions of the privileges of Thomas Cana with a copy published by Anquetil Du Perron. An English translation of Du Perron's contents of the plates was sent by me to Mr. T. K. Joseph for study and comment. The contents appear to be valuable.

Friar Paulinus' reflections on M. tay Matay's two apocryphal letters are unjustified. That priest may have thought these two letters genuine. They may have been current in Syria and Malabar as they were in the West. The Epistle of the B. V. M. to St. Ignatius Martyr has only nine lines in the Fabricius edition of the apocrypha. It exhorts to faith and courage. Equally short is the letter to the people of Messina : it conveys an exhortation to faith and a blessing.

To suppose that Matay's copy of the privileges was supposititious is ungenerous. We cannot imagine that the present copies of these privileges of Thomas Cana all derive from Matay's copy, or that the institution of the bards is posterior to Matay.

Two Portuguese versions of the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

Bishop Roz' version.

Coquarangon seia prosperado e tenha longa uida e uiua cõ mil annos, diuino, seruo de D's, forte, uerdadeiro, iusto, cheo de boas obras, racionauel, poderoso sobre toda a tr. a, ditoso, uẽçedor, glorioso, prospero no ministerio de D's direitam. te, no Malauar na cidade gr.de do grãde Idolo. Pejnãdo elle no tẽpo de Mercurio de feu.ro no dia septimo do mes de Março ãtes de lũa chea o mesmo Rej Coquarangon estando ẽ Carnel[ur] chegou Thome Cananeo homẽ prĩcipal ẽ hũa nao determinado de uer a derradr.a parte de Oriente. E uẽdoo algũs homẽs como chegara foraõ [a] diser a Elrej. E ueo o mesmo Rej, e uio e chamou ao dito Thome homẽ principal, e desẽbarcou, e ueo diãte delRej, o qual falou cõ elle amigauelm.te e lhe poz sobrenome p.a o honrar, o seu proprio, chamãdoo Coquarangon Cananeo. E elle recebeo delRej esta hõra e foy se apousar no seu **(Fol. 87v)** lugar. E elRey lhe deu a cidade de Magoderpatanam p.a todo sẽpre. E estãdo o dito Rej nesta gr.de prosperid.e foy hũ dia a caça ao mato, e o mesmo Rej cercou [o] mato todo. E chamou de pressa a Thome, o qual veo, e esteue diãte delRej ẽ hora ditosa. E pergũtou ElRej ao diuinhador. E depois falou ElRej cõ Thome, q' edifica[ria] hũa cidade naquelle mato. E respondeo aelRej[64] fazẽdolhe p.ro reuerẽcia, e disse: Eu quero este mato p.a mĩ.

Do Couto's version.

Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 5, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 283-285.

Copia da doação que ElRey do Malavar fez a Thomé Cananeo.

Cocurangon seja prosperado, e tenha longa vida, e viva com mil annos, divino servo de Deos, forte, verdadeiro, cheio de boas obras, racionavel, poderoso, **(P. 284)** sobre toda a terra, ditoso, vencedor, glorioso, prospero no ministerio de Deos direitamente. No Malavar na Cidade do grande idolo, reinando elle em tempo de Mercurio, no dia setimo do mez de Março antes da Lua cheia, o mesmo Rey Cocurangon, estando em Cor[...]lur, chegou Thomé Cananeo, homem principal, em huma náo com determinação de ver a derradeira terra do Oriente, e vendo-o chegar alli, deram recado ao Rey, que o mandou ir perante si, fallou com elle amigavelmente, e lhe deo o seu proprio nome, chamando-se dalli por diante Cocurangon Cananeo a quem ElRey deo a Cidade Patana pera tudo sempre. E estando este Rey em sua grande prosperidade, foi um dia á caça e mandou cercar o mato, tendo comsigo o Thomé Cananeo, e fallou ElRey com hum grande Astrologo, que lhe aconselhou que désse todo aquelle mato, que era grande, ao Cananeo, como fez, que elle mandou logo roçar, e alimpar. Foi isto no mesmo anno, em que alli aportou aos onze dias do mez

[64] First, alRej

E o Rej lho cõcedeo, e deu p.a todo sempre. E logo outro dia alimpou aquelle mato e pôz os olhos nelle no mesmo anno a onze de Abril, e deo por herãça a Thome ẽ tẽpo, e dia ditoso, ẽ nome delRej, o qual pôz o pr. o *tijolo[65] p.a a Igr.a e p.a a casa de Thome Cananeo, e fez alli hua cidade a todos e ẽtrou na Igr.a e fez alli oraçaõ no mesmo dia, depois destas cousas Thome mesmo foy aos passos delRej e lhe offereçeo presẽtes e depois disto dice alRej, q̃ lhe desse a elle e a seus desçẽdẽtes aquella t ra. E medeu dozẽtos e sesenta e quatro covados de Elefante, e deu a Thome, e as seus desçẽdẽtes p.a todo sempre. E iũtamẽte setẽta e duas casas, q̃ alli se fizeraõ logo, e hortas, e arvores, cõ seus circuitos, e cõ seus caminhos e terminos e pateos interiores. E cõcedeolhe sete modos de instromẽtos muzicos e todas as honras, e falar (?), e andar como Rej, e nas bodas faserẽ as molheres certo sinal cõ o dedo na boca, e cõcedeo lhe pezo distincto, e ornar o chaõ cõ panos, e cõcedeolhe abanos reales, e dobrar o sandal no braço, e tabernaculo . . . . eal (?) ẽ toda parte de seu Rejno p.a todo sempre, e afora disto cinco tributos a Thome, e a sua geraçaõ, e a seus cõfederados p.a homẽs e p.a molheres e p.a [to]d[os] seus parẽtes e aos f.os de sua lej p.a todo sempre. O dito Rej ẽ seu nome o deu testemunhas estes principes . . . .
(*The rest as above in the translation.*)

de Abril. E neste mato mandou logo o Cananeo fabricar huma Igreja, em que ElRey lançou a primeira pedra, e assim fundou alli huma mui arrezoada Cidade, e deo a ElRey muitos, e mui ricos presentes; pelo que o Rey lhe (**P. 285**) concedeo mais sete modos de instrumentos musicos, e todas as honras que se faziam ao mesmo Rey. E concedeo-lhe mais poder pera em suas bodas poderem as mulheres fazer certo sinal com o dedo na boca. que só as mulheres dos Reys podem fazer. Concedeo-lhe mais pezo distinto sobre seu real, e todas as mais, como a sua propria pessoa, e que pudesse pôr abanos a seu povo. As testimunhas que estavam assignadas nestas pastas sam as seguintes: Cadaxerivandi, Cheracaru. Putanchate, Comese. porteiro mór de ElRey, Arcundem Coundem. do seu Conselho, Amenate, Condem, Gerulem, Capitão do campo, Chiranmala Portati Resvoramen, Regedor da banda do Oriente no Malavar, e outros muitos que deixo por fugir prolixidade.

(*To be continued.*)

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE UPANISADS.

BY UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

(*Continued from page 92.*)

We have seen thus far that the manner in which Deussen and others are building a *modern* philosophy of the *Upanisads*, implies a more or less arbitrary choice and is not free from ambiguity. It is further open to question whether a modern philosophy of the *Upanisads*, as distinguished from, and as independent of, the *Vedânta-sûtras*, is not altogether an anomaly, leading to unintended misconceptions. We ought not to forget that the attempt of Deussen and others is not the earliest attempt to construct a philosophy out of the *Upanisads*. The *Vedânta-sûtras* themselves are another such attempt—the most important, the most classical and the most authoritative of such attempts. Our analysis of the situation, it may be hoped, has given us this result that the philosophy of the *Upanisads* as it is usually presented to us is not, strictly speaking, a homogeneous system. Either we have the philosophy of this or that group of *Upanisads*—a group, be it remembered, formed more or less according to our taste, or according to materials available to us;—or we have what is incorporated in the *Vedânta-sûtras*. The most authentic and historical philosophy of the

[65] This word, blurred in the text, is repeated more clearly in the margin.

Upanisads is what is contained in these *Sûtras*. If we take the liberty of going beyond the *Sutras*, we may find ourselves landed in a congeries of philosophies, instead of being blessed with a truer synthesis.

Even the interpretation that we find in the *Sûtras*, was a gradual growth. We have evidence within the *Sutras* themselves that the interpretation of the *Upanisads* attempted therein was not a sudden discovery which flashed from the brain of one man; on the contrary, we have evidence that it was a gradual and perhaps a slow process, which ultimately culminated in the system that we find in the *Sutras*.

The nucleus of this system is of course those *Sûtras* which refer to specific texts of the *Upanisads* and interpret them. The texts are not *named* in the *Sûtras*, but the commentators are almost always unanimous as to which of the texts the author of the *Sutras* has in view in any particular place. Thus *Sûtras* i. 1. 22, etc., refer to specific texts; but it is interesting to note that, though they otherwise belong to different schools, both Śaṅkara and Râmânuja in explaining these and similar *Sûtras* quote, almost without exception, the identical passages of the *Upanisads*.

These *Sûtras* of Interpretation, as we were saying, are the nucleus of the system. The *Sûtras* which discuss rival systems of thought and attempt to refute them (*e.g.*, ii. 1. 1. etc.), are logically an added buttress to the system, and chronologically, may have been later. It may even be supposed that these latter *Sûtras* increased in number and variety, as attacks began to be made upon the system from different quarters.

Even so far as the interpretation of the *Sûtras* go, there are signs of a gradual growth. In different connections, the author of the *Sûtras* refers to earlier authorities by name, obviously implying that there have been other interpreters of the Upanisadic texts before him. Thus in *Sûtra* i. 1. 24 *et seq.*, the author proposes to ascertain the meaning of *Chândogya*, v. 11, especially the expression 'Vaiśvânara' used therein (*cf.* Śaṅkara and Râmânuja): and incidentally he refers to three other earlier interpreters, *viz.*, Jaimini (i. 1. 28), Âśmarathya (i. 1. 29), and also Bâdari (i. 1. 30)—the last being the name of his father (*cf.* Pâṇini, iv. 1. 101).

Again, in i. 4. 19 *et seq.*, while deciphering the meaning of the word 'Âtman' in *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Up.*, iv. 5. 6 (*cf.* Śaṅkara, Râmânuja and Vallabha), he again refers to Âśmarathya (i. 4. 20) and also to Audulomi (i. 4. 21) and Kâśakṛtsna (i. 4. 22).

There are two other teachers to whom a reference is made in the *Sûtras*. These are Kârṣṇâjini (iii. 1. 9) and Âtreya (iii. 4. 44). The first is referred to in connection with the interpretation of the passage, *Chândogya*, v. 10. 7; and the second name is cited in connection with a particular doctrine involved in passages like *Br. Up.* i. 3. 28, *Ch.* ii. 3. 2, etc. All these references show that the author of the *Vedânta-sûtras* was heir to a more or less unbroken tradition of interpretation of the Upanisadic texts.

Besides these *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa and the authorities quoted by him, other attempts at interpretation of the *Upanisads* also appear to have been made. For instance, there is a *Gîtâ* called the *Brahma-gîtâ*, which devotes several of its chapters to an interpretation and summarisation of the teachings of some of the leading *Upanisads*. These stray attempts may have preceded or may have followed the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa; but they have all been eclipsed and overshadowed by the *Sûtras*. And to-day these *Sûtras* represent the acme of all traditional attempts of ancient and medieval India to understand and to explain the *Upanisads*. Have we any right to overlook this classical attempt in building our own theories?

We have perhaps been encouraged in such an attempt by the divergence of views of the interpreters of these *Sûtras*. But we should not ignore the fact that even these divergent interpreters, though they had their own individual systems to build, yet took their start invariably from the *Sûtras*. They knew the texts of the *Upanisads* well enough. Deussen's statement that Śaṅkara 'had in his hands no collection of *Upanisads*' (*op. cit.*, p. 31), is misleading.

It cannot be insinuated that Śaṅkara did not *know* the *Upaniṣads* he was quoting from; Deussen's meaning seems to be that Śaṅkara regarded the *Upaniṣads* 'as still forming the concluding chapters of their respective *Brâhmaṇas*', and that he was, therefore, wrong. Even if this be Deussen's contention, it is difficult to support him. The *Upaniṣads* came to be regarded as independent books very much later than the date of their birth: and some of them still continue to be regarded as 'the concluding chapters of their respective *Brâhmaṇas*'. Deussen gives no reason for thinking that originally they were *not* part of a *Brâhmaṇa* or a *Mantra* text.[2] In some cases no doubt the *Brâhmaṇa* has been lost, though the corresponding *Upaniṣad* has been preserved. At least one *Upaniṣad*, viz., the *Îśâ*, forms part of an important *Mantra* text (*i.e.* the White Yajus). So, the tendency to regard the *Upaniṣads* as independent products implies a defiance of all accepted tradition and is not so easily supported. This is, however, by the way. [*Cf. Jaimini-sûtra*, ii. 1. 33].

It cannot but be conceded that the commentators of the *Sûtras* knew the texts of the *Upaniṣads* and knew them no less than we do. Yet, each having his own system of thought to develop, all of them—Śaṅkara and Râmânuja and Vallabha and Madhva—build their systems on the *Sûtras*. The *Sûtras* were not regarded as *revealed* like the *Upaniṣads*: their authority was only the authority of a great name; it was not absolute and infallible. The *Sûtras* themselves refer to earlier interpreters of the texts. And just as before the *Sûtras*, independent interpreters of the texts proceeded on their own lines, there was nothing forbidding a similar procedure after the *Sûtras*. They were not part of the sacred texts. Just as a modern interpreter ignores the *Sûtras* and puts his own meaning upon the texts, Sankara or Râmânuja or Vallabha might have done exactly the same without being guilty of heterodoxy. In fact, Sankara and several others have commented on the *Upaniṣads* as independent books and as the ultimate sources of Vedântic knowledge. Yet when they had to build their systems of philosophy, they took the *Sûtras* as the common foundation, though there was nothing to bind them to such a procedure. This is an important and interesting fact: and its significance should have been sufficiently stressed.

We should recollect in this connection that the *Vedânta* is the most orthodox, the most sacred and the most Brâhmaṇical of all the philosophies of ancient India. The so-called Kṣatriya origin of the *Upaniṣads* is an unproven hypothesis: the *Upaniṣads* are as integral a part of the Brâhmaṇical culture as the *Vedâs* themselves. And the *Vedânta* is the system that is built exclusively on sacred texts (*cf. Sutra*, ii. 1. 11). It is the system that paid the greatest homage to the orthodox Brâhmanical organisation of caste (*varṇa*) and stages of life (*âśrama*). (*Cf. Sûtras*: i. 3. 34, iii. 4. 17, 19; etc.) And this is the system in which the continuity of Vedic culture has been preserved most of all. This characterisation of the *Vedânta* is not affected by the fact that the *Pûrva-mîmâṁsâ* of Jaimini is an equally orthodox system, being also based on sacred texts and being concerned with the interpretation of another section of Vedic literature. In spite of difference in the value assigned to *Karma*, the system of Jaimini cannot claim to be *more* orthodox than the *Vedânta*. On the contrary, the *Vedânta* may rightfully claim that it is a necessary complement to the system of Jaimini, which is, therefore, incomplete in itself.

The *Pûrva-mîmâṁsâ* has been the philosophical back-ground of the *Smṛtis*, which regulate the rituals and external formalities of the religious life of a Hindu. It is based on the *Brâhmaṇas*, to explain which it employs canons of interpretation enunciated by itself. It is certainly not opposed to the *Vedas*; and to that extent it is of course orthodox: and the advocates and supporters of this system to this day have been far more numerous than those of the *Vedânta*. But it has ignored the *Upaniṣads*—not a negligible branch of the revealed literature. It had to ignore them, because their attitude towards Vedic Liturgy was not

2 Deussen, however, expresses a modified view about this matter in the Introduction to his *System of the Vedânta*.

free from suspicion. And that was exactly the strong point of the *Vedânta*. The *Vedânta* recognised the system of Jaimini, even quoted from him and the texts on which his system was based; but at the same time, exposed its limitations. Besides, the *Vedânta* gave full weight to the *Upanisads*. It thus included more of the Vedic lore within its scope than any other system.

In the *Vedânta-sutras*, the more or less unbroken continuity of interpretation of the *Upanisads* has found a perfect form of expression. This is why all subsequent system-builders of the Vedânta School, instead of going straight to the original sources in the *Upanisads*,—which they knew well enough,—preferred to build on the common and undisputed foundation of the *Sutras*.

The prestige of these *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana was unique. The authoritative character of his interpretation of the *Upanisads* is further evidenced by the fact that even those who did not, strictly speaking, belong to the *Vedânta* School, considered him well worth quoting. And his authority was sometimes enough for a philosophical tenet. In the *Bhakti-sutras* of Sândilya, we find copious references to the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana. Thus, Sândilya i. 1. 4, i. 2. 17, ii. 1 4, and iii. 1. 7 refer respectively to *Vedânta-sûtras* i. 1. 7, i. 1. 1, iv. 1. 3, and i. 1 2. Besides, Svapnesvara, the commentator of Sândilya, quotes several other *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa in the course of elucidating his author Original *Srutis* also are quoted; but Bâdarâyaṇa's authority is not only never challenged, but his interpretation is quoted approvingly: and this, in spite of the fact that his *Sûtras* were not considered 'Apauruseya' or as of non-human origin. This shows the unshakeable position that the *Sûtras* had established for themselves.

It is no doubt true that by no stretch of imagination can the *Sûtras* be understood to refer to *all* the *Upanisads*. But that in itself ought to be a warning to us against taking the liberty of forming any group that we like of the *Upanisads* and then basing a philosophy upon it. If the *Sûtras* have avoided reference to any of the *Upanisads*, the question ought to be decided first how far they are entitled to our consideration at all, before admitting their claim to contribute to a philosophy of the *Upanisads*. It is an admitted fact that a large number of the *Upanisads* owe their origin to sectarian movements—that is to say, to a recrudescence or innovation of sect-deities and their cults. And some of the *Upanisads* again are but off-shoots of the original texts of *Brahma-vidyâ*. These latter say very little that is original, *i.e.*, very little that is not found in the earlier and more authentic *Upanisads*. (*Cf.* Deussen, *op. cit.*, p. 9.) For instance, the *Mahâvâkya-upanisad*, as the very name signifies, is only an elucidation of the experience implied in the 'great saying' (*mahâvâkya*) of Uddâlaka in Ch. Up. vi. 8, viz. "Tattvamasi"—'That thou art'. *Upanisads* of this class have little to contribute towards building up a philosophy of the *Upanisads*. And as to those that are unmistakeably sectarian, obviously they have no right to take a share in the construction of a philosophy of *Brahma-vidyâ*. For instance, what right has the *Rudrâksa-jâbâla-upanisad*,—which, as the very name implies, is but a dissertation on the efficacy of wearing a *rudrâksa* (the berry of the Eleocarpus), a peculiar kind of seed, which is worn on the arm or neck or ear by certain orthodox people—what right has such a book as this to be considered in connection with the construction of a *philosophy* of the *Upanisads*?

Evidently some of the *Upanisads* have to be excluded from our consideration in building up a philosophy of the *Upanisads*. As to which should be excluded and which not, the *Sûtras*, we contend, are our best and most authentic guide. Our choice is practically limited to the *Upanisads*, to which the *Sûtras* have been or can be understood to have referred.

Now, that being so, is there any other philosophy of the *Upanisads* but what is contained in the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa? Is there anything in the *Upanisads* which has not been

touched upon by the *Sûtras*? Or, is there anything in the *Sûtras* for which the authority of some text or other of the *Upaniṣads* cannot be cited? These facts warrant us in concluding that the most scientific and historically the most accurate interpretation of the *Upaniṣads* is to be looked for in the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana. They contain the entire philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* in a nutshell.

We shall probably be confronted here with the objection that the *Sûtras* do not tell their own meaning and commentators have differed as to what they exactly mean. Our answer to this is that modern interpreters of the *Upaniṣads* also have differed, and the commentators of the *Sûtras* have not differed so hopelessly that nothing common can be found in them. On the contrary, in most essential things, they agree. The most important points in which they disagree are questions regarding the reality of the individual soul and the world, and consequently their relation with Brahma. As to the causality of Brahma, the course of the evolution of the world, the means for the attainment of Brahma and similar things, there is little, if any, difference between one school and another. Even in cases where they differ, they quote mostly the same passages from the *Upaniṣads* and differ only in the construction put upon them, just as modern interpreters do with regard to passages of the *Upaniṣads*. Surely, we do not avoid such differences by simply overlooking the *Sûtras*.

Again, as to the passages meant in any particular *Sutra*, the commentators show little, if any, divergence at all. If a commentator could say that in a particular *Sûtra* (say, i. 3. 12), one particular passage was meant rather than another, it would serve his purpose as the exponent of a particular theory better than otherwise. Yet curiously enough, by a *Sûtra* he understands reference to the self-same texts as his adversary, and has to distinguish himself from his opponent only by the meaning read into the passages. Had Deussen been aware of this striking agreement among the commentators of the *Sutras* as to the texts referred to by them, he would not have expressed any doubt as to the fact that the exclusion of certain *Upaniṣads* from the *Sûtras*—or, rather, the limitation of the *Sûtras* to some only of the *Upaniṣads*,—was not due to Śaṅkara or to any other commentator individually (*vide* Deussen, *op. cit.*, p. 32), but to tradition already firmly established and scrupulously adhered to, and never departed from afterwards. And if he had known this, it may well be doubted if he would have thought it worth his while to venture upon a separate philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* at all.

It is remarkable that if we adhere to the proper texts, we arrive at more or less the same conclusion which the *Sûtras* have reached. To take one example: Deussen in his philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* discusses the doctrine of transmigration (p. 332); he refers there to the identical passages (*viz. Ch.* v. 3-10; *Br.* vi. 2; *Kaus.* i. 2; etc), to which the *Sûtras* refer (*cf. Sûtra* iii. 1). And Deussen's own *Vedânta* also gives the identical version. This shows that there is little justification for thinking of a separate philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* as distinguished from the system of the *Vedânta-sûtras*. Or, to put it differently, the most correct and scientific interpretation of the Philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* is to be traced in the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa. They constitute the most rational starting point for all who would know the right meaning of the *Upaniṣads*.

The *Sûtras* constitute an important landmark in the history of the interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*. All the threads of earlier interpretation are gathered up in them and are woven into a fabric upon which all subsequent thinkers of the school have rested their doctrines. It is not difficult—and certainly not impossible—to get at the true meaning of the *Sûtras*. The commentators agree as to the passages of the *Upaniṣads* that are referred to in any of the *Sûtras*; they generally differ only as to what these actually mean. In some cases, no doubt, a difference also exists among them as to the meaning of a *Sutra* itself; and sometimes even a *Sûtra* is admitted by one, but is rejected by another; and occasionally they also disagree as to how a particular *Sûtra* should be constructed. But these are very rare instances

and do not present insuperable difficulties. And in spite of these minor differences, a generally admitted common system of thought can be deciphered in the *Sûtras*, even against the manifest diversities of views of the commentators. In most cases, the difference of view is due to the cryptic and equivocal character of the Upaniṣadic texts themselves, and such differences, we repeat, we cannot escape by attempting our own interpretation.

These considerations lead but to one conclusion: A philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* as *distinguished* from the philosophy of the *Vedânta-sûtras*, is either meaningless or is not necessary. It is liable to be misconstrued. We are certainly free to dilate upon the texts of the *Upaniṣads* or upon any individual book of this literature; but a *philosophy* of the *Upaniṣads* cannot be something other than the philosophy of the *Vedânta*. No such philosophy has been attempted in India after the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa. Independent thinkers must have needed it, and would certainly have attempted it, if they had only felt that such an attempt was justifiable. And in modern times, a philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* involves an arbitrary selection of texts and has less justification for ignoring the authority of the *Sûtras*. For any philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, therefore, the indispensable nucleus is to be found in the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyana.

It is not suggested here that the *Upaniṣads* should remain a sealed book for us. We have every right to study them—to scrutinise their literary merit and the suggestions they throw out for the construction of philosophies. They are the fountain-head that has continued to feed all the currents of Vedantic thought in India: and as such their value is immense. But the *Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa are the sheet-anchor for any stable *philosophy* of the *Upaniṣads*.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE NIRUKTA, by HANNES SKOLD. Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup: London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press: 1926.

It is not easy to review a vocabulary, but Dr. Hannes Skold has given in this book something more. It consists of two parts, philological and glossarial. In the first part he has striven to establish the nature of the relations of the *Nirukta* with the Vedic literature, and has taken Roth's edition as the basis of his investigation.

Taking the *Nirukta* to be a running commentary on an old list of Vedic works, which is now called *Nighaṇṭu* or *Naighaṇṭuka*, Dr. Sköld discusses that list of commemorative words, its authorship, its relation to Vedic words and its recension. He then discusses the *Nirukta* as a *vedânga*, and follows this with an account of the materials he has examined for the purpose in 26 pages of research of extraordinary patience and minuteness. After this comes a discussion of the material in 30 pages of even deeper research. We are then taken with much learning in ten chapters through the testimony of Patañjali and the relation of the *Nirukta* to the *Bṛhaddevatâ*.

After this Dr. Skold asks himself the question:—Was Yâska a *nairukta*, a question which has become necessary to him in consequence of his own research. After minute investigation he arrives at the opinion that Indian tradition is right in attributing the *Nirukta* to Yâska, so far as it is a commentary on the *nigaṇṭavaḥ*, and that he had a hand in the whole of it as it now exists. Next, after dealing with "the *Vedârthadîpikâ* of about 1180 and the *Nighaṇṭu*." Dr. Skold makes some phonological remarks on the etymologies of "*Nirukta General*" and comes to an important conclusion: "I think we have the right to state that the vernacular of Yâska's time must have been Middle Indian, and it would have been surprising if it had not been so."

To all this he adds an Appendix on the various readings of the principal *nigamas*, and then tackles the *Nirukta* itself. The student will not find his version of the *Nirukta* easy reading, for there are no less than sixteen arbitrary signs attached to the words, all explained however on pp. 173f, which relate to some information or other about it. This system reduces printing, but is apt to catch the unwary: *e.g.*, by looking up one word in which I was interested I found by a sign attached that it was "a primary *nigama* word etymologised." Another set of words in which I was also interested was in the same category except that one of them was shown by another sign to be "*hapax legomenon* in the Rig Veda." After three further explanatory notes Dr. Skold gives the *Index Verborum Etymologice Elucidatorum* itself.

The above remarks form of course but a very inadequate survey of a deep research most conscientiously conducted, but I shall have reached my object if I have succeeded thereby in drawing the attention of scholars thereto. At any rate within half an hour of the book coming into my hands I had extracted from it and recorded two items of information which I had been looking for.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THOMAS CANA.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

THOMAS CANA is the greatest hero and benefactor of the Malabar Christians. He is also said to have been the Prime Minister[1] of Chêramân Perumal, the Emperor of Malabar.

The tradition of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar has it that, while their Church was in a chaotic condition for want of bishops and leaders, the Bishop of Urahâi (Edessa) was asked in a dream whether he was not sorry for the distress and ruin of the flock in Malabar which the interrogator had earned by his death. The Bishop then told this dream to the Catholicos of Jerusalem,[2] who, on consultation with the wise men of the place, determined to send Thomas Cana the honourable merchant residing in the city, to Malabar for information.

He set sail and landed in Cranganore, where he found certain Christians wearing crosses hanging from their necks. Having gathered from them their past history and learned that they were sorely in need of bishops, he soon loaded his vessel with what pepper and other merchandise he could procure, hastened home and delivered the strange news to the Catholicos of Jerusalem.

Subsequently, with the permission of Yustêdiûs, Patriarch of Antioch,[3] the Catholicos sent with his blessing to Malabar, Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, several priests and deacons and a great many men, women and children—four hundred and odd in all—under the leadership of the merchant Knâyi Tômmâ.

All these, after a safe voyage, landed in Cranganore in A.D. 345. And "the people of the Kôṭṭakkâyal[4] community and the Christians called Dhariyâykkaḷ of the sixty-four families," all came together and received them and acknowledged Mar Joseph from Jerusalem[5] as their Bishop. And the affairs of the Church were properly managed by Tômmâ (Thomas).

He also obtained from the Emperor land and high social privileges, as well as a copper-plate document to that effect on Saturday, 29th Kumbham (*Aquarius*) of the above-mentioned year, on the seventh day of the moon and in the sign Cancer. (The tradition in these five paragraphs is recorded on pp. 88-91 of Ittûp's *Syrian Christian Church of Malabar*, in Malayalam).

The 72 high social privileges which Thomas Cana obtained from the Emperor are used even to-day. Besides these, he got 18 low castes,[6] like barbers, carpenters, bow-makers, bards, toddy-drawers, etc., to serve the Christians and be under their special protection from the molestation of other castes. (See my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates*, ch. 9.) Thomas, the merchant prince, is also said to have presented the Emperor with one *nâḷi* (measure of

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Observations by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

1 How could we substantiate that Thomas Cana was the Perumal's Prime Minister? That brings his story nearer that of Frumentius and Edesius.

2 How is it proved that, as Mr. T. K. Joseph states in another paper on Thomas Cana, this was the 5th Patriarch of Jerusalem? Fr. Monserrate notes in 1579 that the Syrian Bishops of his time were very fond of connecting themselves somehow with Jerusalem. It gave them a special standing of honour. His words are: "the greater number of the bishops and priests, whom they call *caxija* in Syrian have passed through Jerusalem before they come from there" (Babylonia). [The Patriarchs of Jerusalem have the designation 'fifth Patriarch,' which does not mean the fifth among the Patriarchs of Jerusalem.—T.K.J.]

3 This mention of the Patriarch of Antioch is, I think, subsequent to the arrival of the Jacobites into the country. Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 1, Leyden, 1862, p. 182, quoting Swanston, *JRAS.*, II, gives Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch. Eustathius of Antioch was deposed at the Council of Antioch in A.D. 330, and died in exile at Trajanopolis in Thrace in A.D. 360. *Cf.* Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 1908, pp. 246, 252.

4 What means Kôṭṭakkâyal? Perhaps Parur, Kottakavu? What is the meaning of Kottakavu? [Kôṭṭakkâyal (=fort-lake), or correctly Kôṭṭakkâvu (=fort grove) is Parur.—T.K.J.]

5 Does Ittûp's *History* say that Mar Joseph of Edessa was from Jerusalem? [Yes.]

6 Gouvea has something about the castes which had to serve the Christians by order of the Perumal of Thomas Cana, and who had even to become *amoucos*, or run amock, for their sake. I hope to extract some other time from Gouvea all that he has about Thomas Cana and the two Bishops, Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh. [Gouvea's passage on Thomas Cana has already been extracted by Fr. Hosten in the *Ind. Ant.* for July 1927.—T.K.J.]

capacity, about 20 c. in.) of precious stones for his crown, and to have helped him with money in his battles.

The Emperor once pressed the artisan caste to give one of their girls in marriage to his washerman. The artisans could not but submit to this indignity. But during the marriage festival they killed the washermen assembled there by secretly crushing them under the marriage shed specially contrived for the purpose, and absconded in a body to Ceylon. And Thomas is said to have saved the situation by inducing the strikers to return to the Emperor. (See my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates*, pp. 93-94.)

Here are authentic specimens of the peculiar titles and privileges which Thomas Cana and the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar obtained by the Emperor's letters patent : (1) the title of 'the Emperor's Own Merchant,' (2) seven kinds of musical instruments, (3) palanquin, (4) elephant, (5) bodyguards, (6) cloth for walking along upon, (7) royal umbrella, (8) lingual cheers by women, (9) lamp lit by day, (10) carpet, and (11) sandals. Nos. 2-9, besides others, form the paraphernalia of a procession. Most of these are even to-day used in the processions of the Malabar Syrian Christian Bishops. The palanquin and the elephant, as dignified or stately means of locomotion, have become very antiquated and ludicrous, and have been replaced by phaetons, landaus and motor-cars.

An English translation of the original document given to Thomas Cana is found on p. 139 of the *Travancore State Manual*, vol. 2. See also do Couto's *Da Asia*, 12th Decade, last part, p. 283, for another, in Portuguese.

In 1544, Mar Jacob, the then Bishop pawned the two original copper-plates for 200 *reals* to the Portuguese in Cochin. The translation made for them is very probably what we find in the above two books. The plates are now missing ; but, according to the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., and Rev. H. Heras, S.J., they may be "in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, or in some old Franciscan Convent of Portugal." The Malabar Christian community will be extremely obliged to the person who will discover these plates and send to the writer (Trivandrum, Travancore, South India) printer's-ink impressions (half a dozen copies) of the inscription on them.

WANTED
THE ANCIENT COPPER-PLATES OF THOMAS CANA
NOW SUPPOSED TO BE IN PORTUGAL.

(See also my *Magna Charta of the Malabar Christians*, in the *Asiatic Review* of April, 1925, pp. 299-304.)

The traditional date A.D. 345 may be correct. The copper-plates of Thomas Cana, if recovered, will certainly help us in ascertaining his date. Will the name of the Patriarch Yustêdiûs given above help us ?

Tradition says that a copy of the muniment granted to Thomas Cana was about the same time inscribed on a large granite slab and set up at the Northern gate of the Cranganore temple for the information and guidance of the public. Some time before 1781, Adriaan Moens, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, tried his best to discover this stone, but in vain. On the 12th of February, 1924, the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., our modern Yule, who was touring Malabar in eager search of pre-Portuguese Christian antiquities there, discovered in Cranganore a big stone slab 6 ft. × 3¾ ft. with about 19 lines of inscription in ancient Malabar characters. This, like the philosopher's stone, suddenly became the supreme object of attention of the Malabar Bishops and Christians. For they thought this was the reputed lithic counterpart of the Thomas Cana plates. I have, however, partially deciphered the last three lines of the record, of which three alone I got an estampage, and have found that the record says that the Queen of Perumattam, perhaps of the Cochin royal family, made arrangements for the daily supply of a specified measure of rice to the temple at Kâññûr.

There is a small, endogamous group of ancient Christians in Malabar, called Tekkumpâkaṛ (literally, those of the Southern side), or Southists.[7] They have scarcely any marriage relations with the Northists, the rest of the St. Thomas Christians. The appellations Northists and Southists came into existence because, it is alleged, in the new town of Makôtayar[8] Paṭṭaṇam founded by Thomas Cana, 400 shops of the former were constructed in the northern[9] row and 72 of the latter in the southern. There are several points of difference between the Northists and the Southists in customs, manners and physical features. (Ittûp's *History, op. cit.*, pp. 92–94.) Foreign characteristics like blue eyes and brown facial hair are noticeable in some of the Southists, while there are others among them who do not differ at all from the Northists in bodily features.

'Cana' in 'Thomas Cana' is not, I think, the place Cana of Galilee where Jesus Christ turned water into wine. (John, II. 1.) To my mind, Thomas Cana means Thomas the merchant. The Syriac root *kno* means to get, to buy, and *kânôyo*, one who gets or buys. The old annals and songs of Malabar state that the four hundred[10] foreigners who colonized

7 The terms Suddists and Nordists derive from French writers, from 'Nordistes' and 'Sudistes.' 'Suddists' with two d's is highly objectionable, as it tends to hide its origin. [The Latin term is *Gens Suddistica.*—T.K.J.]

8 Do Couto (Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 4, Tom. 8, Lisboa, 1788, pp. 271–273) has a very curious itinerary for St. Thomas, taken from the Chaldean books of the Serra. Taking leave of St. Thaddeus at Edessa, St. Thomas sells his body to a merchant and visits in turn Sokotra, Melinde and Cafraria, the kingdom of Paces and Zarique (by do Couto identified doubtfully with Ampazes and Moçambique), finally Marhozaya, which Bishop F. Roz, at do Couto's request, identified with Malaca. Another passage in the Chaldean books sent St. Thomas to Persia, Samarkand, Sokotra and Malabar. Can copies of such books still be found in Malabar? They would solve certain difficulties and would prove missionary endeavours or Syrian trade on the coasts of Africa in pre-Portuguese times. We have to account for the occurrence of the cross among South African tribes

I think that Marhozaya is Mahuza, (perhaps Makôta or Mahodaya Pattanam, *i.e.*, Cranganore), whence, according to Jacob of Sarug, either St. Thomas made a start for India or whence merchants had come to fetch him for Gondophares. Schröter could not decide, as the copies of Jacob of Sarug's poem were incomplete. *Cf.* Medlycott, pp. 248, 249. We have a similar difficulty for the MSS. of the Syriac *Acta* of St. Thomas. *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 160. We do not know yet what place is meant in Jacob of Sarug by Mahuza. Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, T. III, Part II, p. 761, mentions two Mahuzas, but neither appears to be appropriate for St. Thomas' story, as neither is a harbour on the sea. One is near Ctesiphon, and is called Carcha, Corch, or Carch; the other is called Ariuna. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas in letters to me asserts that Mahuza or Mahosa means simply 'town' and that the Syrians applied it to Cranganore. If that were so, might it not have been applied also to Mylapore? St. Thomas in the *Hymn of the Soul* mentions a dear friend, a native of Maishân, the companion of his travels, whom I identify with Uzanes, the son of King Mazdai. If Maishân is not a mistake for Mailân, Mylapore, might it not stand for Mahosa and still apply to Mylapore? The idea of the Syrians was that Gondophares lived at Mylapore, and that idea seems to be shared already by Jacob of Sarug (A.D. 500–521) [Malabar tradition, at least in its recent form, knows no such name as Gondophares or Kandapparaja. Mâhôsâ or Mâhûsâ in Syriac is the name of a small town somewhere in south-west Asia.—T.K.J.]

9 Did not a division into Northists and Southists prevail in Mesopotamia at one time? I find something to that effect in Monserrate (1579). Something akin to the division between the right-hand and left-hand parties of S. India, but sprung from religious divisions. I believe there is such a division as the right-hand and left-hand party in Abyssinia among the Christians.

10 De Conti has a reference, I think, to some 20,000 washermen in the army of the King of Vijayanagar. I have sometimes thought there might be question of Syrians, who were great fighters in those days. The other day, I came across a passage speaking of numerous Syrians fighting in the Bisnaga army, but I cannot now trace it again. [The mercantile community of Belgaum, N.E. of Goa, "had already at the beginning of the 13th century included foreign settlers from Lala, *i.e.*, Lata (Gujarat) and the Malayalam country," as evidenced by an inscription. See *A.S.I.A. Report*, 1916–17, part I, p. 19. Could these Malayalis have been St. Thomas Christians, the mercantile community *par excellence*, of Malabar? Abdar Razak (15th century) speaks of Nimeh Pezir, *Christian* minister to the king of Vijayanagar.—T.K.J.].

May not the Southists who came with Thomas Cana have been dyers and fullers, as many Christians in Persia were, who took Christ for their patron. Cf. *As. Researches*, X, 1808, p. 82. The Syrians were great weavers and dyers, I think, in the Near East.

Cranganore, belonged to 72 families from 7 septs[11] or clans. They do not now survive as such. Nor are there family traditions about their original identity, as in the case of several families who occasionally came as individual emigrants and settled in Malabar in the last four or five centuries. All these have merged in the vast mass of indigenous converts of Aryan and Dravidian extraction. Only a small section, the Southists (see *ante*), have any separate identity. But here too the distinction is, so to speak, a social or communal one, not racial or religious. Tradition says that the *élite* among the Semitic colonists brought by Thomas Cana freely intermarried with the local high caste Christians, while the foreign proletariat consorted with the indigenous low caste converts. Thomas, it seems, had children by two women, one a wife of his own nationality, and the other a mistress from the Hindu washerman caste. There is, however, no clan extant that claims descent from Thomas Cana and his Semitic wife.

[P.S.—On folio 526r, 87r of a MS. vol. in the British Museum, A.D. 1604, Bishop Roz says (according to Rev. H. Hosten's translation), "The copy of the *olla* which the said Xaram Perumal gave to Thomas Cananeo . . . . says faithfully this :—'May Coquarangon be prosperous . . . .'" On fol. 525v, 86v of the same volume the prelate speaks of "their *ollas*, the copper original of which was taken to Portugal by the Religious of St. Francis, a copy of them remaining here."

This copy which Bishop Roz 'faithfully' translated—he knew Malayalam—must have been an impression of the plates, or a transcript in the Malayalam characters of those days, prepared, perhaps, by the Jew who, according to Fr. Lucena (*Hist. da vida do P. Fr. de Xavier*, Lisboa, 1600, p. 163, col. 10), "though with much trouble, translated it into Portuguese."

Where is this copy, and where the Jew's translation ? Perhaps in the above MS. vol. of 1604. This copy and translation also ought to be discovered.]

Literal translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 1).[12]

The emblems of dignity and honour belonging to the Malabar Nasrâṇi (Christian), and the manner in which the city of Cranganore came into existence.

When Paṭṭaṇam[13] was the city (*prob.* capital), on Knâyittomman (Thomas Cana) the Nasrâṇi's requesting, "Give me half the country," 1380 *kôls*[14] (rods) of land in the form of a square, as measured by the elephant *kôl*,[15] were granted in accordance with the order of the Perumal[16] of Chêramân Kôyil[17] on Tuesday the 9th of Karkkaṭakam (July), the 8th day of the moon being combined with the asterism Rôhini.[18] Also[19] the Vedic College at Iriññâlakkuṭa (eight miles N.E. of Cranganore), the Great Palace at Tiruvañchikkuḷam and the Church at Cranganore. That day, at sunset the day-time lamp, walking-cloth, crown, (and several other insignia) were granted, with libation of water and flower, to Knâyittomman the Nasrâṇi.

11 Mgr. Alexander Chulaparambil, The Romo-Syrian Bishop of Kottayam, a Southist, told me that the 72 families which came over with Thomas Cana belonged to the following septs : Baji, Belkouth, Hadai, Kujelic, Khoja, Majmouth, and Tejmouth. Do these names survive in Mesopotamia as distinctive Christian names ? [For the names of some of these septs see Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, article on the Syrian Christians. But these names I have not found in any old document.—T.K.J.]

12 Communicated by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., St Joseph's College, Darjeeling, at whose instance this work was undertaken by Mr. Joseph on 18th November 1923 The notes also are by Mr Joseph.

13 Paṭṭaṇam : Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam, an old name for Cranganore, or a portion of it, or some old town close to it. Most probably it is the city founded by Thomas Cana. In the Tamil classics it appears in the form Makôtai and in Sanskrit as Mahôdava Puram.

14 Another document (Iṭṭûp's *History* in Malayalam, Cochin, 1869) gives 244 *kôls*, or the space over which 'one *para* measure of paddy can be scattered.' *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

15 One *kôl* = 28 inches. An elephant *kôl* = 4 *kôls*.

16 King.

17 The name of the king's palace. The site is even now known as Chêramân Kôvilakam. It is close to Cranganore.

18 Iṭṭûp's *History* gives another date for the grant of land and privileges : Saturday, 29th Kumbham (March), 7th day of the moon, Karkkaṭakam râsi (sign Cancer). *Op. cit.*, p. 91. I doubt whether any reliance can be placed upon these details or those given in the above translation.

19 Perhaps these three were witnesses.

With the knowledge of the sun, and the moon that rises at night, that know this as witnesses. The handwriting of the then younger prince Kuru Perumâlar.

If any one contradicts and questions this grant, let him turn over and refer to the documentary granite stone[20] that lies at the northern gate of the temple at Cranganore [21].

Literal translation of Malayalam Documents (No. 2).[22]

When of yore to immigrate to Malaṅkara [23]
The gentleman Tomman Kinân[24] essayed,—Verily.[25]
The king's sons[26] belonging to seventy-two families—
These good citizens, four hundred,
Embarked by the grace of the Catholicos.—Verily.
The foreigner who came entered Cranganore,
He entered, and when he visited the Chêra King, in plenty
He presented gold and coral and pearls and obtained the country.
He came, at an auspicious time endeavoured, and gained his end.—Verily.
That his greatness may be manifest in all the world around,
He gave him marks of honour—the fivefold band[27], the eighteen castes[28].
The horn,[29] the flute, the peacock feather fan, the conch,[30] the canopy,[31]—Verily.
The gold crown[32] and all other good ornaments.

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20 I remember having read in the *Gazetteer of Malabar* that this stone has not yet been discovered even after diligent search. Was it one of the stones taken away by the Portuguese at Goa ? This is Burnell's statement in his little pamphlet *A few suggestions as to the best way of making and utilizing copies of Indian inscriptions* (Madras, 1870): "The Portuguese at Goa took some inscriptions on stone to their native country." *Cf. Indian Antiquary*, II, 183. By this I understand that they took inscribed stones, not copies of inscriptions on them. Some of these may have come from Malabar. (For Moens' search, see *Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 172, 173).

[I have read of stones, pillars, etc., removed by the Portuguese from monuments to the North of Goa, from near Surat for instance, but not from Malabar. Others than the Christians in Malabar seem to know about a copy of the Thomas Cana privileges inscribed on a stone near the Tiruvañjikuḷam temple. The Diwan of Cochin, whom I met in January 1924, knew of this and was keen on making a search for it. He said that the impression among the people was that the stone had been buried when Tippu Sultan came down on Tiruvanjikuḷam. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., Shinkali, quotes Dr. Gundert, *Madras Journal*, XIII, 122 : "One *Kerala Ulpatti* (*i.e.*, legendary history of Malabar of the Nasrani), says that their forefathers. . . built Codangalur, as may be learned from the granite inscription at the northern entrance of the Tiruvanjiculam temple."—H.H.]

21 The extract is from the footnote on pp. 11 and 12 of *Ancient Songs* (Malayalam), Kottayam, 1910.

22 Communicated by the Revd. H. Hosten, S.J., St Joseph's College, Darjeeling, at whose request this work was done by Mr Joseph on 7th December 1923.

23 Malaṅkara is Malabar of the Arabian travellers, *bar* being equivalent to the Malayalam *kara*, coast.

24 Tomman Kinân, Thomas Cana, Knâyi Tomman are three forms of the same name.

25 'Verily' indicates a pause in the song and forms the chorus

26 'King's sons' is the title Mâppiḷa (son-in-law) granted to the Christians in Malabar by one of the old Chêra kings. There are the Sudras of Malabar, called Nairs, who have the title *piḷḷa* (child). Gouvea, I am told, translates this title Mâppiḷa as king's son. [He does. Cf. *Jornada*, fol. 4v: "With these privileges joined to those which Xarão Perumal had granted them, the Christians of Malavar became much more accredited, being held in such account that the name by which they are still called to-day in the kingdoms beyond the Mountain of the Pande is sons of kings".—H.H.]

27 Fivefold band : two varieties of drums, cymbals, trumpet, and gong.

28 Eighteen Hindu low castes. Or, bodyguards versed in the eighteen feats of arms.

29 A musical horn, producing a monotonous protracted note.

30 For blowing.

31 See *Travancore State Manual*, II, 139 : 'pavilion.'

32 A tall peaked crown of gold was until lately in use for bridegrooms. I remember to have seen it worn by my elder brother on the occasion of his wedding. Bridegrooms generally are allowed all these privileges and marks of honour.

He gave him marks of honour : the walking-cloth[33], the day-time lamp,[34]
The seven kinds[35] of royal musical instruments, and three lingual cheers.[36]—Verily.
Drums and lingual cheers[36] and all good pomp
The king with pleasure gave,
And all these did Tomman Kinân accept.—Verily.
He got also the copper-plate deed fittingly engraved.
The marks of honour which the Kings' King [37] gave
Last for all the days of the existence of the sun and the moon.—Verily.
For all the days of the existence of the sun and moon.[38]

(*To be continued.*)

33 Cloth spread on the way, for walking along without touching the ground. Our bishops and bridegrooms still enjoy this privilege. For its use in 1916-17 in Ceylon, see *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1916-17, Part I, p. 25. "Lengths of white cloth were unrolled along the road for the elephant to walk over."

34 Lamp lit during the day. This is now done when our bishops go in procession from one church to another.

35 Perhaps, three kinds of drums, two kinds of cymbals, gong, and trumpet. See *Trav. State Manual*, II, 139, for this number 'seven'. Also *Ind. Ant.* for April, 1925, p. 69.

36 Lingual cheers. Women produce the sound *ulûlûlûlû*. . . . briskly and continuously with the tongue until they are nearly out of breath, covering the mouth with one hand hollowed out in the form of an arch and leaving spaces above and below the lips for the ululation to pass out freely. This is repeated thrice, like the cheers of the Europeans. Men, on the other hand, shout *Arppôyi* and *pôyimpôyim* at the top of their voice during the processions of our bishops. These lingual cheers are given by women at the birth of a child or on other joyful occasions. This, I think, is peculiar to Malabar, Guzerat, and Turkey. See *Trav. State Manual*, II, 139, where "whistling" is not correct.

37 The Chêra king, as overlord of several feudatory princes.

38 This is one of the old songs sung by Southist Christian women when the bride and bridegroom return home from church after marriage.

There are four distinguished persons connected, in tradition, with Knâyi Tomman's emigration. They are : (1) the Catholikos or '5th Patriarch' of Jerusalem ; (2) Yustêdiûs, Patriarch of Antioch; (3) Mâr Joseph, Bishop of Edessa, who accompanied Tomman to Malabar ; (4) Chêramân Perumal, king of Malabar, the Chêra country, whose proper name is not known. Can we get some clue from these to the date of Tomman's emigration ?

[Not unless we have many more materials to form our judgment on. I look with much suspicion on the introduction of so many high personages into this story, persons separated from one another by considerable distances and all for the sake of the dream of Joseph, Bishop of Edessa.—H.H.]

Another song (see No. 3), used on the same occasion as No. 2 above, specifies the date 345 by the cryptogram *Śôvâla* thus :

"The king went, saw the land and gave it away
In the year Śôvâl after the birth of the Lord,
And honoured Kinâyi Tomman received the copper-plate document."

From the language of these three lines I conclude that, like No. 2, it is of the 17th-19th century. Besides, the advent of the Portuguese and the burning of Cranganore City and the building of the Church at Kaṭutturutti (Carturte of the Europeans) in about A.D. 1500 are all alluded to in the song. This dating in terms of the Christian era, as well as the dates A.D. 52 etc., found in the song of St. Thomas of which you have a translation, came into vogue in Malabar, I presume, only after the Portuguese connection. So the cryptogram cannot be supposed to have been handed down from very ancient times. Am I right ?

[These dates in terms of a Western era indicate indeed that at least changes were made in the songs after the Portuguese connection. It is quite possible that some of the songs were composed under the influence of the Latin Missionaries or revised under them. But we cannot argue yet that these songs are not in many cases much older or that new additions have not been made to them. The study of these songs is barely begun.—H.H.]

Does Fr. Peter Maffei, who in his Latin *History of India*, II. 210 sqq., refers to a song and dance in honour of St. Thomas, give a translation of it ?

[I cannot say, as I cannot consult the book here. If he alludes to a song in honour of St. Thomas, quite possibly he refers to the contents, and this would help us to fix the special song he alludes to, as also the antiquity of that song. The Jesuits of Cochin and Quilon, and even more perhaps the Fathers of Vaipicotta, seem to have done not a little to stage some of the incidents of the history of the St. Thomas Christians. There was a play in which they represented the story of Baliarte, or the king of the St. Thomas Christians.—H.H.]

HISTORICAL BIAS IN INDIAN HISTORY.[1]

BY THE LATE S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.
AND PROF. H. L. O. GARRETT, I.E.S.

WE imagine that our colleagues to-day will deal with many aspects of the subject of bias in historical writing from Macaulay to Herbert Paul. We are concerned with that portion of the subject with which we are mainly in contact, namely, the History of India. At the outset we should like to quote a sentence from a book on "Mughal Rule in India" of which we are the joint authors and which is now in the press. "The student of Indian History should be warned to use contemporary authorities with great caution. The manipulation of historical facts to suit the particular angle of vision of the author is unfortunately all too common. But it is nowhere worse than in India, and in many cases there has been (and is still unfortunately to-day) a deliberate distortion of facts before which the political bias of a work like Macaulay's History of England pales into insignificance."

The earlier portion of Indian History—generally known as the Hindu—may be left out of consideration. So much of it rests upon vague tradition and so scanty are the authorities that there is little room for exhaustive examination. What we have is mainly the work of travellers and is valuable for its descriptive detail. Megasthenes, for example, gives a very fair and unbiased account of the court and government of Chandragupta Maurya. Then there are the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hiuen-tsang and so on. But when we reach the Muhammadan period it is a different story. Take the first great Muhammadan invader, Mahmud of Ghazni. The accepted version of Mahmud is that of a ruthless invader animated by the bitterest hatred of any other faith than his own. His very name in history—Bût Shikîn, the Iconoclast—perpetuates this view. But whereas this is a fair estimate of his character, it is not accepted by Muhammadan historians. Only recently I published a small book in which a sketch of Mahmud occurred. For this I was severely taken to task by a Muhammadan scholar who declared that the *proper* view, as set forth by Muhammadan historians, was that he invaded India not to persecute the Hindus and destroy their temples, but because he was invited into the country to restore order.

Take again Muhammad Tughlak, that "strange mixture of opposites". But for the fearless external evidence of a non-Indian historian—Ibn Batuta—we should not really know the full story of the combination of bestial cruelty, patronage of learning and megalomania which distinguishes the reign of that monarch. With the earlier Mughals we are on safer ground. Babur and Jahangir reveal themselves so clearly in their own diaries that we can almost see the men themselves. But pass on to the last of the great Mughals—Aurangzeb. The battle over this monarch and his character rages as fiercely as the struggle over the body of Patroclus. Hindu scholars will tell you that he was an inveterate bigot and that his policy of intolerance ruined the Empire. Muhammadan writers stoutly deny this and praise his orthodoxy as contrasted with the free-thinking of his predecessors. In the dust of the controversy the truth is obscured. While the Emperor undoubtedly *was* intolerant and his intolerance was certainly one, but *only* one, of the causes contributing to the disintegration of Mughal sovereignty, the fact has carefully been overlooked that he did not initiate a policy of intolerance and religious persecution. There are instances of it in the reigns of both his predecessors —Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The former in his diary gloats over the destruction of a famous Hindu shrine. But all this is passed over in order that Aurangzeb may bear the full odium of a policy, which he did not invent but only carried in more active form to its logical conclusion.

It is probable that Aurangzeb's sardonic and joyless temperament contributed largely to the detestation felt for him by his Hindu subjects, and may partly explain the antipathy displayed towards him by most modern Hindu historians. The cold and calculating spirit has never been a favourite with the people of India, and the sinner who smiles upon the world

[1] This paper was originally prepared by us to be read at the Anglo-American Historical Conference in 1926, but was not read owing to pressure of time. This accounts for its somewhat peculiar form.—H.L O.G

around him, who is ' bon camarade '. who can show timely emotion or deftly touch the chords of popular imagination, stands a far better chance of ultimate ' canonisation ' than the most impeccable ruler, who wears the armour of severe righteousness and holds himself coldly aloof from the foibles of mankind.

So far we have dealt with the Muhammadan rulers. We will now turn to a Hindu—the famous Shivaji. This individual has recently gone through a lengthy process of " whitewashing " at the hands of various authorities. What are the facts ? That he was a robber chief in a wild and mountainous part of India. That he made his way to the front by his audacity and bravery. As to his famous murder of the Muhammadan General sent against him, it seems to have been about six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. But its treatment by rival historians is instructive. On the one side Shivaji only anticipated similar treachery on the part of his adversary : on the other the Muhammadan commander was the innocent victim of the blackest treachery. That he carved out of the dying Empire a kingdom of his own and that he set up a rough form of government which only survived him a few years. But all this has undergone a transformation. Shivaji is now the pure-minded high-souled patriot called by Providence to the liberation of his motherland. His childhood at his mother's knee is like the boyhood of Alfred the Great.

A torrent of abuse has been directed against a writer who mildly suggested, on unequivocal authority, that Shivaji had two mistresses, or in other words that of the eight wives whom he is recorded as having married, two were probably concubines. One would hardly have supposed that such a statement regarding an Indian chieftain of the seventeenth century, in a country where the moral standards of Exeter Hall had not yet penetrated, would have roused the Brahman press of Poona to a fierce declamatory frenzy. But the statement was obnoxious to the Poona press as it does not accord with the modern Shivaji myth, which has been sedulously cultivated in Western India for purely political purposes during the last twenty years. The exponents of the myth are at pains to declare, often without adequate evidence, that Shivaji combined in himself the asceticism of St. Anthony, the military genius of Napoleon and the imperial prescience of Cecil Rhodes.

That is Shivaji to-day after the modern historians have done with him. We await with interest his next biography written from the Mughal point of view.

But the stream of " alteration " flows on. We now come to an episode familiar to all—" The Black Hole of Calcutta ". The site of this tragedy is now believed to have been identified. There is plenty of corroborative evidence,—*e.g.*, Admiral Watson's—to support Holwell's narrative of the massacre. Even Macaulay believed it. But recently an ingenious attempt has been made to prove that the tragedy never took place, that Holwell was a liar, and that the so-called victims of the Black Hole were really killed in fair fight earlier in the proceedings. The next step is the elimination of the episode from Indian History as taught in schools.

Turn again to the Mutiny. The old king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah II, explained the whole episode by saying " I suppose my people gave themselves over to the devil." There is no doubt as to the old man's guilty participation in the outbreak. The evidence given at his trial is perfectly conclusive. But this is not enough for the historian with a bias. The newest theory now put forward is that it was the East India Company who were at fault, and that the Mutiny was a just retribution for disobedience to their overlord of Delhi, and that the punishment meted out to the last of the Timurids has rankled in Indian minds ever since. As regards the first part of the theory, we were able, in a paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Historical Society* to demonstrate that it was completely at variance with the facts as revealed in the official records of the Punjab Government. As regards the second, we make bold to say that we do not consider that the extinction of the Timurids made or has made any more stir in India than the final extinction of the Western Empire in 476 or the renunciation of his title by Francis II in 1806 did in Europe. But we are not out of the Mutiny wood yet. We

ourselves have heard the theory advanced that the massacre at Cawnpore was grossly exaggerated, *if it ever took place*, and we think in all probability we shall see this theory developed in our generation and a convincing *alibi* set up for the Nana Sahib.[2]

We fear we have been somewhat lengthy. Indian History is only a small section of history and this Conference is representative of many histories of many peoples. But we do wish to urge the need of caution in dealing with the established facts and episodes of the history of India, particularly in the light of the "bias" which is so common to-day, and which is frequently due to the fact that historical students cannot dissociate their academic inquiries and conclusions from the taint of current Indian politics. Established facts in the history of any country are like well-known landmarks. To remove them or destroy them without good cause renders the offender liable to the penalties set forth in the Commination Service.

THE GUHILA KINGS OF MEWAR.

BY R. R. HALDER.

FOR some time past I have been meditating on the real origin of the princes of Mewâṛ. My desire for a solution of the problem was increased by some letters, which showed that other people were equally interested in the subject and, like myself, were much perplexed about it. Colonel Tod in one place speaks of the Mewâṛ rulers as "Children of the Sun", "Sun of the Hindus," etc.; and in another place complicates the issue by over reliance on other historians. Even a scholar like Vincent A. Smith has called Guhila, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewâṛ, a Nâgar Brahman and almost believed in the connection of his lineage with the Râjâs of Valabhî.[1] In one or two inscriptions, again, some of the rulers of Mewâṛ are said to be Brâhmaṇas.

It is *primâ facie* surprising that this ancient dynasty, the rulers of which belong to the same line and have ruled in the 'same lands where conquest placed them' for a period of about 1400 years; who claim descent from Kuśa, the elder son of the deified Râma, the patriarch of the solar race, thereby commanding universal homage in India;—should be represented as losing even the ordinary prestige of the Kshatriya race—not to speak of the patronymic *Sûryavaṁśî*—and as being merged in the Brâhmaṇa caste.

Let us see what Colonel Tod writes on the matter:—"At least ten genealogical lists, derived from the most opposite sources, agree in making Kanaksen the founder of this dynasty; and assign his emigration from the most northern of the provinces of India to the peninsula of Saurashtra in S. 201, or A.D. 145. We shall, therefore, make this the point of outset: though it may be premised that Jai Singh, the royal historian and astronomer of Amber, connects the line with Sumitra (the 56th descendant from the deified Rama), who appears to have been the contemporary of Vikramaditya, A.C. 56 . . . .

"By what route Kanaksen, the first emigrant of the solar race, found his way into Saurashtra from Lohkot, is uncertain: he, however, wrested dominion from a prince of the Pramara race, and founded Birnagara in the second century (A.D. 144). Four generations afterwards, Vijayasen, whom the prince of Amber calls Nushirwan, founded Vijayapur, supposed to be where Dholka now stands, at the head of the Saurâshtra peninsula. Vidarba was also founded by him, the name of which was afterwards changed to Sihor. But the most celebrated was the capital, Valabhipura, which for years baffled all search, till it was revealed in its now humbled condition as Walai, ten miles west of Bhaunagar. The existence of this city was confirmed by a celebrated Jain work, the Satrunjaya Mahatma. The want of satisfactory proof of the Rana's emigration from thence was obviated by the most unexpected discovery of an inscription of the twelfth century, in a ruined temple on the

[2] Since this paper was written I have come across another new distortion, namely that the attack on the Lucknow Residency was never really taken seriously by the mutineers who could have taken the place any day that they wished!!—H. L. O. G.

[1] Smith's *Akbar*, p. 84

tableland forming the eastern boundary of the Rana's present territory, which appeals to the 'walls of Valabhi' for the truth of the action it records. And a work written to commemorate the reign of Rana Raj Singh opens with these words: 'In the west is Sorathdes,[2] a country well known: the barbarians invaded it, and conquered Bal-ka-nath; all fell in the sack of Valabhipur except the daughter of the Pramara,' And the Sandrai roll thus commences: 'When the city of Valabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Bali, Sandrai and Nadol in Mordar des[3].' These are towns yet of consequence, and in all the Jain religion is still maintained, which was the chief worship of Valabhipura when sacked by the 'barbarian'. The records preserved by the Jains give S.B. 205 (A.D. 524) as the date of this event.

"The tract about Valabhipura and northward is termed Bal, probably from the tribe of Bala, which might have been the designation of the Rana's tribe prior to that of Grahilot; and most probably Multan and all these regions of the Kathi, Bala, etc., were dependent on Lohkot, whence emigrated Kanaksen; thus strengthening the surmise of the Scythic descent of the Ranas, though now installed in the seat of Rama . . . .

"Besides these cities, the MSS. give Gayni, as the last refuge of the family when expelled Saurashtra. One of the poetic chronicles thus commences: 'The barbarians had captured Gajni. The house of Siladitya was left desolate. In its defence his heroes fell; of his seed but the name remained' . . . .

"Of the prince's family the queen Pushpavati alone escaped the sack of Valabhi, as well as the funeral pyre, upon which, on the death of Siladitya, his other wives were sacrificed. She was a daughter of the Pramara prince of Chandravati, and had visited the shrine of the universal mother Amba-Bhavani, in her native land, to deposit upon the altar of the goddess a votive offering consequent to her expectation of offspring. She was on her return, when the intelligence arrived which blasted all her future hopes, by depriving her of her lord, and robbing him, whom the goddess had just granted to her prayers, of a crown . . . . Taking refuge in a cave in the mountain of Malia, she was delivered of a son. Having confided the infant to a Brahmani of Biranagar named Kamlavati, enjoining her to educate the young prince as a Brahman, but to marry him to a Rajputni, she mounted the funeral pile to join her lord. Kamlavati, the daughter of the priest of the temple, was herself a mother, and she performed the tender offices of one to the orphan prince, whom she designated Goha or 'caveborn.' The child was a source of perpetual uneasiness to its protectors: he associated with Rajput children, killing birds, hunting wild animals, and at the age of eleven was totally unmanageable: to use the words of the legend, 'How should they hide the ray of the sun?'"[4]

This much Colonel Tod asserts in support of his view that Goha or Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty of Mewâṛ, was descended from Śîlâditya VI of Valabhipur. He then attempts to connect the Rânas (of Mewâṛ) with Persia, and for this purpose quotes the following authorities:—

"Let us see what Abu-l Fazl says of the descent of the Ranas from Nushirwan: 'The Chief of the State was formerly called Râwal, but for a long time past has been known as Râna. He is of the Ghelot clan, and pretends to descent from Noshîrwân, the Just. An ancestor of this family through the vicissitudes of fortune came to Berâr and was distinguished as the chief of Narnâlah. About eight hundred years previous to the present time Narnâlah was taken by the enemy and many were slain. One Bâpa, a child, was carried by his mother from this scene of desolation to Mewâṛ, and found refuge with Râjah Mandalîkh, a Bhil.'

"The work which has furnished all the knowledge which exists on the Persian ancestry of the Mewâṛ princes is the *Maasiru-l-Umara*, or that founded on it, entitled *Bisatu-l-Ghanim* written in A.H. 1204 [A.D. 1789]. The writer of this work styles himself Lachhmi Narayan Shafik Aurangabadi . . . . he goes deep into the lineage of the Ranas of Mewâr . . . .

[2] Sorath or Saurâshtra. [3] Mârwâṛ.

[4] Ṭod, *Râjasthân*, edited by W. Crooke, 1920, vol. I, pp. 251–59.

quoting at length the *Massiru-l-Umara*, from which the following is a literal translation : ' It is well-known that the Rajas of Udaipur are exalted over all the princes of Hind. Other Hindu princes, before they can succeed to the throne of their fathers, must receive the khushka, or tilak of regality and investiture, from them. This type of sovereignty is received with humility and veneration. The khushka of these princes is made with human blood : their title is Rana, and they deduce their origin from Noshirwan-i-Adil (*i.e.*, the Just), who conquered the countries of—, and many parts of Hindustan. During his lifetime his son Noshizad, whose mother was the daughter of Kaiser of Rum, quitted the ancient worship and embraced the ' faith of the Christians,' and with numerous followers entered Hindustan. Thence he marched a great army towards Iran, against his father Noshirwan ; who dispatched his general, Rambarzin, with numerous forces to oppose him. An action ensued in which Noshizad was slain ; *but his issue remained in Hindustan, from whom are descended the Ranas of Udaipur*. Noshirwan had a wife from the Khakhan of China, by whom he had a son called Hormuz, declared heir to the throne shortly before his death . . . .

" In A. H. 17 Abu Musa of Ashur seized Hormuz, the son of the uncle of Yazdegird, whom he sent with Yazdegird's daughter to Imam Husain, and another daughter to Abubakr . . . .

" It is also told, that when the fortunes of Yazdegird were on the wane, his family dispersed to different regions. The second daughter, Shahr Banu, was married to Imam Husain. . . . The third daughter, Banu, was seized by a plundering Arab . . . .

" Of the eldest daughter of Yazdegird, Maha Banu, the Parsis have no accounts ; but the books of Hind give evidence to her arrival in that country, and that from her issue is the tribe Sesodia. But, at all events, this race is either of the seed of Nushishad, the son of Nushirwan, or of that of the daughter of Yazdegird.

" Thus have we adduced, perhaps, all points of evidence for the supposed Persian origin of the Rana's family. The period of the invasion of Saurashtra by Nushishad, who mounted the throne A.D. 531, corresponds well with the sack of Valabhi, A.D. 524 . . . . Khusru Parvez, grandson of Nushirwan the Great, and who assumed this title according to Firdausi, married Marian, the daughter of Maurice, the Greek emperor of Byzantium. She bore him Shirauah (the Siroes of the early Christian writers), who slew his father. It is difficult to separate the actions of the two Nushirwans, and still more to say which of them merited the epithet of *adil*, or ' just.'

" According to the ' Tables ' in Moreri, Nushishad, son of Khusru the Great, reigned from A.D. 531 to 591. This is opposed to the *Maasiru-l-Umara*, which asserts that he was slain during his rebellion. Siroes, son of Khusru (the second Nushirwan) by his wife Marian, alternately called the friend and foe of the Christians, did raise the standard of revolt, and met the fate attributed to Nushishad : on which Yazdegird, his nephew, was proclaimed. The crown was intended for Shirauah's younger brother, which caused the revolt, during which the elder sought refuge in India. . . . .

. . We have a singular support to these historic relics in a geographical fact, that places on the site of the ancient Valabhi a city called Byzantium,[5] which almost affords conclusive proof that it must have been the son of Nushirwan who captured Valabhi and Gajni, and destroyed the family of Siladitya; for it would be a legitimate occasion to name such conquest after the city where his Christian mother had had birth. Whichever of the propositions we adopt at the command of the author of the Annals of Princes, namely, ' that the Sesodia race is of the seed of Nushishad, son of Nushirwan, or of that of Mahabanu, daughter of Yazdegird,' we arrive at a singular and startling conclusion, *viz.*, that the ' Hindua Suraj, descendant of a hundred kings,' the undisputed possessor of the honours of Rama, the patriarch of the Solar race, is the issue of a Christian princess : that the chief prince amongst the nations of Hind can claim affinity with the emperors of ' the mistress of the world ' . . . .

5 It is really a town called Vaijayantī in Deccan.

"But though I deem it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any *male* branch of the Persian house, I would not equally assert that Mahabanu, the fugitive daughter of Yazdegird, may not have found a husband, as well as sanctuary, with the prince of Saurashtra; and she may be the Subhagna (mother of Siladitya), whose mysterious amour with the 'sun' compelled her to abandon her native city of Kaira. The son of Marian had been in Saurashtra, and it is therefore not unlikely that her grand-child should there seek protection in the reverses of her family." [6]

Such is Col. Tod's account of the princes of Mewâṛ. It is needless to discuss every passage in his writings. A few facts only will suffice.

As regards the sack of Valabhî, the *Śatruñjaya Mâhâtmya* on which Tod relies seems to have been written in or later than the twelfth century A.D., for; it contains an account of the ruler Kumârapâla (1142 to 1173 A.D.) of Gujarât. It, therefore, does not appear very reliable. Secondly, the inscription, the unexpected discovery of which is spoken of by the author, is really the Bejolyân inscription[7], dated Saṁvat 1226 (A.D. 1169), of the time of Sômêśvara, which speaks of the Chauhâna king Vîsaladêva IV of Ajmer, whose fame is said to have spread even in the streets and turrets (*Valabhî*) after his conquest of the territory extending as far as Delhi and Hansi in the Punjab.

Lastly, the discovery of the Sâmôli inscription[8] of Śîlâditya of Mewâṛ, dated Saṁvat 703 (A.D. 646) finally settles the matter. From the Alînâ[9] copper plate inscription, dated A.D. 766 of the last Śîlâditya of Valabhipur, we know that he was the ruler of the Valabhî kingdom at least up to the date of the inscription, *i.e.*, the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The final overthrow[10] of that kingdom must have taken place later on, in or about A.D. 776. As the date of Śîlâditya of Mewâṛ is Saṁvat 703 (A.D. 646), that of Guhadatta, his fifth[11] predecessor, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A.D., assigning an average rule of at least twenty years to each ruler. Thus Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewâṛ, had established his rule in Mewâṛ long before the break up of the Valabhî kingdom. Hence, it is impossible to call Gôha or Guhadatta a descendant of Śîlâditya VI. or VII.[12] of Valabhipur.

Next, we have to consider the connection of the Râṇâs with Persia. It may be noted that in the second century A.D., Saurâshtra (Kâṭhiâvâḍ) was under the Western Kshatrapas[13] and not under Kanaksen, as Tod asserts. Nôshirwân Ādil ascended the throne of Persia in September 532 A.D., and, after a glorious reign of about forty-eight years, died in February 579 A.D. His son Noshizâd hearing that his father was seriously ill, rebelled about 551 A.D. He was, however, not executed, but merely rendered ineligible for the throne by a slight facial disfigurement. Yazdegird was the last sovereign of the House of Sassan, a dynasty which ruled Persia four hundred and fifty years. He was defeated by the Arabs in the battle of Nahavand (A.D. 641) and was afterwards murdered in the neighbourhood of Merv in 651 or 652 A.D. After the overthrow of the Persian empire, the family of Yazdegird escaped with their lives and sought a safer refuge in the fortress of Haft-Ajar, the home of their ancestors. One daughter Meher Bânu (Mâha Bânu) sought and

6 Tod, *Râjasthân*, edited by W. Crooke, 1920, vol. I, pp. 275–80.

7 See *Ind. Ant*, vol LVI, p 11, n. 12. The word *valabhî* in the inscription has no connection whatever with the town of Valabhi in Kâṭhiâvâḍ. See Tod's *Râjasthân*, vol. III, p. 1798.

8 Preserved in the Râjputânâ Museum, Ajmer

9 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 171.

10 Tod, *Râjasthân*, vol. I, p. 254, n. 2. Duff's *Chronology*, p. 67.

11 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.

12 Dr. Fleet designates Śilâditya VI. as Śilâditya VII. In fact, Śilâditya II. of his table did not ascend the throne, hence Śilâditya VII. in the table ought to be Śilâditya VI. See *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 41, (Preface).

13 Rudradâmâ was the ruler then, as shown by his inscriptions, dated Śaka Saṁvats 52 or A.D. 130 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 16, p. 23), and 72 or A.D. 150 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 36).

obtained relief in the stronghold of Gorab.[14] Tod gives the date of the sack of Valabhi as A.D. 524; so, according to this date, the death of Śilâditya VI. of Valabhipur and the subsequent retreat of his queen Pushpâvatî to Mewâṛ, where Goha or Guhadatta was born, took place before Noshîrwân Âdil sat on the throne of Persia. How could then "the period of the invasion of Saurâshtra by Noshishâd correspond with the sack of Valabhî in A.D. 524." In fact, the actual period of the fall of Valabhî in A.D. 776, as already shown, neither corresponds with the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewâṛ, nor with the accession of Nôshîrwâṅ, Yazdegird, etc., on the throne of Persia.

Let us now consider the inscriptions—(1) In the Âṭapur inscription[15] of Saṁvat 1034 (A.D. 977), Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, is called a Brâhmaṇa (*Mahîdêvaḥ*).

(2) In the Chitor inscription,[16] dated Saṁvat 1331 (A.D. 1274) of the time of Râwal Samarasiṁha of Mewâṛ. Bâpâ, a scion of the Guhila family and [eighth] in descent from Guhadatta, is said to be a 'Vipra' (Brâhmaṇa).

(3) The inscription,[17] dated Saṁvat 1545 (A.D. 1488) of the time of Mahârâṇâ Kumbhakarṇa's son Râyamala, also speaks of Bâpâ as a 'dvija' (Brâhmaṇa); and so also does the *Ēkaliṅga Mâhâtmya*, also called *Ēkaliṅga Purâṇa*, of his time.

Now, as regards No. (1), we notice that in the sixth verse of the same inscription, king Naravâhana, a descendant of Guhadatta, is spoken of as 'Kshatrakshetra,' [18] *i.e.*, a place of origin of the Kshatriyas.

Regarding No. (2), it is found that the same Nâgara Brâhmaṇa Vedaśarmâ, who composed this record, says in another inscription,[19] dated S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) that Bappaka (Bâpâ) obtained from Hârîtaṛishi the qualifications of a Kshatriya (regal qualifications) after he had bestowed on the sage those of a Brâhmaṇa (priestly qualifications), and that the princes, who were born in his race shone like the regal duties in bodily form.

From the version of this inscription, it appears that the predecessors of Bâpâ performed the duties of a Brâhmaṇa (priestly duties) and that it was Bâpâ, who first renounced that practice. This is in accordance with Muhnot Nainsy's story written at the end; the difference only lies in the fact that Bâpâ was the eighth in descent, and not tenth from Gôha or Guhadatta (Guhila).

In respect of No. (3), we have to state that in an inscription,[20] dated Saṁvat 1557 (not 1597, as wrongly printed), of the time of the same Mahârâṇâ Râyamala, Guhidatta (Guhadatta), Bappâka (Bâpâ), Khumân, etc., are called *Sûryavaṁśîya*.

Besides these, there are many other inscriptions which show the princes of the Guhila family to be *Sûryavaṁśî* Kshatriyas. Among them, the following may be noted :—

(*a*) In the inscription,[21] dated Saṁvat 1028 (A.D. 971), of the time of king Naravâhaṇa of Mewâṛ, the priests of the temple of Ēkaliṅgaji are spoken of as having diffused

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14 *The Historians' History of the World*, edited by Henry Williams, LL.D., vol VIII, pp 88—98. Also, *History of the Parsis*, by Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., vol. I., pp 9—22.

15 आनंदपुरविनिर्गतविप्रकुलानंदनो महीदेवः । जयति श्रीगुहदत्तः प्रभवः श्रीगुहिलवंशस्य ॥
Ind. Ant., vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

16 यस्मादागत्य विप्रश्चतुरुदधिमहीवेदिनिक्षिप्तयूपो । बप्पाख्यो वीतरागश्चरणयुगमुपासीत (सीद्) हारीतराशेः ॥
Bhâvnagar Inscriptions, p. 75.

17 श्रीमेदपाटभुवि नागहृदे पुरेऽभूद्बाप्पो द्विजः शिवपदार्चनचित्तवृत्तिः ।
Bhâvnagar Inscriptions, p. 118.

18 अविकलकलाधारो धीरः स्फुरद्गुरुसत्करो विजयवसतिः क्षत्रक्षेत्रं क्षताहतिसंहतिः ।
समजनि जना...............प्रतापनरुङ्गनो विभवभवनं विद्यावेदी नृपो नरवाहनः ॥
Ind. Ant., vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

19 हारीतात्किल बप्पकोऽहिवलयव्याजेन लेभे महः क्षात्रं धातृनिभाद्वितीर्य मुनये ब्राह्मं स्वसेवाच्छलात्
एतेऽद्यापि महीभुजः क्षितितले तद्वंशसंभूतयः शोभन्ते सुतरामुपात्तवपुषः क्षात्रा हि धर्मा इव ॥ ११ ॥
Ind. Ant., vol. XVI, p. 347.

20 *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 141.

21 *BBRAS*, vol. 22, p. 167, vv. 14-15. See also R. B. G. H. Ojha's article on 'Bâpâ Râwal kâ sônê kâ sikkâ' [*Nâgari Prachâriṇî Patrikâ*, vol. I, pt. III, p. 258].

the fame of Raghuvaṁśa from the Himalayas to Râma's bridge (a ridge of rocks at the southern extremity of India), that is, throughout the length and breadth of India. As the priests of the temple are the religious preceptors[22] of the kings of Mewâṛ, who are the donors of large estates to the temple, the word 'Raghuvaṁśa' must refer to the Guhila family. to which the kings of Mewâṛ belonged.

(*b*) The inscription[23], dated Saṁvat 1335 (A.D. 1278) of the time of Samarasiṁha, while speaking of the Guhilôt king Siṁha, calls him a Kshatriya.

(*c*) In the inscription[24] on a well built by Mahârâṇâ Môkala in Saṁvat 1485 (A.D. 1428) at Śṛiṅgî Ṛishi, six miles from Ēkaliṅgajî in Mewâṛ, Mahârâṇâ Kshêtrasiṁha, grandfather of Môkala, is said to be 'Maṇḍanamaṇi' (jewel) of the Kshatriya family.

Now, the question arises: how is it that Bâpâ and others are called Brâhmaṇas in some of the inscriptions. The story narrated in Muhnot Nainsy's *khyâta* explains this deviation. The purport of the story is given below :—

After the death of her husband, the mother of Guhilôt (Guhila) prepared herself for the pyre to become a *Satî* in her state of full pregnancy, and as such was prevented by the Brâhmaṇas from doing so. She was soon delivered of a son, whom she handed over to a Brâhmaṇa named Vijayâditya, who was praying for a son in the temple of Kôṭêśvara Śiva. The latter, however, refused to take charge of the child, remarking that, as the infant was the son of a Râjpût, it would, contrary to the duties of a Brâhmaṇa, kill men, animals, etc., when it would come of age. On this, the queen assured him, on her honour as a *Satî*, that the child and its progeny would perform the duties of a Brâhmaṇa up to ten generations.

The child was accordingly adopted by the Brâhmaṇa and brought up by him. Thus, according to the legend, the child and his descendants performed the priestly duties for ten generations and were called Nâgdâ (Nâgara) Brâhmaṇas. This son of Vijayâditya belonged to the Solar race and was called Guhilôt (Guhila) Sômadata (Sômâditya), after whom came Śilâditya and others.[25]

It seems, therefore, that some of the old writers (mostly Brâhmaṇs) have based their conception on this or a similar story, and have, either through ignorance of the real fact, or to gratify their vanity by identifying a prince of the blood royal with their own caste, called Bâpâ and others Brâhmaṇas, in opposition to the writings of the Jain scholars.

From what has been said above, we conclude that the Guhila dynasty of Mewâṛ was established about two centuries before the fall of Valabhipur. The Persian dynasty was also reigning about the same period. But there is no connection between the house of Valabhî and either Mewâṛ or Persia. Also there is no evidence[26] that Nushizâd came to India; nor is there any real evidence of the Persian descent[27] of the Râṇâs. Col. Tod himself writes in one place that "the prince of Mewar is universally allowed to be the first of the 'thirty-six royal tribes'; nor has a doubt ever been raised respecting his purity of descent[28]."

In the case of inscriptions too, we see that, while one or two writers of one age have called Bâpâ and other princes of the family Brâhmaṇas, there are many others who have called them Kshatriyas. In fine, neither did the kings of Valabhî owe their origin[29] to the royal family of Persia; nor did the princes of Mewâṛ owe theirs to that of Valabhî.[30]

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22 'Ēkaliṅgâ-kâ-Dîwân' is the common title of the Râṇâs of Udaipur.

23 श्रीएकलिङ्गहराधनपाशुपताचार्य. . . .क्षत्रियगुहिलपुत्रसिंहलब्धमहोदया :. . . | *ante*, vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

24 सम्यग्वर्महरं ततः स्वतनयं सुस्थाप्य राज्ये निजे क्षेत्रं क्षत्रियवंशमंडनमणिं प्रत्यर्थिकालानलं ॥ ५ ॥

Unpublished Inscription at Śṛiṅgî Ṛishi.

25 Muhnot Nainsy's *Khyâta*, p. 1.

26 Tod's *Râjasthân*, vol. 1, p. 276, n. 2.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 278, n. 2.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

29 About 2,000 silver coins bearing the legend 'Śrî Guhila' were discovered near Agra (Cunningham's *A.S.R.*, vol. 4, p. 95). From these as well as the Châṭsû inscription of Bâlâditya (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 12, p. 13), it appears that Guhila and probably his descendants were ruling over the territories extending up to Agra in the north-east.

30 For a previous discussion of the origin of the Guhilôts, see C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. II (1924), pp. 83-89.—JOINT EDITOR.

BOOK-NOTICES

THE CHRONICLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADING TO CHINA, 1635–1834, by H. B. MORSE, LL.D. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1926; 4 vols.

This monumental work of untold labour, which is of the greatest value to all students of the doings of the great East India Company, is based chiefly on the records at the India Office, placed at the disposal of the author. Right good use has he made of the liberality shown him, to produce a work which all must consult who wish to know the details of the work of the English in China in the early days. There are unfortunate gaps in the records up to 1775 for reasons the author, perhaps wisely, does not explain, and like all gaps they occur just at the wrong time. One gap from 1705 to 1711 covers the periods of the amalgamation of the London and East India Companies —a period of special interest—and another of 20 years (1754–1774) covers important events like "The Seven Years' War and the North American Acts—the Stamp Act and the Tea Tax."

Despite the defects in the records an immense amount of information is placed at the disposal of students, from the days of single ships under super-cargoes, who were sometimes the Commanders themselves, to the yearly Council of Supercargoes, superseded in 1786 by the Select Committee. The trade was essentially an English trade, in which a number of Scotchmen were engaged, and was carried on by means of a small amount of goods and a great amount of dollars for investment in a not large selection of the products of China. It was carried on under enormous difficulties, and the records given in the book show an astonishing amount of human nature on its worst, the greedy side. The first volume of the Chronicles (1635–1774) shows the Chinese merchant, who might otherwise have been honest enough from old trade association, under the thumb of a new Tartar aristocracy, which had no knowledge of the ethics of commercial dealings, and only the readiest and crudest notions of filling their own pockets. That any trade was carried on at all is evidence of English tenacity.

The volume commences with a new view of Weddell's voyage to Canton in 1637 for the Courteen Association. From the delightful pages of Peter Mundy's account we have what may be called the social and travelling sides of that venture. In this book we get the commercial side, which shows that the Courteen venture did more harm than good. Then the narrative goes on steadily in great detail showing the strenuous and ceaseless struggle between the English adventurers and the Chinese Officials. Here and there, by the way, the reader learns, through Dr. Morse's clear exposition and admirable notes, how the various commercial habits and terms, now obtaining and used, came one by one into existence. It is not a book to review, but it tells the searcher things about the Anglo-Chinese trade and those who carried it on, which he could not possibly learn otherwise. The book, however, is strictly a chronicle, and the searcher will have to find out for himself the story of any particular institution, *e.g.*, of the Hoppo, but he will find that the whole of it is there. It is, indeed, a true mine of information and Dr. Morse shows himself to be a guide that can help the student to explore it successfully.

The second volume carries on the story to 1804 and gives a chronicle of the same class of endless trouble as heretofore, but the scene of course ever varies as the trade progresses and customs become established. In 1788 there was an attempt—the first of its kind—to settle matters with the Chinese Imperial Government and Colonel Cathcart of the Bengal Army was sent out as ambassador, but he died on the way and never reached China. In 1793 took place the celebrated embassy of Lord Macartney, which eventually failed in its purpose of obtaining "a modest charter for the English trade," secured later on only by force in 1842. The trade, however, went on again in the old way —trade trouble in China, wars in Europe. Opium became important as a commodity, and continued to be very troublesome as an article of trade through all the Company's days. Dangerous incidents from time to time occurred, partly owing to the difference between English and Chinese customs and ideas in regard to justice. One such incident was the very serious affair of the *Lady Hughes* in 1784 when a Chinaman was accidentally killed in the firing of a salute. Chinese custom demanded vengeance for the death whether accidental or otherwise, and a highly dangerous situation arose. In 1799 there was a similar incident over the *Providence*, which, however, brought out the great value of Sir George Thomas Staunton's knowledge of Chinese. In this way, the Chinese trade was liable to entirely unforeseen disturbance over mere accidents and misunderstandings, to say nothing of political troubles, such as the sudden death of an Emperor in 1799, to be succeeded by another who reversed what he could of his predecessor's acts, not necessarily however with evil effect. The risks of carrying on trade were as great as ever.

Volume III takes the tale to 1820. Between 1805 and that date piracy had become a burning question and the opium trade still gave grave trouble. In 1807 occurred the case of the *Neptune*, presenting the usual type of dispute where Chinese and Englishmen were concerned, and leading to a celebrated trial of English sailors before a Chinese Court. In 1808 the English temporarily occupied Macao in the course of the wars then generally current between European nations—a proceeding that did little good to the English trade with the Chinese. On the whole, however, trade proceeded during the period 1805–1820 with perhaps less friction than before. In 1816 there took place

another Embassy to the Emperor—that of Lord Amherst, when there occurred the famous dispute about the Kotow and the eventual repentance of the Chinese authorities. Incidentally the courage of the English traders in a great difficulty comes out clearly : "A firm and decided tone will generally carry a point in China provided the grounds are just and reasonable" are the words of the Select Committee on this occasion—words which may well be remembered. Affairs thereafter ran fairly easily for a while.

The last volume opens with the affairs of the *Emily* and the *Topaze* in 1821. The *Emily* was an American ship and the dispute was the old story of a more or less accidental killing of a Chinese by a white sailor. The result was trouble that endangered the American trade. The *Topaze* was an English Man of War and an affair arose because the killing in this case was only alleged. In 1822 there was a disastrous fire in Canton which included the English and all the Foreign Factories, but it did not destroy the trade even temporarily, which thereafter proceeded as usual with the same old troubles, sometimes aggravated by the action of the Company in England.

On 31st January 1831 the English Factories moved to Macao and a dispute commenced with the Chinese authorities, in which one can see the commencement of the troubles that led to war later on. On p. 292 Dr. Morse sums up the situation thus : "We see on the one hand a Chinese mandarin carrying out an imperial rescript, accustomed to acquiescence in any order he might give and to implicit obedience as long as he was in sight, resentful and impatient at the leas hesitation or opposition to his will. He visits the factory attended by a rabble of undisciplined soldiers and runners, eager to forestall his slightest wish. On the other hand we see a body of English, who have recently emerged successful from a great war, in which they swept their enemies from all seas; whose (literally) brothers and cousins are administrators and rulers of the Indian Empire; who are fully conscious of their superiority over those who, for their part, assert their own superiority ; and who have now reached the stage of having determined that they shall enjoy in Canton the same freedom and the same privileges as would be enjoyed by Chinese in London. Between two such diverse views, conflict was inevitable. What the Chinese did not see was that the inrush of the foreigner was not to be kept out by any artificial dams ; what the Committee did not realize was that only military force could make the Chinese yield to their demands." And there is left the situation of the Trade with China under the East India Company.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE WRITING OF HISTORY, by the REV. H. HERAS, S.J., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay Madras, P. R. Rama Iyer and Co., 1926,

This excellent little book, of which the second title "Notes on Historical Methodology for Indian Students" show its purpose, is written entirely in the right way. It shows the student what history as a science is and then in what ways it should be studied, dividing the "science" into four parts : heuristics (collection of documents), criticism, synthesis and exposition, leaving archæology, the study of old monuments, buildings and ruins, as a subject apart. The author then gives us a long list of "the best works" on Indian History, which is one of the finest I have seen—a list worth the while of the most serious student to keep always by him.

Subsidiary studies analogous to the main subject are not neglected, *e.g.* pictography as the study of old paintings and here again we are given a valuable bibliography. To numismatics is added a still better list of books and the same may be said of sigilography or the science of seals. To the study of tradition, the Jesuit letters, private diaries and letters and accounts of travel, court chronicles, State Papers, and so on, are attached a series of bibliographies of the highest value. Then follows some sage advice as to criticism, with a definition of that horrible "scientific" term hermeneutics—the effort to discover the reliability of documents. Still sager advice is given as to the constructive part of the historian's work after he has collected his facts and digested the result. Altogether Father Heras has put together the results of his careful study of Indian History so well and so usefully that I as one student at any rate will keep the work by me for reference. I have, however, been much interested in his describing (p. 2) the statements as to Mahmûd Baigârâ's having been a "poison man" as an "individual fact." The story—it is told also by Varthema who was in Cambay in 1504—seems to me to be folklore and reminiscent of the old tales about the "poison maiden". But the quotation given on p. 3 from *Mirat-i-Sikandari* as to his eating habits account for the description of him as a man of great grossness of body.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LORD MAHAVIRA, A SHORT SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF BHAGWAN MAHAVIRA, by HARISATYA BHATTACHARYA of Howrah, the Jain Mittra Mandel, Delhi, 1926.

This is a short tract on the life of the founder of Jainism from the Jain point of view. It is Tract 43 of the Delhi Jain Society and is useful for letting scholars have an insight into the Jain ideas of their religion and its founder. The existence of these tracts that are being constantly issued is a sign of the recrudescence of Jainism and the anxiety of its followers that their tenets may become generally known.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THOMAS CANA AND HIS COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

BY THE REVD H HOSTEN, S.J., AND T K JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(*Continued from pages 121—128 and 147—155.*)

Additional Remarks.

Page 121, note 1—The bulk of the first Malabar converts to Christianity consisted, according to tradition, of Namburi Brahmans or Nairs

The Nairs are Dravidians, like the vast majority of the population of South India. They differ from the dark Dravidians of the East Coast, because of free admixture with the Aryan Namburi Brahman immigrants to Malabar. The wives of all the male members of a Namburi's family, except the father and the eldest son, are Nair women, not Namburi women, because, according to custom (now slowly changing), only the eldest son of a Namburi family can take a Namburi woman to wife. The children of the Nair wives of Namburis belong to the Nair caste, not to the father's caste. Such free hybridization did not take place on the East Coast. Hence, the Malabar Dravidians are fairer and taller than the other Dravidians of South India.

The Dravidians, according to most authorities, came to India from the East Coast of Africa or from somewhere between that coast and India, through the N.-W. passes of India. They were Africans rather than Parthians.—T.K.J. [Some, like Schoff in his *Periplus*, hold rather that the movement was in the contrary direction, from parts of Asia near India to Arabia and Africa.—H.H.]

Tarideicalnaiquemar = Tarităykkaḷ Năykkanmăr, *i.e.*, Christians of the Naykkar caste. *Cf.* the word Nayaks or Nayiks of Madura.

Covilmar = Kôvilmâr, people of the ruling caste, almost like Kshatriyas.

Bramenes = Brâhmans. Belalas = Vellâlas, those of the agricultural class, something like the Sudras.

Tarităykkal (Malayalam and Tamil) is from the Syriac Triṣâ (= right, orthodox), from which Tarisa and Tarsa are also derived. 'Tarisa Church' of the Quilon copper-plates means 'Orthodox Christian Church' (orthodox, according to the personal estimate of the Christians of the Quilon Church in question). The Persian Christians who built the church were perhaps Nestorians.—T.K.J.

Page 122, note 5.—Jack-wood (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) and ebony (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) are used for crosses in Malabar. The former is yellow, and the latter jet black, and both take a high polish.—T.K.J.

Page 125, note 15—Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam was the same as, or part of, the Christian quarters at Cranganore. It means the city of Mahâdêva, *i.e.*, of Śiva, the Hindu god. Literally, Mahâ-dêva means the great god. That is why the British Museum MS. of 1604 has 'the city of the great idol' (god) in the translation of the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

The oldest form of the name is Makôtai. Makôtaiyar = he of Makôtai, the king of Makôtai. His *paṭṭaṇam* (= town) is Makôtaiyar Paṭṭaṇam, which later became Mahâdêvar Paṭṭaṇam, with a different meaning. In Sanskrit it has become Mahôdaya Puram = the city of great prosperity, *puram* being but a synonym of *paṭṭaṇam*.

The derivation of the oldest form Makôtai is uncertain. Could it be from Mahôsâ, or Mahûsâ, the well-known name of a town in Mesopotamia, from which immigrants perhaps came and colonised Cranganore?

The modern Malayalam form of Makôtai is Makôta.—T.K.J.

Can it be proved that the name Mahâdêvarpaṭṭaṇam did not at one time mean 'the city of the Great God,' *i.e.*, the God of the Christians?

[The Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., a Syrian, identifies Sandaruk, to which somehow he adds Mahosa, with Cranganore. He states further that Mahosa is Syriac for 'town'. *Cf.* his *A brief Sketch of the History of the Syrian Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1924, p. 4. If that were so, Cranganore and Mylapore might have been called Mahosa, and perhaps the Maishan of *The Hymn of the Soul*, which St. Thomas sang in the land of the Indians, is Mylapore.—H.H.] Mahosa does not mean 'town'; it is the name of a town.—T.K.J.

[The Mahuza mentioned by Jacob of Sarug (A.D. 500–521) in connection with the meeting of Habban and St. Thomas, must have been in Mesopotamia: for Thomas objected to going to India. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, t. 3., para 2, p. 761) distinguishes two Mahuza in Mesopotamia: one a suburb of Bagdad, called Carcha, Corch or Carch, the other, called Arjuna, in Assyria or Adiabene. A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India* (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, vol. 10, No 2, July 1926, p 60), has a Karka de Maishan, ancient capital of Mesene (Maishan) towards Basrah. The Malabar accounts which bring St. Thomas to India from Basrah would seem to have identified Jacob of Sarug's Mahuza with Perath-Maishan, near Basrah, which had a bishopric in A.D. 225. *Cf.* Mingana, *op. cit.*, p. 61. The *Margam Kali Song*, for which Mr. T. K. Joseph consulted two Kottayam editions, one of 1910, and an earlier one having a colophon with the date 1732, brings Thomas and Habban from 'Mâhôsâ,' the earlier edition spelling it Mahôdâ. Ittup's Malayalam *History of the Malabar Syrian Christian Church*, Cochin, 1869 (2nd ed., Kottayam, 1906, consulted by Mr. T. K. Joseph) has Mahôsên in Yûsse (*sic*, p. 78n). The *Thoma Parvam* of 1601 makes St. Thomas and Habban embark in Arabia. In an itinerary of St Thomas, do Couto gets the name Marhozaya, and states that Bishop Francisco Roz, S.J., was of opinion it was Malacca. *Cf.*

Da Asia, Dec. 12, l. 3, c. 4 ; t 8, Lisboa, 1788, p. 273. Marhozaya is probably again Mahuza of Mesopotamia. Do Couto objected that no ships went direct from Mozambique to Malacca and that St. Thomas came to India from Marhozaya.—H.H.]

Page 125, note 16.—I know of no records in which a Cranganore era is used. There are many in which the Vypin era, counted from the almost sudden formation of the island of Vypin during the extraordinary flood of A.D. 1341, occurs. It is known as the *putu-vaippu* (= new deposit) era in Malayalam. Vypin (Malayalam Vaippe) is an island 13 miles long and one mile broad, on the north side of Cochin.—T.K.J.

Page 125.—"The *copy* of the *ola* . . . . says *faithfully* this." This statement has led me to think that Bishop Roz writing in 1604 had before him the Jew's (p. 149 *infra*) transcript of the original inscription, or at least a copy of that transcript, from which the prelate made his faithful Portuguese translation. Bishop Roz knew Malayalam fairly well.

Is this transcript or its copies still extant ? It may be among the old Portuguese MSS. from Malabar, and a search has to be made for it in the British Museum or in one of the archives on the continent.—T.K.J.

Page 127, note 27.—The names as reconstructed by me (on 22nd August 1925) from the rotograph are :—(1) *Kōṭaśśēri Kaṇṭan*, (2) *Cherukatapprattu Châttan Komaran*, (3) *Achchutan Kaṇṭan*, (4) *Amînâttu Kaṇṭan Kōruḷan*, (5) *Cherumalapprattu Trivikraman Komaran*. (6) *Peruvalanâṭṭe Âtittan Chiṅnan*, (7) *Peruvaḷanittu Châttan Kōran*, (8) *Vikraman Chiṅnan of Kaṭutturutti*, (9) *Airâṇi Peruṅkôyil*.—T.K.J.

Page 127, note 28.—[*Esta es*]*critura seelat*[*a*] *e* [*tam*]*bê afortunada* This must be a translation of the usual phrase '*kaiyeluttu. Śrî*,' occurring at the end of old inscriptions. It means literally 'handwriting. Prosperity.' 'Śrî' (= Lakshmî) is the goddess of prosperity or luck, and the word is usually written at the beginning of any kind of writing (letters, documents, etc.) as an auspicious symbol, and sometimes at the end, as the signature of a person. In the present instance it is the signature of the royal donor.

By *seelata* does the translator indicate that a sign or seal is put in the plate just before Śrî ?—T.K.J.

[The date when the Thomas Cana copper-plates were executed is not given. The seven kinds of musical instruments, the five kinds of tribute, and the limits of the property assigned to Thomas Cana are not enumerated. Shall we say that there were other copper-plates specifying these points, or that the translator omitted the specifications ? What shall we think of the following tradition which I have never found referred to by the Portuguese ? "One *Kerala Ulpatti* (*i.e.*, legendary history of Malabar) of the Nasranis, says that their forefathers. . . . built Codangalur, as may be learned from the granite inscription at the northern entrance of the Tiruvanjiculam temple." *Cf.* Dr. Gundert, in *Madras Journal*, XIII, 122, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Shinkali. In January 1924, I spoke of this text to the Dewan of Cochin, who believed that the inscription had been buried near the temple on the arrival of Tipu Sultan in Malabar I went to Tiruvanchikulam in February 1924, inquired, was disappointed, but was shown instead, at some distance from the temple, half-buried under a bamboo clump in a private garden, an enormous stone with an inscription, which has since been read by Mr T. K. Joseph.—H H]

At the instance of C. W. E. Cotton, Esq., C.I.E , I.C.S., of the Indian Historic Records Commission, this stone now known as the Vaṭaśśēri Stone was more than a year ago acquired by the Cochin Government and removed to the Trichur Museum, in Cochin. The inscription on it seems to be the earliest known record relating to the Cochin royal house Paleographically it is, I think, of *circa* 1000 A D —T K J

[We must suppose that Mgr. Roz secured a copy of the Portuguese translation made by the Jew mentioned by Lucena (p 149). Roz declares that he copied faithfully what he had before him Do Couto probably obtained his copy from Roz, and changed it in a few points which to him appeared of little consequence —H H]

Page 127, note 30—Sandaruk *alias* Andrapolis, was certainly outside India. So it cannot be Cranganore. Please scrutinize the *Acta* again.

[Answer:—Mr. T. K. Joseph may have been impressed by Dr. J. N Farquhar's paper "The Apostle Thomas in North India" (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, vol 10, No 1, January 1926). There we find, pp. 19–20, Dr. Farquhar identifying with Andropolis (*sic*), a town at one day's sail up the Nile from Alexandria, the Sandarûk and Andrapolis of the *Acts* and the Andranopolis of the *Passio*. Andropolis was situated on the left bank of the Nile, and is now Chabur or Shaboor. Is that satisfactory ? The only reason we might have to make St Thomas come by the Red Sea is that Habban is made to meet St. Thomas at Cæsarea in the *Passio* ; but, considering Jacob of Sarug and our Indian authorities quoted above, to which we could add other Indian authorities, we might suspect that Cæsarea is a mistake for Basrah or Maichan Be that as it may, Sandaruk must be identified with Cranganore

[Habban takes Thomas homewards to India in a ship, to the royal town of Andrapolis and from there goes to the cities of India, whence he reaches Gundaphar. *Cf.* M. R. James. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924 ; *Greek Acts*, p 366, § 3 ; p. 371, § 16. In the *De Miraculis* the town is not named. Thomas was often commissioned by the Lord to visit Citerior India Habban comes and takes him to the first city of India, in Citerior India, the voyage having lasted only three months, though it always took three years. (St. Jerome says that the journey by the Red Sea would take a year, and that six months was fast) From this unnamed city in Citerior India, where Thomas assisted at the marriage feast of the

king's daughter, the feast being mentioned under Sandarûk and Andrapolis in the *Acts*, Thomas soon leaves for Ulterior India, the king and many of his people following after him to be baptised, and the king becoming a deacon. *Cf.* Bonnet, *Acta Thomæ*, Lipsiæ, 1883 : *De Miraculis*, pp. 97, 98, 101. In the *Passio* Habban comes by ship to Cæsarea, and in 7 days takes Thomas by ship to Andranopolis : after the marriage feast of the king's daughter, both sail away, and reach Gundaphar. *Cf.* Bonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 135, 139. In the *Syriac Acts* we have : "a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the South country from . . . ." (the British Museum MS. being injured here, the name of the place is not legible). *Cf. Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 4. The Berlin and the Cambridge MS. have : "a certain merchant came from the South country." The missing word in the British Museum MS. is perhaps Hindustan, as Burkitt thought, *cf. ibid.*, 160. I propose Mahuza with Medlycott, and suggest that the South country from which Habban came was for the author South India, Malabar or Mylapore, since none of our four earliest authorities seems to know that Gundaphar reigned in the North-West, while Indian and Mesopotamian accounts, from at least Barhebraeus (1246-86) place Gundaphar at Mylapore. Possibly Jacob of Sarug does the same (A.D. 500-521). I cannot consult him, but I know that he makes Habban ask of Gundaphar whether it is possible to build without foundations *in the sea*. The Malabar accounts have brought Habban from Mylapore to Mahuza and back to Mylapore.

[My reasons for identifying Sandarûk with Cranganore are : (1) The name Antrayos (Andrew) given by the *Thoma Parcam* of 1601 to the king of Tiruvanchikulam (Cranganore). Compare it with Andrapolis, Andranopolis, Adrianopolis, and note that, as Sandarûk or Sanadrûk of the Edessan *Syriac Acts* is the name of an Edessan king, the third after Abgar, *i.e.*, Sanatruc or Sanatrugh, Abgar's sister's son, the form Sanadrûk or Sandarûk is least reliable, unless like the other names it can be connected with some name like Andrew or Antrayos. The ending *ûk* must be compared with *uth* in Cosmas Indicopleustes' Mangaruth (for Mangalur, Mangalore). (2) The Malabar tradition assigns to Cranganore the marriage feast of the king's daughter, which in the *Acts* and *Passio* takes place at Sandarûk, Andrapolis or Andranopolis. The *De Miraculis*, as we have said, places it in the first town of India, in Citerior India, where Thomas first landed, thus agreeing with our other three sources. (3) The author of the *Passio* says (Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 139) that, soon after, Thomas sent a priest to Andranopolis to take charge of its church, and that in his own time the See of Thomas was still there, with a great multitude won over to Christ. The first bishop appointed to Andranopolis by Thomas was Dionysius, the king's son-in-law. In the *Thoma Parcam* we find that the son-in-law (T. K. Joseph translates by 'nephew') of the king of Tiruvanchikulam, *i.e.*, Cranganore, is called Bishop Kêppa (Peter). The Dionysius of the *Passio* is therefore the Peter of the *Thoma Parcam*. Possibly, one gives his heathen name, and the other his Christian name, or the name he took on becoming a bishop. As neither the *Acts* nor the *De Miraculis* has a name for Dionysius, and the name in the *Passio* differs from that in the *Thoma Parcam*, the *Thoma Parcam* is independent, while both the *Passio* and the *Thoma Parcam* confirm each other.

[The *Thoma Parcam* is also independent of our earliest authorities for the name Andrew given to the king of Tiruvanchikulam. The *Passio* gives him no name ; the *De Miraculis* neither : but the latter says, on the occasion when Sifur, Mazdai's general, meets Thomas, that present at the meeting was St. Thomas' deacon, the king of the marriage-feast celebrated at the first town in India where Thomas had landed. In the *Acts* the deacon present *on the same occasion*, to whom Thomas entrusts the people of the place, is called Xanthippus (*Syriac Acts*), Xenophon (*Greek Acts*). We must conclude that the deacon Xanthippus-Xenophon is no other than the deacon-king of Andrapolis. The meeting between Sifur and Thomas must therefore have taken place at Andrapolis : for the deacon-king must have returned to Andrapolis with his people after pursuing Thomas in the direction of Gundaphar's kingdom, perhaps to Gundaphar's capital, chiefly as Thomas remained at least two years in Gundaphar's dominions. The *Thoma Parcam* is independent of our other authorities in that it calls the king Andrew, and does not allude to his becoming a deacon. It is independent in other matters as well. Shall we say that the *Thoma Parcam* borrowed the name from the name Andrapolis, or Andranopolis or Sandarûk, when it calls Andrew king of Tiruvanchikulam ? Shall we not say rather that the name Andrew is represented in Andrapolis or Andranopolis and is older than the *Greek Acts* ? The same for Sandarûk, if it can be connected with a name like Andrew ? We have then the very curious fact that the following Greek names Xanthippus, Xenophon, Andrew, Dionysius, Pelagia (the name of the king's daughter), Andrapolis, Andranopolis, Adrianopolis, all refer to Cranganore. Compare this with the Greek influence from Alexandria and perhaps Mesopotamia exercised on the Malabar coast in the first two or three centuries of our era, and with the fact that we have at Kuravalangad, in Malabar, a Christian bell with an inscription of which we suppose the characters to be Greek rather than anything else. Note also that the *Passio* states that an inscription on the tomb of Pelagia declared in Greek and in the Greek character : "Here rests Pelagia, the spouse of Bishop Dionysius, who was the daughter of Thomas the Apostle."

[The *Passio* agrees in so many matters with the *Thoma Parcam* alone, while yet differing from it in substantial points, that we must say both have preserved details older and more reliable than the *Gnostic Acts* we now have. The *Passio* is quoted by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and in the Mozarabic liturgy. It is

older than the *De Miraculis*, which borrows from it, but only partly, in one point of importance, the scene in the Temple of the Sun. The *De Miraculis* is itself quoted by St. Gregory the Great (d. 610), and it cannot be by Gregory of Tours (d. 593-594), for the simple reason that it represents the removal of St. Thomas' relics in the lifetime of Mazdai, whereas Gregory of Tours, who knew the *Passio*, says it took place after a long time. If the *Passio* were of A.D. 450, it would still be of respectable antiquity. It vouches for the hierarchy, deacon, priest, and bishop, established at Cranganore by Thomas and its continuity until as late as A.D. 450, the date we suppose. It does so in a manner clearer than any other document we have. In turn, the Malabar tradition vouches for the apostolicity of the Mylapore Church and for Thomas' death and burial at Mylapore. We now see that, with the See of Thomas at Cranganore up to A.D. 450, it can do so authoritatively. The St. Thomas question is solved for Mylapore, and solved on the most satisfactory lines, those of the Malabar tradition.

[It matters little now if the *Thoma Parvam* is suspect in certain matters. It would be invaluable, had it kept only the name Andrew of the king of Andrapolis and the name Kepha of his bishop son-in-law.—*H.H.*]

Andrew and Kêppâ of Thomas' Rambân's song of A.D. 1601 are mere fabrications, I suspect. The song is entirely unfounded, although it is said to be based on a MS. of the 1st century. I have altogether ignored the song. It is a pious fraud, if I may say so.

These are my chief reasons for regarding the song as spurious :—

(1) The author says that this song is an abridged version of an account written in the first century A.D. But none other than he has heard of or seen such an important historical document—neither Barbosa, De Barros, Correa, Menezes, Gouvea, Roz nor any other person eagerly searching for documents relating to the history of the Malabar Church. The first-century document that suddenly manifested itself to Thomas Rambân (=Thomas the Monk) in 1601 A.D.—where has it gone ?

(2) This song, which the author himself says was composed in A.D. 1601, is in point of style and language more modern than another well-known Malayalam song of A.D. 1732, called the *Mârgam-Kali Song*.

(3) The song gives a good many astoundingly minute details—for instance, the names of Antravôs (Andrew) king of Cranganore, of Kêppâ (Cephas, Peter) his nephew consecrated bishop, and of Paulôs (Paul) king of Mylapore also consecrated bishop; the amount of time the apostle spent in each place; the respective numbers of Brâhmans (6850), Kshatriyas (2590), Vaisyas (3780), Sudras (1280) and Jews (40) that he converted; the number of the kings (7) that he ordained priests, of the chiefs (21) that he made trustees of the common fund, of the dead (29) that he raised to life, and of the diseased (1260) that he healed.

But not even a single one of these details is found either in the traditions of the respective localities in Malabar, or in other records in Syriac or Malayalam. That means that from the first century A.D. until the discovery of the song about twenty years ago—*i.e.*, for about 1830 years—the details recorded therein had no existence in the world of actuality.—T.K.J.

REMARKS BY T.K.J.

(1) Even before Dr. Farquhar wrote his paper mentioned by the Rev. Fr. Hosten, I was under the impression that Andrapolis (Sandarûk) was outside India of the present day. But whether it is the Andropolis pointed out by Dr. Farquhar, I do not know.

(2) The earliest version of *The Acts of Thomas*—the Syriac and the Greek—say that the apostle first landed in Andrapolis (Sandarûk), a royal city, and then "came into the cities of India" and went away "to appear before" King Gûdnaphar. From this most scholars have inferred that Andrapolis (Sandarûk) was outside India.

(3) Of the later version, the *Passio* gives us to understand that Andranopolis was only a seven days' sail from Cæsarea, and that the apostle had to sail further to reach India. So the *Passio* agrees with the Syriac and Greek versions in this respect.

(4) According to another later version, *De Miraculis*, Habban takes Thomas to the first city in Citerior India, and thence they leave for Ulterior India.

About the time when *De Miraculis* was written Citerior India meant even the lower extremity of Arabia —(Medlycott's *Thomas*, p. 178). Ethiopia was India Interior (*loc. cit.*), or the Indies (*ibid.*, p. 172). Arabia Felix also was the Indies (*ibid.*, p. 177). To Rufinus (about 345–410 A.D.) India the Farther was Abyssinia (*ibid.*, pp. 182, 188). And "at least in Sassanian times" (226–651 A.D.) "and doubtless earlier, there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east."—*Cambridge History of India*, I, 325. See also Mingana: *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, reprint, 1926, pp. 11–44.

So Citerior India of *De Miraculis* was outside modern India.

(5) It is clear therefore that all the four early versions of *The Acts* place Andrapolis (Sandarûk) outside modern India. It is only in the later Malabar and foreign recensions or adaptations (in Syriac, Portuguese, etc.) that we find Andrapolis identified with Cranganore, and Gûdnaphar with the Chola king of Mylapore. And it has to be specially noted that these recensions or adaptations are later than the latest of the first four versions alluded to above by at least half a dozen centuries. Like *Thomas Rambân's Song* of

1601 A.D. they appear to have received sudden inspiration. Barhebraeus (1246—86) seems to be the earliest writer (barring, of course, the Syriac and Greek martyrologies of c. 700, which mention Calamina, i.e., probably Chinnamalai, near Mylapore) who connects St. Thomas *definitely* with South India. Cosmas (c. 535) says nothing about St. Thomas in Male (Malabar).

(6) As already shown *Thomas Ramban's Song* is spurious, and must be ruled out of court.

(7) "Thoma Parvam of 1601." *Thomas Ramban's Song* of 1601 A.D. is not the same as *Thoma Parvam*, another Malayalam song about St. Thomas. The song of 1601 and 'Carmen Thomae Ramban' used in Zaleski's *The Apostle Thomas*, Mangalore, 1912, are the same.

(8) "The name Antrayos" (Andrew) given by the song of 1601. The *Mârgam-Kali Song* (in Malayalam) about St. Thomas, which was the sole, undisputed authority for all Malabar Christians until the publication in 1916 of the song of 1601 A.D., and is still jealously regarded as such by the Southist section claiming descent from Thomas Cana, calls the king *not* Andrew, but Pôl. I think we need not hesitate to affirm that both these songs got the names from Andra-polis, the *Margam-Kali Song* taking the latter half, and the song of 1601 the former. Both the songs seem to be adaptations of the *Passio* or *De Miraculis*. (See Remark No 13 *infra*).

(9) "Son-in-law." The word in the original (*marumakan*) has the senses of son-in-law and nephew.

(10) "*Thoma Parvam* is independent." Correct *Thoma Parvam* into *Thomas Ramban's Song* of 1601, as indicated in Remark No 7. *ante*. The song of 1601 seems to be, on the contrary, *dependent* on, and in fact an adaptation of the Latin versions of *The Acts*, interlarded with a large number of details seemingly invented by the author. (See *ante*, p. 180)

(11) "The Malabar tradition vouches," etc. I beg to submit that we should say "Malabar tradition of recent centuries." But was Malabar tradition of the first, second, third, fourth and the succeeding two or three centuries, identical with that of subsequent centuries? We do not know, because the early Malabar tradition has not come down to us in written form. (See my "St Thomas in South India," *Ind. Ant.*, December, 1926). Tradition grows and is constantly pruned and grafted. The St. Thomas tradition of Malabar must have been no exception.

(12) "It would be invaluable, had it kept only the name Andrew." As already pointed out in Remark No. 8, the *Mârgam-Kali Song* which, unlike the upstart song of 1601, is still religiously treasured by the Malabar Christians as an invaluable possession, calls him Pôl, *not* Andrew.

And, be in noted that this *Margam-Kali Song* makes Thomas land first in *Mylapore*, then takes him to Pôl's daughter's marriage feast (at an unnamed place outside the Mylapore king's territory) and to other countries including Malacca and China, back again to Mylapore, thence to Cranganore and other places in Malabar, from which country he goes again to Mylapore in obedience to the king's indignant summons and is later killed in a riot at the temple of the goddess Kâli.

On the other hand, the song of 1601 makes Thomas land first in *Cranganore* in A.D. 50, and, without allowing him to preach in other parts also of Malabar, hurries him away to Mylapore, whence he proceeds to China and returns to Mylapore. At the invitation of a nephew of the king of Malabar he sails back to Cranganore, establishes churches in that kingdom, goes back to Mylapore on foot, returns to Malabar on foot (across the Ghats) with the help of angels and goes back again to Mylapore, where he is killed.

(13) Pôl, king of an East Coast territory, mentioned in the *Margam-Kali Song*, and Andrew of Cranganore on the West Coast, mentioned in the spurious song of 1601 can easily be traced to Andrapolis of *The Acts*, the name of a city.

Thomas Rambân, the author of the latter, though unscrupulous, seems to have been the more learned of the two bards. For he recognised that Andrapolis could mean Andrew's city, and so christened the king Andrew. While the other called him Pôl most probably because he mistook Andrapolis for a personal name, of which the latter half was to him a surname.

(14) A close study—comparative and analytic—of all the available versions of our Malabar tradition has convinced me (*a*) that they are not faithful, consistent reproductions of contemporary tradition, but confused essays, studies, or lucubrations based on the materials that the authors could lay hands on, and (*b*) that the tradition in its modern form contains two layers—(1) the purely indigenous story of the saint who lies buried in Mylapore, and (2) the story of *The Acts of Thomas*. T. K. J.[66]

Page 128, note 31.—Barbosa mentions two churches at Cranganore, which must have been burnt down when the Christians fled to Katutturutti and built a church there. When? Before 1590. I must see the Parur inscription. I write to the Vicar.—T. K. J.

[*At page 148, note 14, supra.* We find that before A.D. 1516 there was at Cranganore a Church of Our Lady of Mercy, and another of St. Thomas. This latter was destroyed in 1536. Mgr. Roz (*cf.* text *ibid.*) states that a Syrian MS. of 1507 mentions at Cranganore three churches: Our Lady's, St. Thomas' and St. Quiree's. In a Syriac MS. of A.D. 1301, the deacon Zechariah, a relative of Mar Jacob, director of the Church of Christian India, states that he writes in the Church of the martyr Mar Cyriacus of Shingala (Cranganore

[66] Not having seen Mr. Joseph's rejoinder before it was in printed proof form, I reserve my answer for a future number of the *Indian Antiquary*. H. H.

Cf. Mingana, *op. cit.*, reprint, p. 69. Mar Jacob, Metropolitan of India, wrote another Syriac MS. in the Church of St. Thomas of Shingala, in A.D. 1510. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 70. Do Couto states that, after building a church at Cranganore, that of St. Thomas, still existing in do Couto's time on the same site, but renewed, Thomas Cananeo built two others, those of Our Lady and of the martyr St. Cyriacus. The Church of St. Thomas at Cranganore existed probably in A.D. 988, when we hear of one Mar Johannes, Metropolitan in Malabar. The name and the date are found in a relation dated Trichur, Cochin, 1820, and were taken from a Syriac MS. of the Canancode Church, near Quilon. *Cf. The South India Christian Repository*, Madras, II (1838), p. 195. This Mar Johannes of A.D. 988 may be the Mar Johanan of Cranganore mentioned by Bishop Roz of Cranganore (p. 147 *supra*).

[Probably the Christians of Cranganore suffered whenever the Jews of Cranganore were the object of attack. Zereddien Mukhdom, an Arab, Egyptian, or Turk, who was sent to help Calicut and the Muhammadan princes against the Portuguese, and whose account ends in A.D. 1580 (cf. *Asiatick Researches*, vol. V: "Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar" by Duncan, p. 22) says that in A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524-25) there was a Jewish settlement at Cranganore, which the Muhammadans attacked fiercely, killing the Jews and destroying their houses and synagogues. Many then fled to Chenotta or Chennamangalam. After that, Cranganore was to them distasteful. In 1565, on the occasion of another war between the Samorin and Cochin, they fled to Cochin, where their first leaders were David Balcha, Samuel Castil, Ephraim Salah, and Joseph Levi. In 1567 they had completed their synagogues and some other buildings. *Cf.* Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gutersloh, 1877, pp. 255-256.—H.H.]

Page 128, note 32.—These names seem to be Kôṭṭûr, Katanâṭẹ, Ônamturutṭẹ, and Narimaṭṭam; but I am not sure at all. I must enquire. These are all names of *places* now existing; but there is a rich family by name Kôṭṭûr, which is now in possession of the lands of the old Villyârvaṭṭam king or the king of Malabar Christians.—T.K.J.

[I understand that these are names of families which came from the Mylapore side, perhaps on the occasion of the persecution launched by Manikka Vâśakar. A Malabar Christian MS. of *c.* A.D. 1800, which Mr. T. K. Joseph wrote to me about, places in 293 the flight of Christians from Kâvêripaṭṭanam to their brethren in Malabar, and in 315 the arrival of Manikka Vâsakar at Quilon. These dates are remarkably close to Geiger's date 315 for Manikka's supposed visit to Ceylon, and to the date 270 in V. A. Smith. Ittup's History refers to the arrival of a Manichean of Persia before this persecution of Manikka Vâsakar. The Malabar accounts also state that the Christians of Mylapore were persecuted by Manikka. Though he is now held to have been a Śaivite, he may have been himself a Manichean. The people of Vepar or Bepar, on the Fishery Coast, who, according to Mgr. Roz and do Couto, recollected still that they were of the caste of the Christians, may have been apostates. It was the opinion in Malabar in 1599 that some of the Mylapore Christians had fled to the Todamala or Mountains of the Todas, in the Nilgiris. Two expeditions were sent soon after to reconnoitre. The first brought back favourable news; the second, returning from the buffalo-worshipping Todas, spoke adversely. We now discover on the eastern slopes of the Nilgiris scores of stones with a cross, which in my opinion can be nothing else than Christian.

[Do Couto speaks of the Cortah Christians of Paru (Parur), who said that the first Indian city where St. Thomas landed was Mahâdêvarpaṭṭanam. Compare the name Cortah with the name Kôttûr.—H.H.]

Page 128, note 35.—The proper Malayalam pronunciation is Katutturutti.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 36.—Cotete is Kôṭṭayattê (ê as in 'her,' 'father'), the locative of Kôṭṭayam.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 36.—There is a place Koṭamâlûr, north of Kôṭṭayam. But did Menezes, coming from Diamper, even north of Koṭamâlûr, retrace his steps to Koṭamâlûr from Kôṭṭayam? Gouvea must be consulted.—T.K.J.

[The itinerary in Gouvea's *Jornada* is: Diamper, Cottete, and Coramallù, in the country of the king of Porca. On the way from Cottete to Coramallù, de Menezes was met by the Queen of the Tecancutes. From Coramalur (a new spelling), de Menezes organised a mission to the Malleas, who were supposed to be apostate Christians. Two Cassanars of Doramallur (read: Coramallur) went, and met the Archbishop later at Angamale. While de Menezes was at Coramallur (new spelling), the king of Porcà came up the river with about 100 boats to celebrate at Coramallur, as he did every year, his birthday. From Coramallur de Menezes went to Diamper. *Cf.* fols. 79r-85r.—H.H.]

My identification of Coramallu seems to be correct.—T.K.J.

Page 128, note 37.—It seems to be Turavûr (*r* as in rat), north of Kôttayam.—T.K.J.

Page 117, note 38.—The earliest mention of the vision and the body of emigrants, that I have seen occurs in Bishop Thomas' Syriac letter of A.D. 1721 to Carolus Schaaf of Leiden. The Syrian priest Mathew's Syriac account of about the same time (*cf. Ind. Ant.*, March, 1927—'Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*') refers to the vision and the body of emigrants. The song for the dance referred to by Fr. Hosten is the *Mârgam Kali Song* of A.D. 1732, of which he now has a translation of mine. Other short songs about Thomas Cana, sung along with this song of 1732, are of about the same time.

I have found no reason yet to think that the vision and the emigration were not in the Malabar tradition when Monserrate, Gouvea and others wrote their accounts. Are de Barros and Gaspar Correa also silent on the matter ?—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 40.—I have heard of Jewish colonists in Pâlayûr (= Pâlûr), but not of Armenians. I must enquire.—T.K.J.

Page 147, para. 2.—Thomas Cananeo among the saints. No, he was a merchant.—T.K.J.

Page 147, para. 2.—A wife and a concubine. Thomas Cananeo is even now said to have had a wife of his own nationality, and a concubine belonging to the *veluttêtan* or washerman caste of Malabar. We know that concubinage is a regular recognised institution among the Jews (those in Malabar too) and other Semitic people. Until recent times it was often so among the indigenous Malabar Christians also, the concubines in this case, as in the case of the Malabar Jews, being women converts from low caste Hindus, who are usually retained as maid servants. The offspring of these Christian concubines are Christians, contemptuously termed *vaṭukar*, and are put very low in the social scale. To call a pure-bred, high caste Malabar Christian a *vaṭukan* may cost the offender his life. Family tradition tells which Christian is of high caste and which a Vaṭukan. The distinction is now-a-days vanishing.

The Malabar Christian system of concubinage was condemned at the council of Diamper in 1599 (Act 7, decree 13).—T.K.J.

Page 147, note 41.—Bishop Mar Johannan, before the arrival of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498

This may be Bishop Mar John sent to Malabar in the year 1801 of Alexander (= A.D. 1490) by the Catholicos Mar Simeon, Patriarch of the East. In a letter from Malabar written a year after the year 1814 of the Greeks (= A.D. 1503), he is described as "still alive and hale." The letter must have been of A.D. 1504. There is another Mar John of A.D. 988 (*cf.* p. 181, n. 41 of p. 148).—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 1.—The Cranganore Church of St. Cyriacus was in existence in A.D. 1301, for the colophon of a Syriac book (*Cod. Syr. Vat.*, N. XXII), containing a church Lectionary of the Pauline Epistles, says it was finished in that Church on a Wednesday, in June of the year 1612 of the Greeks (= A.D. 1301).—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 2.—Patna is Mahâdêvarpaṭṭaṇam, Cranganore.

"This king was a Christian." No, he was a Hindu.—T.K.J.

Page 148, para. 2.—Coulão is Quilon in Travancore.

"In many things their memory." Many things in memory of their antiquity ?

"*Padrões.*" The reference must be to the public copy on *stone* of the Thomas Cana plates.

"Temples." Better, Churches.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 1.—"They presented them to the Governor." "They" means the Malabar Christians.

But where did Faria y Sousa get the following specific details ?

"In the year 1544 came to Cochin, Jacob a Chaldean bishop of Cranganore, where being dangerously sick, he sent for the treasurer, Peter de Sequeyra, and told him necessity had obliged him to pawn two copper plates" [those of Thomas Cana] "with characters engraven on them which were original grants and privileges bestowed on the Apostle St. Thomas" [no, Thomas Cana, the merchant] "by the sovereigns" [better, sovereign, singular] "of those countries, when he preached there." [Thomas Cana did not preach, but carried on trade] "that he desired him to release them, lest they should be lost if he died, for if he lived, he would take them out himself. This prelate found the only way to lose them, was trusting the Portuguese ; for Sequeyra paid the two hundred Royals they were pawned for, put them into the Treasury, and they were never more heard of."—*Portuguese Asia*, II. 506.

Perhaps the Governor, Dom Affonso took them away in A.D. 1545.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—"Writing already almost spoiled by age." That would show that the plates were *much more than a thousand years* old in 1544. For the Jewish plate of 1085 A.D. is still as good as new, and the Quilon Church plates of *circa* 880, though broken to pieces, have the characters quite deep and legible. Of course, we assume that these three sets of plates being considered very valuable, were carefully preserved by the owners under similar conditions of safety.

1544 *minus* say 1100 = 444, which makes the year 345 A.D., assigned by tradition to the Thomas Cana plates, very probable.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 4.—" To the Apostle St. Thomas." No, to the merchant Thomas Cana. The Apostle Thomas is in Malabar called Mâr Tômmâ. The merchant Thomas also can be called Mâr Tômmâ. Mâr, meaning Lord, being applicable to Christ, the Apostles, Patriarchs, Bishops, masters, and other respectable men. Carolus Schaaf, of Leiden is addressed as Mar Carolus in the Syriac letter of 1721 previously referred to.—T.K.J.

Page 149, para. 1.—" A Temple and a Church." Thomas Cana and his Christian followers had no use for a temple.—T.K.J

Page 149, last para.—A.D. 886. This date may perhaps apply to the Quilon Church plates of about A.D. 880 granted in the reign of Chêramân Perumâḷ Sthânu Ravi. Chêramân Perumâḷ simply means the Emperor of Malabar. It is not a proper name, although many take it as such. One of these emperors became a great Śaivite saint and is always known as Chêramân Perumâl Nâyanâr, and not by his proper name, which is unknown. (See also page 149, foot-note 56).—T.K.J.

Page 150, para. 1.—" Chronogram Shovala," pronounced Śôvâla. Generally, it is only significant words that are used as chronograms. But Śôvâla is meaningless in Malayalam, or Tamil, or Sanskrit. It may be that the author of the chronogram was not able to find a word which would at once give sense and indicate the date. But Śuvôlô (Śuvâlâ) in Syriac has a meaning (question or enquiry).

Since the date is given in the Christian era, it is evident that the chronogram was made in Malabar after the Portuguese advent in A.D. 1498. For that era was not in vogue in that country prior to that date. The era of the Greeks was in use among the Malabar Christians in pre-Portuguese times. The date then must have been (345 + 311 =) 656 *anno Græcorum*.—T.K.J.

Page 150, para. 2.—" Franciscans." The Malayalam name for the Portuguese was (and is) Paruṅki (Feringhee). Did the Jesuit writer of 1604 mistake Paruṅki (the Portuguese) for the Franciscans ?

Should we not search for the priceless plates in Governor Martim Affonso de Sousa's house ?

Mar Jacob, though he apprehended death in 1544, died only in 1549. He did not however recover the plates as expected, not because he did not care or endeavour to do so, but because the Paruṅkis (Portuguese) had taken them away to their country.

Page 151, note 60.—The Syrian MS. of the Canancode Church, near Quilon, to which I referred above (p. 182, n. 44 of p. 148) states that Marsabore and Ambraot (*sc* for Gouvea's Mar Xabro and Mar Prodh) "landed at Cranganore in company with the merchant Towrio (*sic*) in Kollam era 1, or A.D. 825." That MS. should be rediscovered. The Kollam era, as suspected by Yule, must be a Christian era, and so may the Sâlivâhana era be a Christian era.—H.H

Page 151, para. 1.—" They count the year of the foundation of Coulão." It can now be regarded as certain that the Quilon (or Malabar) era began with the foundation of the city of Quilon in Travancore in A.D. 825 by the foreign merchant Sabriso mentioned as a very important personage in the famous copper-plates of the Quilon church.

In many old Travancore inscriptions we find the expression " such and such a year after *Kollam tônṭi* " *i.e.*, after Quilon 'came into being.' This coming intoexistence must have been the result of Sabrîśo's activities, for we find one of the Quilon Church plates (of *circa* A.D. 880) describing him twice as *innakaram kaṇṭa, i.e.*, ' he who established or founded this city.'

A *Kêralôlpatti* (legendary history of Malabar) version has the following : " Previously there was no Quilon (era), there was only *Kali* (the era) to know the year. As this was not understood by all, the year in which the Brâhmans of the 64 villages, the kings of Malabar, and the Quilon merchant together dug a lake " (probably a harbour for Sabriso's ships) . . . " in that year the temple was finished. From that time (the) Quilon (year) has been put before (the position of) Jupiter. (The) *Kali* (year) is not known to all ; only astrologers know it. (The) Quilon (year) everybody can know. So (the) Quilon (year) and (the position of) Jupiter are used together " [Translation].

The Quilon merchant mentioned in this Hindu tradition must be Sabrîšo. Probably there was a silting up of the Quilon harbour prior to 825 A.D., and also a destruction of the city by an encroachment of the sea. (See foot-note 60.) Quilon has now a fast receding sea coast. That must have been the case in old times also. For according to local tradition the church of St. Thomas, the famous marble pillar on the Quilon coast and several other structures are now said to be in the sea. (See also Paulinus : *Voyage to the E. I.*, pp. 115, 127)—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 1.—Ollas, properly *ôlas. Ôla* in Malayalam is palm-leaf. Leaves of the palmyra palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*) and the talipot or fan-palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*), were and even now are used in writing. *Ollas* of copper means copper-plates in the shape of *ôlas.*

These copper plates seem to be none else than the existing plates of the Quilon church. The language of the inscription on these plates is old Malayalam (almost Tamil) with some names in Hebrew, Pahlavi and Arabic, and the characters used are (1) Grantha, (2) Vaṭṭeḻuttu, (3) Hebrew, (4) Pahlavi and (5) Kufic.

Having heard of copper-plates in a house in Têvalakkara, I made enquiries, but was told that no such things existed. Probably they exist, but, as usual, the owners are not willing to let others see them. I know of several other copper-plates actually in existence, and have been long after them in vain. The owners, being ignorant, narrow-minded, and suspicious, are afraid of taking them out. In course of time these plates will be destroyed or melted for making brass vessels.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 1.—Gadejagal stands for *kâdîśâkal*, saints.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 4.—The Queen of Changanate is the queen of Quilon. Gundara is Kuṇṭaṛa near Quilon.—T.K.J.

Page 152, para. 4.—" Three big copper *ollas*." The Quilon Church copper-plates, Set I, consisted of three plates, the last of which is now missing. This set is of *circa* A.D. 880. Each plate of this set is 8.8 in. × 3.2 in. (" two palms × four fingers ").

The Quilon Church plates, Set 2, of *c.* 880, originally had four plates (first plate now missing), each 9.1 in. × 3.3 in. The rings of both these sets are now missing.—T.K.J.

Page 153, para. 1.—" Written on both sides." No, the obverse side of the first plate of Set 1 is left blank, as usual. The " iron ring " is now missing.—T.K.J.

Page 153, last para.—" 13 versions ." They are mere hearsay versions widely differing from the Portuguese translation of 1604.

True, these versions are not genuine. But we can get some nuggets of value out of them by careful crushing, washing and sifting..—T.K.J.

Page 153, note 63.—" Sanscrit version ", *i.e.*, a version in Malayalam language and characters. On analysis I find that du Perron's version is a medley of the inscription on—

The Quilon Church plates.

(1) Set I, plate 1, reverse	(6) Set I, plate 2, obverse,
(2) Set II, ,, 2, observe	(7) ,, ,, 2, reverse
(3) ,, ,, 2, reverse	(8) ,, ,, 3, obverse and reverse, and
(4) ,, ,, 3, obverse	(9) Of a hearsay version of the Thomas Cana plates.
(5) ,, ,, 3, reverse	—T.K.J.

Page 154, para. 1.—" Contents valuable." Yes, because it gives us the names of witnesses engraved on the now missing plate 3 of the Quilon Church plates, Set I.—T.K.J.

Search for the Thomas Cana Copper-plates.

[After I had written my article on the Thomas Cana copper-plates, I sent a copy of it to Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States, Trivandrum, who wrote to Lisbon, asking that a search for the plates be made in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon. On March 28, 1926, Mr. C. W. E. Cotton wrote to Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum (No. 1166–25) :—

" With reference to your letter, dated 11th June last, I have the honour to inform you that the two copper-plates characterized as the ' Magna Charta ' of the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar are not in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon. His Majesty's representative in Lisbon

also advertised in a widely read newspaper stating that any information as to the whereabouts of the copper-plates would be welcomed. The appeal however though published several times, has not evoked any response.

"2. As regards the two plates which you allege to have passed into the possession of the English when the Cochin Fort was surrendered to them, I have ascertained that there are no records bearing on the subject in the Madras Record Office."

[A copy of this letter was communicated to me. Towards the end of 1926, I received in addition from Mr. C. W. E. Cotton a typed copy of an article in Portuguese on the Thomas Cana copper-plates published in the *Epoca* by the Rev. P. J. Monteiro de Aguilar. I am now recovering that article from a priest in India whom I supposed erroneously to be the author, and trying to get into touch with the author in Portugal. The article would be worth translating for the *Indian Antiquary*.

[On January 19, 1926, Mr. T. K. Joseph wrote to me . " All day on Dec. 23, a friend of mine in Lisbon, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, had the Torre do Tombo ransacked, but Dr. Antonio Baião, the Director-General, could find no copper-plates. My friend is making a search through the Ambassador H. E. Veiga Simoes."

[We should not give up hope yet. If a new search is made, we might begin with the State Archives of Goa which are now being put in order.—H.H.]

SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS.

BY R. SRÎNIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR M.A.

I. Some Old Maratha Coins

FANAMS OF RÂMA RÂJA.

A FIND of two hundred coins was reported in 1908 from the village of Kiltâyanûr, Tirukkovilur Taluk of the South Arcot District Madras Presidency. They were then acquired for the Museum by the Government of Madras; sixty five of them were distributed among different Provincial Museums and 134 sold to the general public and numismatists These coins were then wrongly identified as Kâḷi *fanams*.

Kâḷi *fanams*, or as they are sometimes called Kaliyugarâjan *fanams*, were current in Kêrala or North Malabar in the early centuries of the Christian era. Elliot in his history of South Indian coins says that there were two kinds of these, one issued by Kôlatnad or Chirakkal Râja and the other by the Zamorin of Calicut, who, to distinguish this issue from earlier ones, called them *pudiya* (new) *fanams* Both these coins though accepted and used as a medium of exchange in Kêrala or North Malabar, were not recognized as legal tender even in the contiguous province of Travancore So in the early centuries when the means of communication was so small and the country was divided into several principalities each under separate and independent administrations, it is not probable that these coins came to the eastern district and were current there We may fairly conclude that Kâḷi *fanams* were never accepted or used in places other than Kêraḷa

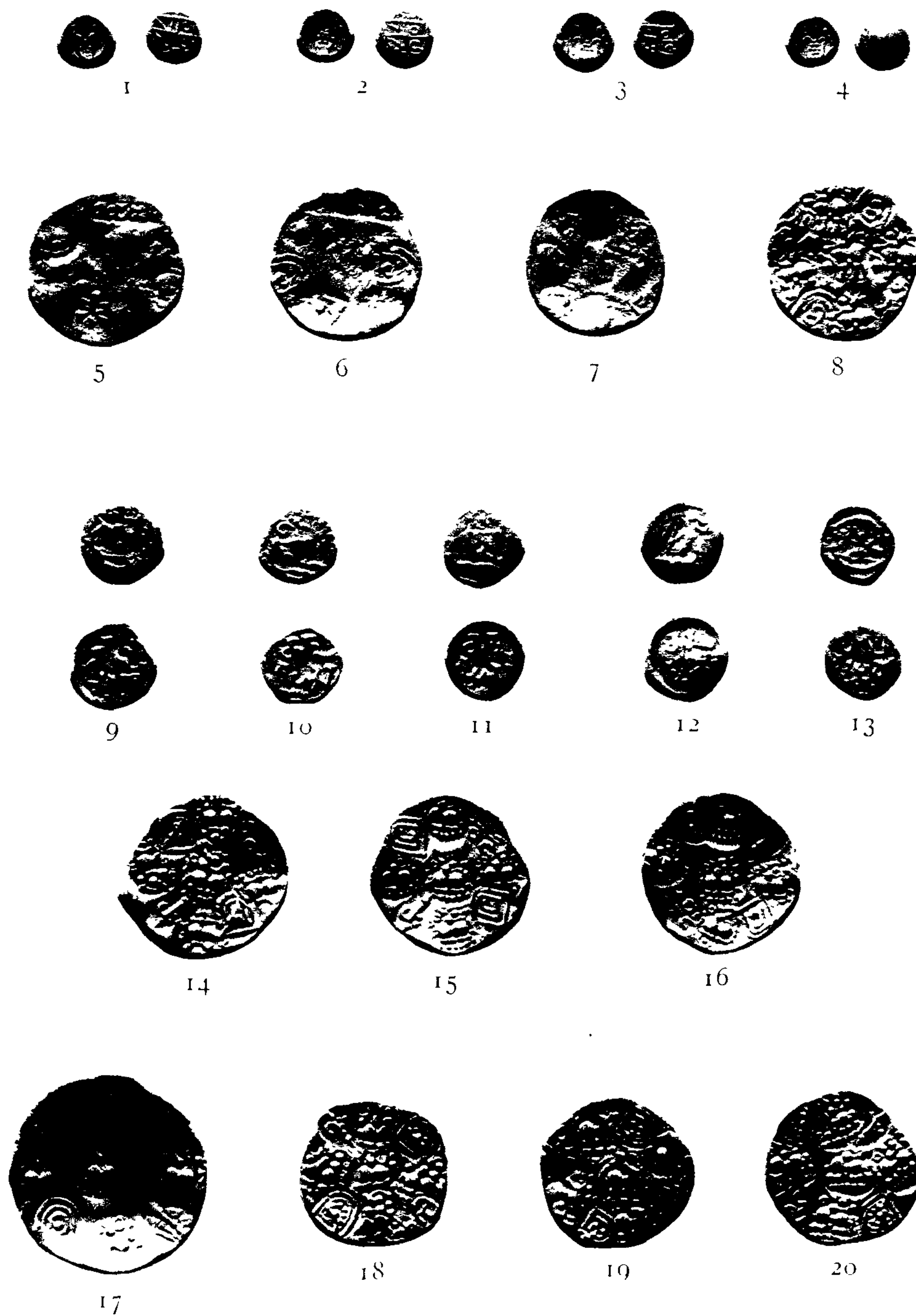
Vincent A. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. I, has included this as the coinage of Travancore State, and has brought them under gold *fanams* of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On page 316 he has described them as follows

Obverse—a kind of dagger and other marks

Reverse—characters not read

This coin is figured as item 10 in plate XXX (page 324)

Later, in 1918, there was yet another find of eighty similar coins from Kattâmbatti, a hamlet of the village of Kannalam in the Gingee taluk of the same district. In design shape, size, weight and the character of the metal used (inferior gold 13 carats fine) these are exactly like those of the 1908 find They are almost all of them round varying from ·2 to ·22 of an inch in diameter and cup-shaped They are almost of a uniform



R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA C. WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS. COLL.

SOME OLD MARATHA COINS.

weight from 5 to 5½ grains. Of these latter eighty, thirty-eight have one side blank [No. 4 in Plate]. All the eighty have on one side a figure formed by lines and dots, with the sun and moon on either side of it. On the reverse side of forty-two there is a legend 'Râma Rau' (रामराउ) [No. 2 in Plate] in Dêvanâgarî script—Rau is apparently intended for Rao.

Râma Rao, as the title Rao indicates, is a Marâthâ name and the term (Rao) is affixed to the names of persons eminent as soldiers, clerks, etc. The title is purely a Marâthâ term generally applied to a ruling chief or king. Palæographical evidence clearly shows that these coins were neither Pallava nor Chôla ones and we know that they were not of the Vijayanagar empire, for they do not resemble any of the Vijayanagar coins that we know in design, shape, weight or quality of the metal. No viceroy of Vijayanagar appears to have issued coins in his own name. Moreover no viceroy with the name of Râma Râjâ appears to have ruled over these parts where these coins were found. The genealogy of Gingee chiefs that is available from inscriptions, Nos. 860 and 861 in Appendix B of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917, gives the names of several chiefs from Khêmu to Râmabhadra Naidu who is said to have ruled in Śaka 1593 (A.D. 1671). Twenty chiefs appear to have ruled between Khêmu and Râmabhadra Naidu, and even allowing twenty-five years for each chief, Khêmu, the first chief, would take us down to 1093 Śaka or A.D. 1171. Further, palæographically the age of these coins has to be put later than the sixteenth century. It must therefore be concluded that these do not belong to the Vijayanagar period. The Mughals conquered the parts, where these coins were found only at the latter part of the seventeenth century. We know that the Dutch at Negapatam and the French at Pondicherry issued coins of exactly the same description as the coins of the 1908 and 1918 finds, and they were current on the east coast before the Mughals overthrew the Marâthâs and assumed sway over their territories. Having thus eliminated all the other dynasties that ruled over these parts we have the Marâthâ period left as the only period to which we can ascribe the origin of these coins.

Gingee, which is very near the two places, from where we had two of these finds, was during this period a seat of Government and was considered a place fit enough for a viceroy to reside and rule, and there is no other place near about these villages in the district which was at any time a seat of Government. So these must have been issued from the mint at Gingee, and we have also on record that Râma Râja, the second son of the famous Sivâji who captured the fortress of Gingee in 1677, had continued to rule here as king and that he had issued a firman to the Hon'ble the East India Company, who in 1690 entered into negotiations with Râma Râja, the Marâthâ king of Gingee, for the purchase of a small fort at Dêvanâmpatṇam, near Cuddalore, on the site of the existing Fort St. David, and which both the French and the Dutch had previously endeavoured to buy. The firman runs thus:—"that the sole Government and possession of the same shall be in the said English Company and their Governors, etc., so long as the sun and moon endures, to be governed by their own lawes and customes both civill and martial and criminall and to coyn money either under our Royal stamp or such other as they shall judge convenient, both in silver or gold . . . . ."[1] This clearly shows that Râma Râja himself had a mint of his own and issued coins in his own name. This Râma Râja is the same as Râma Rau (रामराउ) that is referred to in the legend on the coins under reference. The fact that some of these coins do not have any legend may go to show either that Râma Râja himself had copied the design from coins that were current earlier, or that he himself issued them first without the legend and later on added the legend to impress his own power and importance. In any case there can be no doubt as to the fact that these are of Marâthâ issues, and that they have no manner of resemblance or relation to Kâli *fanams* as was erroneously supposed.

1 *Gazetteer of South Arcot District*, p. 12.

Râma Râja as he was called Râjârâm by the Marâthâs was the second son of Sivâjî by Sôyerâ Bâî. When Sivâjî died Râjârâm was ten years of age. Sôyerâ Bâî wanted to set aside the claims of Sambhâji, the first son of Sivâjî, and to place Râjârâm on the throne. She did so but Sambhâjî captured by force the fort of Raigarh where Râjârâm was, made him a prisoner and ascended the throne in 1680 A.D. Sambhâjî continued to rule, but the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb marched to reduce the South of India to his rule, and having blotted out Bîjapûr and Gôlconḍa turned his arms against the Marâthas. Aurangzeb was gradually closing in upon the Marâthâ country and suddenly captured Sambhâjî and put him to death. Then the Marâthâs unanimously declared Râjârâm, Regent during the minority of Sivâji, the son of Sambhâji who ruled subsequently as Sâhu. Aurangzeb was pushing on his campaign and was taking fort after fort when Sâhu and his mother were taken captives. Râjârâm now thinking that his personal safety was in danger decided to proceed to Gingee which was their stronghold, wherefrom he could conduct the administration of his kingdom securely and not fall into the hands of Aurangzeb. As soon as he reached Gingee, Râjârâm[2] was formally seated on the throne, and he established a court on the plan of his father. The new court began to exercise all the powers of Government. Gold bangles, cloths, shawls and letters announcing the event were secretly forwarded to all the principal Hindus throughout the Marâthâ kingdom, and *inâms* and *jâgîrs* bestowed, by which acts the sympathy of all Marâthâs was secured. It was from Gingee that the whole administration of the Marâthâ country was conducted. It is therefore clear that Râjârâm did occupy the throne, but some of the Marâthâs "jealous of the right of the elder branch do not admit that he ever sat on the throne, but they say that he sat on the gadee[3] merely as regent holding the powers of the State in trust for his nephew." Whatever it may be, he was virtually ruling the Marâthâ country and was in power. It was with this king that the authorities of the East India Company in Madras negotiated to purchase the fort of Dêvanâmpaṭṇam. The firman[4] which he issued to the East India Company was drafted for his signature by the writers of the Company at Madras, and it begins thus:—"Whereas we Râm Râja by the Providence of God king of the Chengie kingdome and territories have at the desire of the Honorable Elihu Yale Governor and Council of the citty and castle of Maddras." Here he is styled as Râm Râja, and so it is clear that Râm Râja is no other than Râjârâm, the second son of Sivâji. In the records of the East India Company he was styled Râm Râja.

Gingee[5] was under the sway of Sivâji and his son Râm Râja between 1677 and 1698 In 1698 it fell into the hands of the Mughals. These coins were therefore issued by Râm Râja during the period from 1683 to 1698 These may be called Râma Râja *faṇams* as their weight is the same as that of other known *faṇams* of South India.

The lines and dots on the obverse side of the coins may at first sight appear to represent a dagger but from a knowledge of coins generally we know that the dagger is not usually used alone. But it is sometimes used in seals on grants with other emblems of royalty, with the sun and moon to denote eternity. We know also that in ancient times these lines and dots were in some cases used conventionally to represent some figure or other. So I think that the lines and dots on the coins now being discussed may represent only the figure of the Râja, and this view receives confirmation from the Dêvanâgarî legend on the reverse side.[6] We learn that coins similar in design were minted by the French at Pondicherry and by the Dutch at Negapatam with their respective bale mark on the reverse. The figure

2 James Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, revised by S. M. Edwardes, 1921, vol. I, p. 283.

3 James Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, p. 371 note

4 *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, p. 41.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 350, and foot-note under.

6 Cte Maurin Nahuy's *Numismatique des Neerlandaises*, part II, page 14.

is similar to that found on coins struck at Pondicherry by the Dutch during their occupation of it from 1693 to 1698. It was thought by Colonel Pearse to be *Kâli* or *Śuli* of Tanjore. It is also stated that this design was found anterior to 1693 in the coins of Negapatam and the Dutch copied this design from them. He states without quoting any evidence that this design was extant as early as the second century of the Christian era during the period of the Guptas ; but from the existing literature on the coins of Guptas we do not find any such design on record. Therefore this appears to be a later design, but current in the Eastern Districts at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the French, the Dutch and the Marâthâs have copied it from that earlier design.

II. Some Chola Coins.

A treasure-trove consisting of twenty-one gold coins was found in survey No. 169. Parla village, Kurnool District, on 2nd December 1918. These gold pieces were discovered during the removal of stones from a field.

Under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act, the find was declared ownerless and was acquired for the Government Museum, Madras.

The treasure comprises fourteen *varâhas*, six Kadamba *faṇams* and one-quarter Kadamba *faṇam*. It is with these fourteen *varâhas* that the present paper deals.

The fourteen *varâhas* are all round and are of the well known Châlukyan type called Padmaṭanka. They preserve their cup-shaped form in almost all cases. One of them is thinner and larger than the others. They show various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which are the two auspicious symbols 'Śrî' in old Telugu-Kannaḍa script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At one extremity of the vertical diameter is found in Telugu-Kannaḍa character the name or title of the king who issued the coin, and at the other end is found a hook attached to a spear bearing the sun and moon There is also a stroke below the hook. The other symbols are the figures of a lion or tiger with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, very crudely represented by dots and lines. The central part is occupied by the figure of a lion. The reverse side of the coin is blank. Ten of the coins bear the legend ['ṇṭa]kaka,' one of them bears 'nnakîti' another 'A[ksha],' another 'kshada' or 'Ksha[pa']and one 'ṇa.' The legends are incomplete.

These fourteen *varâhas* are of five different types :—

No. 1. This comprises ten coins. They are round but slightly bulging out on the four sides. [Nos. 14, 15 & 16 in the Plate.]

Size. Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. Varies from 54·25 to 55·5 grains.

Description. At the top of the vertical diameter is the legend '[ṇṭa]kaka' in Telugu-Kannada script, and at the other end there is a spear with a hook turned towards its proper left. The handle of the spear is turned towards the centre of the coin. There are two dots on the proper right of the spear, which probably stand for the sun and moon. The symbols 'Śri' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter The inter-spaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots which probably represent lions.

No. 2. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 17 in the Plate.]

Size. Round, 1 1/24 inches in diameter.

Weight. 54·5 grains.

Description. It bears the Telugu-Kannada 'nnakîti' at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity we find an *ankusa*. The symbols 'Śrî' are found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. There is a standing lion in the centre and along the border, and the inter-spaces between the four punch marks already described are stamped with the figures of standing lions.

No. 3. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 18 in the Plate.]

Size. Round but bulging out on four sides. The horizontal and vertical diameters are 20/24 and 21/24 of an inch.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. The legend 'A[ksha]' in Telugu-Kannada appears at the top of the vertical diameter. Right below at the opposite extremity is found the spear with the hook turned towards the proper right. There are three dots on the proper left of the spear. The symbol 'Śrî' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with pellets, dots or rows of dots, which probably represent a lion.

No. 4. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 19 in the Plate.]

Size. Roughly round, varying from 19/24 to 20/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55 grains.

Description. A star surrounded by a number of dots with the moon, which is indicated by a dot within a circle, is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity is found the legend 'kshada' or 'Ksha[pa]' in Telugu-Kannada characters. The symbol 'Śrî' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with figures of lions.

No. 5. *Number.* There is only one coin of this kind. [No. 20 in the Plate.]

Size. Varying from 20/24 to 21/24 of an inch in diameter.

Weight. 55·25 grains.

Description. The legend 'na' inverted in Telugu-Kannada is found at the top of the vertical diameter. At the other extremity we find the spear with the hook and three dots, as found in No. 3 described above. The symbol 'Śrî' is found at the extremities of the horizontal diameter. The inter-spaces are filled with figures of lions.

The several legends noted above are all incomplete and until more coins with sufficiently intelligible legends are forthcoming it is not possible to say what they mean. 'Xnakîti' may probably stand for 'Punyakirti,' and from the existing records we know of no king with such a name. There existed one Chôḷa chief Punyakumâra[7] by name who is supposed to have flourished in the eighth century A.D. The coins are similar to the Telugu-Chôḷa coins of the Kôdûr Treasure Trove case and were probably issued by the Telugu-Chôḷa chiefs who were ruling in the Telugu districts in the thirteenth century A.D.

III.—Coins of Kavaliyadavalli Treasure Trove Case.

In September 1921, while some men were grazing their cattle on a hillock near the village of Kâvaliyadavalli, Âtmakûr taluk, Nellore district, they were attracted by the glitter of metal, and on close examination discovered some coins on a slab in a potsherd. They are sixteen in number, four big and twelve small ones. These form a hitherto unknown variety and are of some interest, and a closer study of them is likely to give valuable information to the history of Numismatics.

By size, shape and weight and the legend and other marks found on them they group themselves under different heads.

Class I. These consist of three big gold coins, which are nearly of the same diameter, only varying from ·78 to ·82 of an inch, and are of the same weight, 55 grains each. The metal is 16 carats fine. They are round-shaped and are of the well known Padmaṭanka type. They are cup-shaped and bear various punch marks on the surface, the most prominent of which is the symbol 'Śrî' in old Telugu-Kannada script on either side of the periphery at the ends of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter is found in old Telugu script a legend which reads as 'R[â]yasa' and a portion of 'ma' in coin No. 1, 'Yasama' in coin No. 2, and 'Samu' in coin No. 3. [Nos. 5, 6 & 7 of the Plate.]

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XI, p. 344, noticed in Mâlêpâḍu plates of Puṇyakumâra.

Putting these three together, we get a fairly intelligible and complete legend [' Râ]yasamu ' At the bottom of the vertical diameter is found a symbol which may be taken to represent a crown. Besides, there are a few indistinct impressions in the interspaces which perhaps are intended to represent lions. The reverse is blank.

The term ' Râyasamu ' ordinarily indicates clerkship. Of course the legend cannot be supposed to mean only clerkship. So it should have a more appropriate meaning. We find that under the Vijayanagar rulers some viceroys had the title of ' Rayasam '. After the conquest of Udayagiri by Śrî Krishṇa Dêva Râya it was made a seat of a Provincial Government. Râyasam Timmarasayya and Râyasam Koṇḍamârusayya were viceroys there in succession. Venkatappa was a viceroy during the reign of Achyuta Dêva Mahârâya. Râyasam Tirumalayya was a governor under Śrî Vira Pratâpa Dêva Râya in Śaka 1496. Râyasam[8] Ayyappa was a governor at Kondavidu in Śaka 1453. Though all these viceroys enjoyed the title of Râyasam, Koṇḍamârusayya was the most powerful of them, so powerful that he[9] was even addressed as Mahârâja. He[10] planted the Vijayanagara colours on the Simhâdri and Śrîkûrmam hills during Krishna Dêva Râyâ's famous campaign in the north. He[11] conquered the Reddis who ruled at Chuṇḍi and annexed their territory. He was so powerful and enjoyed such great independence, that in his own name he made several grants for the spiritual benefit of his master. If only the legend ' Râyasamu ' is to be our guide we may be tempted to conclude that these coins were issued by this powerful viceroy. But on palæographical grounds we have to assign these coins to an earlier date[12].

Again the shape and size are so dissimilar to the extant Vijayanagar types and are more like those issued by the later Châḷukyas of Kalyâni and the Telugu Chôḷa chiefs who ruled in parts of the districts of Cuddapah and Nellore. Further these coins bear a mark which is exactly the same as those found on coins of group X of the Kôdûr Treasure Trove Case[13], which are ascribed to the western Châḷukya king Jagadêkamalla. This mark was then thought to represent a temple, but on closer and more careful examination it seems to me to represent a crown. So far as our present knowledge goes there is no western Châḷukyan king or Telugu Chôḷa chief who enjoyed the title of, or had the name, ' Râyasamu ' So unless and until we get further evidence from inscriptions or records which may be discovered in future we cannot ascribe these coins either to the Châḷukya kings or to the Chôḷa chiefs.

Ambadêva[14] of the Kâyastha family was a feudatory of the Kakatîyas. He defeated several Telugu chiefs and overthrew Śripati Ganapati. Ambadêva usurped the Kâkatiya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrâmba and Pratâpa Rudra Dêva. After the overthrow of Śrîpati Ganapati, Ambadêva assumed the title of Râyasahasramalla. It would be too far fetched to suppose that our legend ' Râyasamu ' was a contraction of Râyasahasramalla [' Râya ' for Raya, ' sa ' for Sahasra and ' mu ' (taking it to be ma) for malla], and we know of no instances in which there have been such contractions in the case of legends.

Upon palæographical grounds we have to ascribe these coins to about the same period as that during which Ambadêva flourished. In shape, size, weight and in the quality of the metal used these are very much the same as the one under class II, which as

8 *Mackenzie MSS.*, bk. XVIII, p. 101, and *Local Records*, vol. 57, pp. 255 256.

9 *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1264.

10 *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, vol. I, pp. 7 8.

11 *Nellore Inscriptions*, pp. 478, 479 note.

12 The first point in regard to this view is whether Vijayanagar viceroys were allowed to issue gold coins. Secondly, whether the combination of the legend is valid. *Ravası* it will strike one is the terminal syllables of a Prakrit legend.—ED.

13 *Madras G. O.* No. 1106 (Home Dt. Misc.), dated 11th October 1917.

14 *Madras Epigraphy Report* for 1912, pp. 76 7.

will be seen later on, is identified as a Kâkatîya coin which was current some twenty or thirty years before the period of Ambadêva Mahârâja. Hence it may be possible to hold that these coins were issued by Ambadêva who had for his model the earlier coins of the Western Châḷukyas of Kalyâṇi, or it may be that these legends were a second time impressed on the western Châḷukyan coins that existed before

These are some of the possible theories which may be advanced as to the date and origin of these coins But nothing definite can be said about them until fresh and more assuring evidence is obtained.

Class II. There is but one gold coin in this class. [No. 8 of the Plate.] It is almost round and has a diameter of ·81 of an inch and weighs 56·25 grains. The metal is 16 carats fine. The symbol Srî is found on either end of the horizontal diameter. At the top of the vertical diameter there is a legend [' ka]ti ' and at the bottom, ' Gaṇa ' in old Telugu script. The interspaces are filled by figures of what may either be a lion or tiger, with open mouth, raised paw and twisted tail, all these very crudely represented by dots and lines. The other side is blank.

There was a dynasty of Kâkatîya kings very powerful in the twelfth century. Gaṇapati was the greatest of the kings of this dynasty. We read from Gaṇapeśvaram inscription,[15] that he conquered the entire country of Velanâṇḍu, which extended from the borders of the Guntûr district to the modern Ellore. After subjugating the north he turned to the south and extended[16] his empire far into the interior of the Tamil country. This is evidenced by the fact[17] that one of his Viceroys, Sâmanta Bhôja at Kânchî, granted the village of Kalattûr to Êkâmranâtha temple at Kânchî for the spiritual merit of his master. From the Môtupalli inscription[18] it appears that he extended his conquests as far as the east coast. Inscriptions of this king are found in the Podili and Dârsi taluks of the Nellore district and Ôngole taluk of the Guntûr District. Inscriptions of Pratâpa Rudra Dêva, another of the Kâkatîya kings, are found in plenty in the taluks of Âtmakûr, Kandukûr and Nellore, all which abundantly prove that the Kâkatîya empire embraced almost the whole of the modern Nellore district. Therefore the village of Kâvaliyadavalli in which this coin was discovered was presumably within the Kâkatîya kingdom.

It seems to be clear therefore that the '[ka]ti ' of our legend is a contraction of Kâkati and represents Kâkatîya, and ' Gaṇa,' Gaṇapati, the most powerful of the Kâkatîya kings. The name Kâkatîya is derived from ' Kâkati, ' the name of the goddess, whom they worshipped. This coin ought to be identified as the coin issued by Gaṇapati of the Kâkatîya dynasty, and between the years of 1199 and 1260 A.D., as from inscriptions 181, 196, 213, 220, 194 and 196 of 1905 noted in the Madras report on Epigraphy we infer that Gaṇapati reigned during that period.

Sir Walter Elliot in his History of South Indian coins says that in many of the seals of the grants and some coins of the Kâkatîya dynasty he found a bull couchant between two candelabra with an umbrella above and a chowrie on each side. Unfortunately he does not mention the names of the kings whose seals and coins he had examined. We have not come across any coins of the Kâkatîya dynasty answering to his description. In the seals of grants of Gaṇapati we do not find any bull, candelabra or umbrella. Instead, in the seal attached to the grant[19] of the village of Kolavennu by Gaṇapati we find a boar with the sun and moon. In the copper-plate grant of the time of Gaṇapati noticed in page 122 of the Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1917, there is a seal which bears the emblems of a boar and a cow Verse 13 in the Ekâmranâtha inscription states that the *mudra*

15 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, p 82

16 *Mad Epi. Rep.* for 1910, p 106

17 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 21, p. 197.

18 *Mad. Epi. Rep.* for 1910, p. 107.

19 *Catalogue of Copper-plate grants in the Madras Museum*, p 26

(seal) of Gaṇapati was a boar.[20] The *mudra*[21] (seal) of Pratâpa Rudra Dêva was a boar. On the east face of the pillar on which the Anumakoṇda inscription[22] of Prôla, grandfather of Gaṇapati, is engraved we find a Jaina figure flanked by a cow and a calf on one side and a dagger and a shield on the other. Thus the *mudra* of Prôla too contains a cow, and we nowhere find a bull among the seals of grants or inscriptions of any of these kings. It is not therefore easy to understand how Sir Walter Elliot came to make the statement that the emblem of the Kâkatîyas was a bull.

However this may be, in the coin under investigation we find lions in and around the centre. From the foregoing discussion I have come to the conclusion that Gaṇapati's emblem was a boar. We usually find kings using on their coins the same emblems as they use for their seals in their grants, and therefore it is matter for consideration how lions came to be on Gaṇapati's coins. It is very likely that he accepted coins that were current before his time, and had his own name punched on them to indicate that he recognized them as legal tender. The formation of the punch marks on the coin and the fact that a portion of the legend overlaps a portion of the lion, show that the legends 'kati' and 'Gana' were punched on old coins of kings who had lions for their emblem.

Class III. There are twelve gold coins in this class. They are all round with diameters varying from ·4 to ·45 of an inch, weighing all alike 5·75 grains each. The metal is 16 carats fine. All these have the legend 'Śung' in old Tamil script on the obverse side. Just below the legend there is also a number in the same old Tamil script, which very likely denotes the regnal year in which each was issued. On the reverse there is a bow, a tiger in sitting posture and some other symbols which are indistinct and are incapable of exact identification. In the case of one coin there is a legend 'Kanchi' and some others have 'Nê' in old Tamil script. In some 'Nê' is in an inverted form. Therefore these coins have to be sub-divided into five different classes, as under :—

Variety No. (1) { *Obverse*—'Śung.' [No. 9 of the Plate.]
27.
Reverse—Tiger, Bow, and indistinct marks, 'Kanchi.'

,, No. (2) { *Obverse*—'Śung.' [No. 10 of the Plate.]
31.
Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks, 'Nê'

,, No. (3) { *Obverse*—'Śung.' [No. 11 of the Plate.]
31.
Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks, 'Nê' inverted.

,, No. (4) { *Obverse*—'Śung.' [No. 12 of the Plate.]
31.
Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks

,, No. (5) { *Obverse*—'Śung.' [No. 13 of the Plate.]
34.
Reverse—Tiger, Bow, some indistinct marks and dots

In the case of coins in which the number 31 appears there is also some mark which may be a simple line or a portion of the Tamil letter *r*. In either case it appears to be something distinct from the numeral and was perhaps intended to represent some symbol which is unfortunately indistinct and cannot be identified.

The emblems tiger, bow, and something else indistinct and the legend 'Śung' appear on all the coins. It is evident therefore that these coins have been issued by some king or kings of a dynasty which had for its emblem, among other things, the tiger and bow. The legend 'Śung' was very probably intended to denote the particular king who issued them. There can be no doubt that 'Kanchi' denotes the place from where, or the mint from

[20] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXI, p 200. [21] *Pratâpamudrîya*, by Vidyânâtha, Kâvyaprakaraṇa, verse 10.
[22] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. IX, p 257.

3

which. that coin was issued. Kanchi was the name of the modern Conjeevaram, which for many centuries was the seat of a king or viceroy. Hence the legend 'Nê' must also represent the contraction of the name of another place from which also coins were issued.

From the inscriptions and records we already possess we know that the tiger was the emblem of the Chôla dynasty, the bow the emblem of the Chêrâs and the fishes the emblem of the Pâṇḍyas. In the seal attached to the Tiruvalangâḍu[23] plates of Rajêndra Chôḷa I. we find the combination of all the three emblems. During the reign of Rajêndra Chôḷa we know that all the three kingdoms, Chêra, Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya, were brought under one sway. It is perfectly reasonable therefore to suppose that the Chôḷas have added the emblems of the Chêras and the Pâṇḍyas, to their own tiger, to proclaim the fact that they had conquered and annexed to their own, the territories of the Chêras and the Pâṇḍyas.

Châḷukya Râjêndra was from A.D. 1061 the ruler of the Eastern Châḷukyan kingdom Vengi which had for its capital Râjahmundry. He was adopted by Râjêndra Chôḷa as heir to his throne Thus Châḷukya Râjêndra, who assumed the title of Kulôttunga Chôḷa Dêva I, became in A.D. 1070 the virtual ruler of the whole of the Châḷukya and Chôḷa empires extending from Vengi in the north to the extreme south. He held possession of the kingdoms of Kêraḷa, Pâṇḍya[24] and Kuntaḷa and extended his conquests as far north as Kalinga (modern Ganjam). He had his headquarters at Gangai Koṇda Chôḷapuram (Trichinopoly district) and continued to rule for at least fifty years.

Kâvaliyadavalli, whence this find was discovered, was once under the sway of Kulôttunga Chôḷa I. During his reign he found that his subjects were groaning under heavy taxation and in order to give them relief abolished all 'śungam.' Śungam in Tamil indicates taxes or tolls. His subjects were so much overjoyed by this measure of relief that they acclaimed their sovereign as Śungam-tavirtta Kulôttunga Chôḷa Dêva. From that time forward he was known by the name of Śungam-tavirtta Kulôttunga Chôḷa I[25] The legend 'Sung' must be a contraction of Śungam-tavirtta (who has abolished tolls). It can only indicate that these coins were issued by this Śungam-tavirtta Kulôttunga Chôḷa, otherwise the legend will be absolutely inexplicable.

I have already said that Kanchi represents Conjeevaram, the place from which the coin was issued; 'Nê' must indicate Nellore. From inscriptions found in the district of Nellore we find there are frequent references made to a coin called 'mâdai.' Mention is made of 'mâḍai'[26] from the interest of which a lamp was maintained in a temple during the 35th year of the reign of Kulôttunga I. From another inscription[27] we learn that there existed coins called 'Nellore mâdai,' for we find that in the 3rd year of Allam Tirukkâḷatti Ganda Gôpala Dêva grants of 'Nellore mâḍai' were made to a temple. From the above it is clear that at one time or other there was a mint at Nellore. So the legend 'Nê' must represent Nellore.

The numerical figures 27, 31 and 34 are evidently the regnal years of the king Kulôttunga who issued them, for we know that coins of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara bear the impress of the regnal year in which they were issued.

We can therefore safely conclude that the coins in this class were all issued between the years A.D. 1070 and 1120, by Kulôttunga Chôḷa I and that they were minted, some at Kanchi and others at Nellore. These coins have brought to light that the Chola king Kulôttunga had mints at Kanchi, or Conjeeveram, and Nellore.

In weight they are very much equal to other South Indian *fanams* that we know of. Only these are a bit larger, but thinner. Probably these were also called *fanams* in those days.

23 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, part III, p 413, see plate attached.

24 *Nellore Inscriptions*, page 826 ff.

25 Inscription No. 377 of 1907, *Mad. Epi. Rep.*

26 *Nellore Inscriptions*, page 835.

27 Inscription No 300 of 1921, *Mad. Epi. Rep.*

MISCELLANEA.

COPPER-PLATES WANTED

Can any body tell me where the following copper-plates are preserved ?

I. Valabhi Plates.

I have not yet been able to trace anywhere the following Valabhî plates which have never been published but have been noted in the following way :—

(1) A grant of Saṁ. 291 Âshâdha Śudi 3, found in Bhâdaraṇa near Baroda, noted by the late Dr. H. H. Dhruva in his book "*Baroda delegate at the VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Stockholm and Christiania in 1889.*"

(2) A grant of Sam. 315, referred to in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I (*History of Gujarat*), p. 92.

(3) & (4) Two grants of Sam. 322 and 328 referred to by Dr. Buhler in *Ind. Ant*, vol. VII, p. 73.

(5) A grant of Sam. 332 referred to in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 92, and in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 73. It records the grant of the village Peḍhapadra. As it is noted that the plates were in the possession of the Chief of Morvi, I personally went to Morvi and made enquiries but got no clue of them whatsoever.

(6) A grant of Sam. 376 Mârgaśira Sudi 15, referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 492, as "from impressions supplied by Dr. Burgess."

The following plates are published but the whereabouts of the originals are not known :—

Of Dhruvasena I—
Sam. 207 Kukada *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 204
.. 216 Valâ .. IV, p. 104
.. 221 Vavdia Jogia. *Wiener Zeitschrift.* VII, p. 299

Of Guhasena—
Sam. 240 Valâ, *Ind. Ant.* VII, p. 66
,, 248 ? ,, ,, V, p. 206

Of Dharasena I—
Sam. 252 Jhar, *Ind Ant.* XV, p. 187
.. 269 Valâ. .. .. VI, p. 9
., 270 Alînâ, .. ,, VII, p. 70

Of Dhruvasena II—
Sam. 320 Nogawa, *Ep. Ind.*, vol VIII, p. 188
.. 321 ,, ,, .. VIII, p. 194

Of Dharasena IV—
Sam 330 Alînâ, *Ind. Ant.*, vol VII, p. 73
,, 330 ? .. ,, .. XV, p 335

Of Kharagraha II—
Sam. 337 Alînâ, *Ind. Ant.* vol VII, p. 76

Of Śilâditya III—
Sam. 365(?) ? *JASB*, vol VII, p. 96

Of Śilâditya IV—
Sam. 372 Bhavnagar, *Ind Ant.*, vol. V, p. 207
.. 441 Lunavâḍâ, ,, ,, VI, p 66
.. 447 Alînâ, ,, ,, VII, p. 79

II. Malvâ Paramâra Plates.

Of Vâkpati Muñja—
Sam. 1031 Indore, *Ind Ant*, vol VI, p 51
., 1036 Ujjain, ... XIV, p 160

Of Bhojadeva—
Sam. 1078 Indore, .. ,, VI, p 53

Of Harischandravarman—
Sam. 1235 (6) Piplianagar, *JASB.*, vol V, p 378

Of Udayavarman—
Sam. 1256 Bhopal, *Ind. Ant*, vol. XVI, p 254

Of Arjunavarman—
Sam. 1267. Piplianagar, *JASB.*, vol V, p. 378
., 1270 Bhopal. *JASB.*, vol VII, p 32
.. 1272 Bhopal, ,, ,, VII, p. 25

III. Gujarat Chaulukya Plates.

Of Mûlarâja—
Sam 1030 Pâtaṇa, noticed in *Wiener Zeit*, vol V, p 300
,, 1043 Kadi, *Ind Ant*, vol. VI, p. 191

Of Bhima—
Sam. 1086 Radhanpur, *Ind Ant*, vol VI, p. 193
.. [10]93 Cutch, ,, .. XVIII, p 108

Of Kumârapâla—
Sam 1213 Nadol, *Ind Ant*, 1912, p 202

Of Ajayapâla—
Sam 1231 Kadi, *Ind Ant*, vol XVIII, p. 80

Of Bhima—
Sam. 1263 Kadi. *Ind Ant*, vol VI, p 194
.. 1264 Timana .. .. XI, p. 337
.. 1266 Kadi .. ,, XVIII, p 112
.. 1283 .. .. ,, VI, p 199
.. 1287 .. .. ,, VI, p 201
.. 1288 .. .. ,, VI, p 203
.. 1295 .. ,, .. VI, p. 205
,, 1296 .. ,, .. VI, p. 207

Of Jayantasimhadeva—
Sam. 1280 Kadi. *Ind Ant.*, vol. VI, p 196

Of [illegible]
[illegible] *Ind Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 208

Of Visâladeva—
Sam. 1317 Kadi. *Ind. Ant.*, vol VI, p 210

D. B Diskalkar.

MORVI PLATE.

In reply to Mr B. F. Gharda's query, *Ind Ant*, vol. LIV (1925), p. 140, as to the whereabouts of the Morvi plate, dated s. 585, I have to write that it is preserved in the office of the Diwan, Morvi State in Kathiawad.

D. B. Diskalkar.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, December 22nd to 24th, 1924 ; Madras, Law Printing House, 1925.

This volume, which embodies the proceedings and administrative details of the 3rd All-India Oriental Conference, as well as the papers read before the various sections, constitutes a valuable addition to the literature of Indian antiquarian research. It is impossible within the limits of a short review to do more than call attention to a few of the subjects which figure in the papers read before

the Conference; but it may be said without fear of refutation that Indologists will here find matter to suit various tastes and various lines of research. Mr. N. B. Pavjee's paper, in which he maintains that the famous *Soma* juice was not liquor, is as interesting in its way as Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi's thesis on the relation of two dramas, *Dâmaka* and *Traivikrama*, to the published dramas of Bhâsa. Dr. Daruwalla contributes a critical survey of the political social and religious condition of Iran in the time of Ardeshir Bapak, while the rather obscure development of Buddhism known as *Vajrayâna*, associated with the name of king Indrabhuti of Orissa, is discussed by Mr. B. Bhattacharya, who incidentally corrects some of the identifications of places suggested by Waddell.

The Dravidian languages and literature of Southern India from the basis of several good papers, including a lengthy one on "The Aryan affinities of Dravidian pronouns" by R. Swaminatha Aiyar, another by J. R. Pantulu on "Dravidian Lexicography," and a third on the date of *Silappadikâran* by Pandit E. M. Subrahmanya Pillai, who gives reasons for dating the burning of Madura in A.D. 144 and the installation of Kannaki in A.D. 149. A good deal might be added to Mr. G.V. Acharya's brief paper on "Memorial Stores in the Bombay Presidency" The writer of this review discovered a curious stone at Junnar in 1904, which recorded an eclipse of the Sun, and managed after some trouble to have it removed to the library of the B.B.R.A.S. Presumably it is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, together with the Silahara inscribed stones from Thana and Kolaba Districts. Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya has a suggestive paper on "Dionysus in Megasthenes"; Mr. B. Bhattachraya gives good reasons for assuming that a hitherto unidentified statuette in the Indian Museum represents Mahâśrî Târâ; and a learned essay by Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar on "The Earliest Monuments of the Pandya Country and their Inscriptions" will repay perusal.

Several good papers are included in the Section devoted to History, Geography and Chronology, and much learning has been expended upon the papers concerned with Oriental Philosophy. The author of a discourse on electricity and magnetism in Ancient India deals mainly with the origin of the common Indian superstition that one should never sleep with one's head pointing towards the north I remember calling attention to the fact that the street-sleepers of Bombay City during the hot weather months invariably avoided lying with their heads pointing northwards, and was then informed by a local wiseacre that it was owing to popular fear of the Pole star, and that the general opinion was enshrined in the adage; *kibla mu'af karta hai, par qutb hargiz nahîn.* Rao Sahib R. K. Bhonsle investigates the subject more fully. Professor K. Rangachariar contributed an interesting paper on "Gotra and Pravara", and the veteran Iranian scholar, Dr. J. J. Modi, has a characteristic article showing that the Huns, who invaded India, were followers of the ancient religion of Iran. Professor M. Shafi is the author of a sound account of the Nurbakshi sect.

The volume has been arranged and prepared for publication by the Secretaries of the Congress, Professors S. K. Aiyangar and P. P. S. Sastri, who are justified in regarding with satisfaction the production of a work which, compact as it is of learnings, is bound to attract the attention of Orientalists.

S. M. EDWARDES

THE LADY OF THE LOTUS, by AHMAD-UL-UMRI, translated with Introduction and Notes, by L. M. CRUMP, Oxford University Press, 1926.

This is an admirably printed work and the format is worthy of the Oxford Press. The illustrations also are extraordinarily good and interesting. The book tells the story of the well-known 16th century Rajput romance of Rupmati and Baz Bahadur of Gujarat, but although Rupmati is described as "Queen of Mandu" on the title page, it is pretty evident that she was in reality a dancing-girl and never really married to Bazid Khan, *i.e.*, Baz Bahadur.

An immense amount of labour has been bestowed by Mr. Crump on the book, and his story of the discovery of a copy of the 17th century copy of Ahmadu'l-Umrî's MS., and of the pictures connected therewith is in itself a literary romance of unusual attraction. He is to be congratulated thereon. He describes himself as being no scholar and though one may take it that this self-depreciation is rather over-strained, in some of his many useful notes there are errors in the spelling of personal names and occasionally somewhat naive remarks as to classical allusions. But these are only minor blemishes in a work of much research.

Ahmadu'l-Umrî was a Turkoman noble of Akbar's period and was obviously imbued with the exceedingly florid Persian style of his time. His prose is therefore trying to European readers in places, but nevertheless the spirit of it is well reproduced by Mr. Crump. Rupmati, among other things, has been credited with much popular verse, and Mr Crump has been at great pains to unearth some of this and to turn it into English verse. She was not what one would call a great poetess, but it is of value to have what she is credited with before us in a pleasing manner. Altogether Mr. Crump has been successful in his efforts to bring home to Europeans a story and a literary style much appreciated by all Rajputs.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MAIYILARPU.

BY PROF. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.

PROFESSOR FRANKLIN EDGERTON of Yale, the learned editor of the *Panchatantra*, wished to know, during his stay in Madras, whether I knew of any place which would correspond to the Mahiḷârôpya of the *Panchatantra*, as he suspected that it might be a place in South India. Having regard to the difficulty that he himself suggested, that the word did not look quite as a Sanskrit expression, I suggested to him that, as Sanskrit authors were sometimes in the habit of Sanskritising words of other Indian languages, Mahiḷârôpya may possibly be a Sanskritising from the word 'Maiyilâṛpu', which was the old name of Mylapore, and I put together the following note for his information. As the remarks may be of some use to others as well as to the learned professor, I am publishing it as a note in the *Indian Antiquary*. Should the possibility of a closer connection between Mahiḷârôpya and Maiyilâṛpu seem to me worth putting forward, I shall take occasion to send another similar note then.

The town or the ward which goes by the name of Mylapore in modern times, is hardly referred to in that form in Tamil literature. The form usually found there is *Mayilai* with various additions in the shape of affixes and prefixes of a more or less complimentary character according to occasion. The combination in which it usually occurs is *Mallai* and *Mayilai*[1] in the period of Pallava ascendency, Mallai standing for what we now know as Mahâbalipuram and *Mayilai* similarly standing for Mylapore as we call it at present in the Anglo-Indian form of the name. But this *Mayilai* seems at one period of history, a pretty long period, to have taken the form of *Mayilâṛpu* in inscriptions, and even in literature, notwithstanding the fact that the ordinary form is *Mayilai*, as I stated already, is found in inscriptions ranging from the seventh year of Kampavarman, one of the last Pallavas in the ninth century, down to almost the end of the eleventh century. This occurs in inscriptions in various localities where flourished mercantile guilds or communities called Vaḷanjiyar in Tamil, Baṇajigas in Kanarese, Balija in Telugu, corresponding exactly to the North Indian term Baniya. A community of 500, referred to as connected with Mylapore, entered into an agreement of a mercantile and fiscal character, along with matters of local government, in respect of the town.[2] Some of these inscriptions belong to Tiruvottiyûr, a northern suburb of Madras where the donor is described as coming from Mayilâṛpu, defined as belonging to the particularly smaller unit of its own name, and the larger division of the country, giving us to understand unmistakably that what is referred to is the then little town of Mylapore.[3] Thus we have inscriptional authority for the name Mayilâṛpu in inscriptions of Kampavarman datable to the ninth century, of Râjarâja datable in the early years of the eleventh century, and one or two others in characters generally referred to the eleventh century.

Mayilâṛpu in Tamil falls into two parts, 'Mayil,' peacock, and 'âṛpu,' an abstract noun or noun of action, from 'âl' to move, a movement indicating the peculiarly majestic strut of the peacock. In literature it is ordinarily described as a feature peculiar to the peacock dancing in this fashion, as it is a peculiar feature of the cuckoo to sing, as in *Mayil âla* and *Kuyil ahava*, the two verbs, *âla* meaning to move, and *ahava* meaning to speak or produce sound. In the *Prabandham* of the Vaishnavas, in the section relating to Triplicane in the work Tirumangai Alvâr,[4] the dancing of the peacock is described in general terms as a feature of Mylapore in

[1] Tirumangai Alvâr's *Periya-tirumoli*, II, iii, 2, 9, 10. *Nandikkalambakam*, verses 1, 3, 24, 44, 51, 55 for *Mayilai*. Verse 69, however, shows the form Mayilâpuri in some MSS. and this is only a variant of Mayilai. Verses 1, 9, 25, 34, 40, 46, 54, 72, 73, 75, 83, 88 for *Mallai*.

[2] No. 256 of 1912 and section 25 of the Epigraphical Report for 1913.

[3] No. 261 of 1910, 18th year of Râjarâja I, No. 189 of 1912, 7th year of Kampavarman.

[4] *Periya-tirumoli*, II. 3, 7.

குடவமேகமழுங் குளிர்பொழிலூடு
குயிலொடு மயில்கள் நின்றால.

describing the shrine of Triplicane. That is so far indirect. But in the *Tévâram* of Appar referable to the previous century, in the middle of the seventh century at the latest, there are two clear references[5] where the place is referred to as *Mayilâppil*. The last particle in the compound *il* is a case affix of the locative in Tamil. Therefore in the nominative it would stand *Mayilâppu*. The second part of the word *âppu* is a permissable variant of the Tamil *arpu*, so that *Mayilâppu* in the *Tévâram* is the exact equivalent of the classical Tamil form *Mayilâṛpu*. So from the seventh century to the eleventh or the twelfth, we have references in one way or another to the form of the name *Mayilâṛpu*.

We may find justification for this interpretation of the name in the fact that these names are found associated with the names of the local deities usually. In the case of Mylapore there is a Vishnu shrine and there is a Śiva shrine, both of them native to the town, and taken to have come into existence along with the town itself. While the goddess of the Śiva shrine is Karpakâmbâḷ, the goddess of the Vishnu shrine is Mayuravalli. The latter particle in the two words being merely honorific, we see that it is the Vishnu goddess that has the name *Mayûra*, the Sanskrit equivalent to the Tamil '*mayil*'. Probably she was regarded as the guardian deity of the town and thus partook of the name of the locality. There is justification for this that in the decad[6] devoted to the Śiva shrine in Mylapore in the Śaiva collection, the *Têvâram*, the temple of Śiva, Kapâlichcharam (Kapâlisvaram) is described as being in a part of *Mayilai*, meaning thereby that while remaining in Mylapore, still it did not constitute the whole of *Mayilâṛpu* proper, which would go to show that the guardian deity of the townlet proper must have been the Vishnu goddess, and thus the Vishnu shrine marks the core of the town known as *Mayilâṛpu*.

The occurrence of the peacock feature in the St. Thomas' legends associated with Mylapore only confirms, or is entirely in keeping with, the origin of the name as explained above. It looks likely that the name had been given to the place because of the large number of peacocks found in the place and the noise they were accustomed to make. In fact, very many of the names of localities in Madras, the names of the various wards of the town, take their origin from features of a physical character like this. To give but one instance, Chepauk is from Tamil *Śêlvâkkam*, meaning the shore-hamlet where fish of the *śêl* variety abounded. Vêpêry,[7] Puraśavâkkam,[8] etc., would be other instances.

I shall not make any attempt to establish any connection between Mayilâṛpu as such and Mahilârôpya of the *Panchatantra* as such. I am concerned only to show that *Mayilâṛpu* was the recognised old name of what now goes by the name Mylapore, which after all is different from it only to the extent of a comparatively slight metathesis, a change commonly found in many other well-known names, from which, by Sanskritization, Mahiḷârôpya is possible of derivation.

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5 Appar, *Koilpakka-tiruttandakam*, 1

மங்குல் மதி தவழு மாடவீதி
மயிலாப்பி லுள்ளார் மருக லுள்ளார்

Tiru-Viraṭṭânam, Kaḍavuḷtiruttaṇḍakam, 12

வானார் மதிப் பொதி செஞ் சடையார் மாளிருப்பு
மயிலாப்பில் மன்னினார் மன்னி யிருப்ப

6 See stanza 4 in Sambandar's *Pûmbâvaittiruppadikam*, where Kapalichcharam (Kapâlisvaram) formed a ward of *Maiyilai*:—

கூர்தரு வேல் வல்லார்க்கு
கொற்றங்கொள் சேரிதனில்
கார்தரு சோலைக் கபாலீச்சரம்.

7 Vêppu + êri = margosa tank

8 Puraśa + pâkkam = Pûvarasu or Purasu - pâkkam; Sea-shore hamlet of the Indian 'fig with flowers', or even Purasu (*Butea frondosa*). The former tree is a feature of the locality, the latter is not.

JEAN DE THÉVENOT'S ACCOUNT OF SURAT.

By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A.

JEAN DE THÉVENOT was born and educated at Paris. His uncle Melchisedech was the author of a well-known collection of *Voyages*, and this may have inspired the nephew with a desire to explore the East. He set out in 1652, at the age of 20, and visited England, Holland, Germany and Italy. In 1655 he reached Constantinople, whence he explored the Levant and Egypt. He went on the Lenten pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited Palestine, and returned home in 1659, after some exciting adventures with pirates. In 1663 he once more sailed for the East, and this time devoted his attention to Iraq and Persia. Landing at Sidon, he travelled through Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Baghdad. Near Kirmanshah, he met the celebrated Tavernier. In November 1665 he took ship from Basra to Surat in the *Hopewell*, reaching Surat in January, 1666. After a journey from Surat to Masulipatam *via* Golconda, he set out for home, but died from the effects of an accident with a pistol, near Tabriz, November 28th, 1667. An excellent orientalist and naturalist, Thévenot has left a lively account of what he saw and heard on his travels. Students of Indian history know all too little his *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, a very rare book, the best-known edition being the handy little third edition printed at Amsterdam in five volumes, 12mo, 1727. It has only once been rendered into English,—a very bad translation by Lovell, London, 1687, now almost unprocurable, and in any case, a sad example of bookseller's hackwork. It is a pity that, while the travels of Bernier, Tavernier, Chardin, Manucci and other foreigners have been duly rendered into English, Thévenot remains practically untranslated and almost unread. It is for this reason that I put before readers of the *Indian Antiquary* his account of the city of Surat, as he saw it the year after the first visitation of the Marâthâs. The narrative is full of interest, particularly as a commentary on Ovington and Fryer, both of whom evidently made use of it. Thévenot gives us a vivid pen picture of Sivaji,—" a little, swarthy man, with sharp, fiery eyes." Equally fascinating are his accounts of Father Ambrose, the famous Capuchin monk, whose influence over the Mughals was almost magnetic, and whose saintliness caused Sivaji to spare his monastery during the pillage, (because " these padres are all good men," as Bernier tells us): of Hugo Lambert, the picturesque French Corsair; of the tomb of the jovial Dutchman, with its stone drinking cup; and of officialdom at Surat and the corruption of the local Government. Tavernier's account of Sivaji, and especially of the first sack of Surat, is of great importance as a contemporary document. Altogether, Thévenot is a traveller who has been unduly neglected and will amply repay further study.

THEVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER VII.

Surat.

The city of Surat is situated on the Tapti river, and its latitude is 21 degrees and some minutes. When I arrived there, it had only earthen walls, and even these were nearly all in ruins; but they were beginning to build brick ones: they made them a *toise* and a half thick [a *toise* = 6·39459 feet]: they did not allow more than this for the height either, and yet it was their intention to fortify the place as strongly as possible, owing to the incursion which had been made some time previously by a *râjâh*, of whom I shall speak hereafter: however, the engineer made a serious mistake in the alignment of his walls: he built them so close to the fortress that people in the city would be masked from the fire of the castle artillery, and that those defending the castle could easily be harassed by musketry.

These new walls make the city much smaller than it was previously; for they now exclude a considerable number of cane-built houses, which were formerly within the city area, and for which several interested persons claim good compensation. Surat is a medium-sized place,

and it is difficult to state the exact number of inhabitants, because they vary according to the seasons : there is always a large population all the year round ; but, during the monsoon, *i.e.*, at the time when vessels can arrive in and depart from India without danger, during the months of November, December, January, February and March, and even in April, the city is so full of people that it is a difficult task to find comfortable quarters, and the three suburbs are crowded.

The city is inhabited by Indians, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Frenchmen, Armenians and other Christians : however, its ordinary population is divided into three classes, which do not, indeed, include either the French or the other Christians, because they are so few in number in comparison with those professing other religions. These three classes of inhabitants are the Moors, Gentiles[1] and Parsees. The term Moors is applied to all the Muhammadans, Mughals, Persians, Arabs or Turks in India, though they are not uniform as regards religion, some being Sunnîs and the rest Shiahs : I have dealt with this distinction in my second book. The second class of inhabitants is the Gentiles,[1] *i.e.*, those who worship idols, and these again are of different kinds. The third class consists of the Parsees, who are also known as Gaures or Ateshperest[2], fire-worshippers. These profess the religion of the ancient Persians, and they took refuge in India when Caliph Omar subjugated the kingdom of Persia to the Muhammadan power. There are some extremely rich people in Surat, and a Bania named Vargivora, who is a friend of mine, is supposed to be worth eight millions at least. The English and the Dutch have their houses there, which are known as lodges and offices : these houses are very fine indeed, and the English have established the headquarters of their trade there There are quite one hundred Catholic houses in Surat.

The castle of Surat has been built on the river bank, at the southern extremity of the city, to prevent the entry of anyone who might wish to attack it by coming up the Tapti. This fortress is of reasonable size : it is square, and is flanked on each corner by a stout tower. Its moats are filled with sea water on three sides, and it is watered by the river on the fourth side, *i.e.*, to the west. Several cannon may be seen at the embrasures : this is where they keep the king's revenues which are collected from the province, and they are never sent to him unless an especial order is given : the entrance is on the west side by a fine gate which is in the bazaar or maidan : the office of the head of the Customs is near by, and this castle has a special governor of its own, just as the city has its own governor

The houses in this city, which have cost a considerable amount to construct, are flat, as in Persia, and tolerably well built : but they are expensive, because there is no stone in the district ; as they are compelled to use bricks and lime, they also require much timber, and this has to be brought from Daman by sea, because the local wood, which is at some distance, is far more expensive owing to the item of transport by land. Bricks and lime, too, are expensive ; and even a middling house cannot be constructed without using bricks to the value of five or six hundred francs, and more than double the value of lime. The houses are covered with tiles semi-circular in shape, and half a finger thick, but badly baked ; consequently they are still grey when used, and they last no time : for this reason the tilers lay them in double rows, in such a way that the one tile keeps the other up. Canes known as bamboos, which are split into two, serve as laths to which the tiles are attached, and the frame-work which supports all this, is made merely of pieces of wood, round in shape ; dwellings of this kind are for the rich ; but those which are inhabited by the lower classes, are constructed of canes, and covered by palm branches.

By the way, in India it is better to build during the rains than in fine weather ; for the heat is so great, and the sun so fierce, when the sky is bright, that everything dries up before it has a chance to be joined firmly together, and buildings crack in a moment ; whereas the rain tempers the heat, and as it prevents the sun from scorching, the masonry has time to dry.

1 *I.e.*, Hindus, as opposed to Moors, Muhammadans.

2 Gaur, Gaber or Guebra, a Fire-worshipper (*Atish*, Fire). They landed on the coast of Gujarat, c. 720 A.C.

During the rains the workmen can spread oil-cloths over the masonry, but in the dry seasons there is no remedy : all that one can do, is to soak cloths and to cover over the work piece by piece as soon as it is done ; but the cloths dry so quickly that there is no great advantage in it. The streets of Surat are wide and level, but they are not paved at all ; and though the area of the city is large, there is not a single public edifice.

The Christians and Muhammadans of Surat usually eat the meat of the cow, firstly because in this district it is better than that of the ox, and secondly because the bullocks are used for ploughing the earth and transporting all the loads. The mutton eaten there, is tolerably good ; but besides this, hens, chickens, pigeons, pork, and game of all kinds are available. The oil of the *Cnicus silvestris*, or cartame, is used for eating ; it is the best oil in India, and that of the sesame, which is also common there, is not so good.

Grapes are eaten in Surat from the beginning of February until the end of April, but their taste is not very fine. Some think that this is because the grapes are not left sufficiently long to ripen : however, the Dutch, who leave them on the vine-stock as long as practicable, make from these grapes a wine which is so sour that it is impossible to drink it without adding sugar. These grapes, which are white, are large and fine in appearance, and are brought to Surat from a small town called Naapura,[3] in the province of Balaghat,[4] a four days' journey from Surat.

The local country liquor is scarcely better than the wine. That which is usually drunk is made from jagre[5] or black sugar, which is put into water with the bark of the Babul tree to give it some strength, and then both are distilled together. Toddy[6] liquor is also prepared, and this is distilled; but these kinds of liquor are not as good as ours, neither is that which they make from rice, sugar and dates. The vinegar which is used is also made from jagre and water. Some people put in spoiled grapes, when they have any ; but to improve it, toddy is mixed with it, and it is then left in the sun for several days

THEVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER X.

The Officials in Surat.

There are in Surat a *mufti*[7] who is in charge of everything concerning the Muslim religion, and a *kadi* established for legal matters, to whom people have recourse in case of disputes. The Great-Mogul also maintains another high official there, whom the French call Secretary of State, and whose function resembles that of our provincial intendants. He is called Vaka-Nevis,[8] *i.e.*, he who writes down and keeps a record of everything which takes place in the territory in which he is appointed. The king keeps one of these officials in each government, in order to keep him informed of all that happens, and the official is not dependent on any man in the State except on His Majesty himself.

There are two Governors or Nabad[9] in Surat, who are in no wise dependent on each other, and who are responsible for their actions to the king alone. The one is in charge of the castle, and the other of the city ; and they do not in any way infringe upon each other's rights or duties. The Governor of the city judges the civil court cases, and usually settles them speedily : if a man asks another man for money in payment of a debt, he must either show a bond, or produce two witnesses, or else he must take an oath : if it is a Christian, he swears on the Bible ; if it is a Muslim, he swears on the Koran, and a Hindu swears by the cow : the oath of the Hindu merely consists of placing his hand on the cow, and saying that he is willing to eat the flesh of this animal, if what he says is not true ; but most of them would rather lose their case than swear, because a man who swears is considered as infamous among the idolators.

3 Navapur.

4 The country above the Ghauts

5 *Jâgri*, molasses.

6 The juice of the *tâdi* palm

7 An expounder of the Law (*fatwa*). His decrees are executed by the Kazi.

8 *Vāq'ia navīs*, news-writer or intelligencer.

9 *Navâb*, a Viceroy's delegate

When one goes to see the Governor for the first time, one places before him on arrival five, six or ten rupees, each one according to his rank ; and the same thing is done in India with all those to whom one wishes to show great respect. This Governor does not interfere at all with criminal matters, which are dealt with by an official named Cotoual.[10] This judge corresponds to what is known as the Soubachy in Turkey and the Deroga[11] in Persia. He has the delinquents punished in his presence either by lashes of the whip or by blows with a stick, and the punishment is often carried out at his house and sometimes in the street at the very spot where the offence was committed. When he passes through the city he is on horseback, accompanied by several archers on foot, some of whom are armed with sticks and large whips and the others with lances, swords, shields and iron maces looking like large pestles, but all of them wear a dagger at their side. Nevertheless, neither the Civil Judge nor the Criminal Judge can condemn a person to death : the king has reserved the right of the death sentence for himself : for this reason, when anyone deserves death a messenger is sent to obtain the king's sanction, and they never fail to execute the king's orders as soon as the messenger has returned.

The Cotoual is obliged to go about the city during the night, to prevent any disorder. He stations guards at various places ; if he finds anyone in the street, he has him put into gaol, and will seldom let him out of prison without first having him beaten or whipped. Two of the men who accompany him beat two little drums at nine o'clock, whilst another man sounds two or three times a long copper trumpet which I have described in my Persian Travels. The archers then call out at the top of their voices, *Caberdar*[12] *i.e.*, take care : and those who are in the neighbouring streets respond with a similar cry, to show that they are not asleep. After that, they continue on their way always repeating the cry until they have finished their ordinary round. This round is made three times during the night, namely at nine o'clock, midnight and at three o'clock in the morning.

This Cotoual has to be responsible for all the thefts committed in the city, but as all those convicted for this offence are very clever, they always find a way of evading payment. During my stay in Surat, an Armenian merchant named Cogea Minias was robbed of 2,400 sequins : as two of his slaves had disappeared at the time of the robbery, they were naturally accused of it. All possible measures were taken to obtain information about them, but as no news could be gleaned either of the slaves or of the money, it was rumoured that these slaves had committed the theft, that they had taken refuge with some Muslim who was in collusion with them, and who, in order to take all the money for himself, had killed and buried them, such an event having previously taken place in Surat.

However, the Governor told the Cotoual that this money must be paid at the earliest possible moment, because, if the king were informed of the matter, all the blame would fall on them, and worse things might happen to them than having to refund to Cogea Minias the amount which had been stolen from him, and that therefore this Armenian must be called up, and be asked to state truly what had been taken from him. The Cotoual raised no objection to this, but at the same time he also asked permission to imprison the Armenian and to question him and his servants, so as to discover by means of the torture whether this money had really and truly been stolen from him, and at the same time to find out whether he had not perhaps been robbed by one of his valets. The Governor gave his sanction to this request, but no sooner had the Armenian heard the news than he ceased petitioning the Cotoual, and he preferred to lose all rather than endure to torments which were being prepared for him. This is the usual procedure of the Cotoual.

When anyone has been robbed, this official seizes all the people of the house where the robbery has taken place, young and old alike, and has them beaten mercilessly. They stretch

[10] *Kotwál*, Police-Magistrate, Chief of Police.
[11] *Dárogha*, Chief Constable.
[12] *Khabardár*

them out on their stomachs, and four men hold the victim by the arms and feet, and two others have each of them a long whip made of a stout, round plait of leather; with this they strike the patient one after the other, after the fashion of marshals, until he has received two to three hundred strokes and is bleeding. If this person does not confess to the theft, they begin to whip him again the next morning, and they even continue this for some days, until he has confessed everything, or until the stolen goods have been recovered, and the strange thing about it is that the Cotwal does not send anyone to inspect either his house or his clothes, and if after five or six days he confesses nothing, they let him off.

There is in Surat also a Provost known as the Fouzdar[13], who is obliged to keep the countryside free and secure, and who is responsible for all robberies committed there; but I do not know whether he is as dishonest as the Cotwal. When they want to arrest a person, they merely cry "Doa pād shāh"; this cry is as powerful as that of "haro" in Normandy; and if they forbid a person to leave the place where he is, saying "Doa pādshāh," he cannot depart without constituting himself a criminal, and he is bound to give an account of himself at the court.[14] This cry is used all over India; as a matter of fact, outrages seldom occur in Surat, and one can live there with a fair amount of freedom.

THEVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XI.

Foul play against the French Company at Surat.

When I arrived in India the Governor of Surat was making extensive enquiries regarding the French Company. As he had at first enquired of other Frenchmen and especially those in whose interest it was that the Company should not be received in Surat, many bad things had been told him about the French, and thus he had formed a bad opinion of them owing to the artifice of their enemies. He was already thinking of asking the Court to banish them, when Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins, who had been informed of the matter, went to him to undeceive him and to warn him not to trust the enemies of the Company, who were in league to ruin it in the world. He liked this Father on account of his uprightness; and for this reason he did not repel him; he only adjured him to tell him the truth about this matter without dissimulation and to tell him whether the French who were to come were not pirates, as was rumoured through the land, and as several Frenchmen had already assured him.[15]

This thought took hold of the minds of the inhabitants of Surat, as soon as it was known that people in France were intending to send vessels to India for trading purposes; and this slander was easily believed because a certain Lambert Hugo, a Dutchman, who had had some Frenchmen on his vessel, and who was now remembered, had been in Mocha two years before with the French flag, commissioned by Monsieur de Vendôme the Admiral of France at that time, and had taken some vessels. But what shocked people more, was the history of the boat carrying the luggage of the Queen of Bijapur, which was stranded near Socotra Island, situated at eleven degrees and forty minutes latitude, at the entrance of the Red Sea. This queen, who was on her way to Mecca, was out of reach of the attacks of the pirate vessel, as she had fortunately crossed in a Dutch boat; but having contented herself with one of her own boats for the transport of her luggage, Hugo came up with it, and

13 *Fauj. dār*, an army officer.

14 Gujarati *duvai pādshāh*, the imperative *duvāi*. Duvāi is a prohibition in the name of a Rājā or other high authority, implying an imprecation of vengeance in case of disobedience. It is also a solemn appeal for the redress of a grievance, which it is a sin to resist, like the Norman-French appeal *Haro! Haro, viens à mon aide, mon Prince*, which was effective in the Channel Islands till quite recently.

15 Bernier (p. 187) says that Sivāji spared the Capuchin monastery in 1664, saying "The Frankish Padrys are good men and shall not be molested."

knocked the boat with such violence that the Captain was compelled to let her run aground: as the pirate could not easily gain access to the vessel on the spot where she was lying, he did not lose courage, but waited patiently to see the result of the running aground: he did not wait in vain, for, as the Indians had been short of water for a long time, and could not find any at the place where they were in great suffering, they resolved, in order to save their lives, after having hidden in the sea all the gold, silver and jewels they had with them, to resort to the pirate himself, hoping that he might be satisfied with what remained in the vessel.

When Hugo had come up with them, he was clever enough to find out that something had been sunk into the sea; and a false brother told him only the carpenter and his son knew the whereabouts of the queen's wealth (for she had brought a heap of money, jewels and materials as presents for Mecca, Medina, the Great Sheikh, and other places, and she desired to do it handsomely). Finally, after having thoroughly tortured the Captain, the carpenter, and the carpenter's son, whom he threatened to kill in his father's presence, Hugo made them bring out all that had been sunk in the sea, and seized it as well as the rest of the cargo. This action had made such a stir in India that Hugo, who was taken for a Frenchman, was held in abomination in that country, and consequently Frenchmen as a nation also.

The Governor had a great deal to say about this pirate, and Father Ambrose had great difficulty in persuading him that Hugo was not French, as he had come under the French flag, and as it was certain that he had had many Frenchmen on board. Nevertheless, after much talk, he believed it; but he did not on this account excuse the French from the action in which they had assisted, and he still maintained that the desire of plunder was their sole motive in coming to this country The Father denied that this was their intention, and said that they had only come with Lambert Hugo to avenge the affront that had been offered to some Frenchmen in Aden, a town in Arabia Felix, situated at 11 degrees latitude; and after that, he related to him what had happened to the French in that town some years before. He told him that a *patache*[16] of Monsieur de la Melleraye was compelled by rough weather to separate from the large vessel, and to take refuge at Aden, and that the Sunnis, with unparalleled impiety had all who set foot on land forcibly circumcised, though at first they had given them a good reception, and had promised to treat them amicably. He told him further that, in spite of this, the king of France had disapproved of the action of the pirate and of those Frenchmen who on board his vessel, just as much as the Indians did, because they had given his subjects a bad reputation, through the cunning of enemies of France; but that he wished to dispel this bad reputation, and that for this reason he had formed a Company to trade in India, with express orders not to commit any hostile action.

The Governor being satisfied with Father Ambrose's reply, requested him to write down in the Persian language all that he had said to him; as soon as this was done, he sent it to the Court; the Great Mogul had it read to him by his Dewan, and both he and his officials were satisfied with it, and they all desired the French vessels to land immediately; indeed, the Governor made much of Messrs. de la Boullaye and Beber, delegates of the Company, and told them that, after the testimony of Father Ambrose, he would render them any services that he could; the English president, too, an old friend of this Father's, did them all the honour that was in his power, after having sent them his carriage and his men to receive them, and he assured the Father that all his property was at their disposal: thus, on the strength of the credit that he had acquired in India, the Capuchin dispelled the bad reports which the enemies of France had sown against the French.

(To be continued.)

16 A *tender* or despatch boat.

NOTES ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

Prefatory Remarks.

ONCE again[1] I take up the subject from notes thereon made long ago. In the interval much has been learnt about it, but as these notes were largely made on the spot they contain certain information not elsewhere procurable, and this is my reason for now publishing them.

In the previous articles I have carried the enquiry as far as the consideration in detail of the use by the Burmese of raw lump currency, *i.e.*, of lumps of metal without any stamp or artificial marks on them to show fineness or intrinsic value.[2] I now enter on a discussion of the last link between raw lump currency and coinage, *viz.*, of stamped lump currency or lumps of metal stamped to show fineness and quality but not weight.[3]

Before, however, commencing to note on stamped lump currency I would mention that I have previously (*ante*., vol. XXIX, pp. 29 ff.) noted the effect on the people where there is no coin of the realm and to the remarks made then I would like to add the following. Clifford in the *Geographical Journal* (vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 1 ff., 1897) speaking of the Malay State of Trengganu has an informing account as to how revenue is raised where money is scarce and the results of the process upon the populace. He is describing the raising of *serah* and calls it "a very well known manner of obtaining revenue. It is as much valued by the taxing classes as it is abominated by those upon whom devolves the duty of paying taxes. It is managed in one of two ways. Either a consignment of goods is sent to the village or to an individual, and a price considerably in excess of that current in the markets demanded in return for them; or else a small sum of money is sent, and a message conveyed to the recipients informing them that a given quantity of *getah* or jungle produce is demanded in return. On the receipt of a *serah*, a village headman calls his people together and enforces a public subscription to meet the sum required by the *râja*. The goods are then divided among the subscribers, but as the quantity of goods is altogether out of all keeping with the high price paid for them, and as the village elders usually insist on receiving the full value of their subscription, the weaker members of the community get little or nothing in return for their money. Money *serah*, in return for which jungle produce is to be supplied, is generally made to an individual, who has forthwith to betake himself to the jungle, the property of the district *râja*, who even goes so far as to enforce payment from the people for the tools supplied in order to enable them to perform this work. Owing to the impassable nature of the Kelemang Falls, the people living above the rapids in Ulu Trengganu are not required to work timber for the district *râja*, but they have to supply large quantities of jungle produce on terms which are very similar to those on which timber is worked by natives of other parts of the country."

Clifford adds that the Sultan makes money from "the coining of tin tokens," which shows that they were still in use so late as 1897.[4]

I would also like to acknowledge here much kindly assistance given me in making the collection of coins and monetary objects on which these papers are based—aid given me by officials and others in Burma many years ago. Among Europeans they were Capt. Minchin, R.A., and Messrs. H. C. Noyce, Dawson and Betts; and among Burmans and Indians, the Taungwin Mingyi, Maung Law Yan, K.S.M., U Shwe Baw and Jahangir Bakhsh, all of

1 Previous publication of these notes. Currency and Coinage among the Burmese, vol. XXVI (1897), 6 articles, Plate I, p. 160: vol. XXVII (1898), 9 articles (Plate at p. 111): vol. XLVIII (1919), 4 articles. Development of Currency in the Far East, vol. XXVIII (1899), p. 103: vol. XXIX (1900), Beginnings of Currency, 2 articles, 4 plates. Vol. XXXI (1902), Malagasy Currency, p. 109. Vol. XLII (1913), Obsolete Tin Currency and Money in the Federated Malay States, 7 Plates. Vol. XLVII (1918), Malay Currency in Trengganu, p. 120.

2 I may as well note here that speaking in terms of lump currency Burmese oil-dealers in the bazaars called a " 2½ tickal weight," [illegible]

3 See Poole, *Coins and Medals*, p. [illegible]

4 See *ante*, vol. XLII, pp. 153 ff.

Mandalay. And lastly, the once well-known female dealer Ma Kin of the same city. In Rangoon I had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E., and Mr. Minus, the Parsi Collector of Rates and Taxes to the Municipality.

To keep the subjects of these my last notes on Burmese Currency and Coinage clear before the reader's mind, I subjoin a list of them :--

A. Stamped Lump Currency :—Sycee.
B. Stamped Lumps of Metal other than Gold and Silver
C. Oyster-shell Money (Silver).
D. Coin of the Realm.
  I. Coins of Bôdôp'ayâ.
  I. (*a*) Symbolical Coins.
  I. (*b*) Historical Coins (including Kings of Arakan
  II. Coins of Mindôn Min.
    Gold : Silver : Copper : Iron : Lead
  III. Coins of Thìbò (Thibaw).
E. Coin.
  I. Tokens.
  II. Taungbannî Coins.
  III. Irregular Tokens.
  III. (*a*) Shân Shell Money.
  IV. Majîzî Knuckle-bones.
  V. Shan Silver Majîzi.
  VI. Siamese Tickals.
  VII. Ancient Tokens
F. Forgeries.
G. Siamese Porcelain Tokens.
H. Gambling Counters or Jetons
I. Metal Charms
J. King Mindon's Mint.

A. Stamped Lump Currency.

SYCEE.

An instance of stamped lump currency, well-known all over the Far East, is Chinese sycee, the use of which made it really a bank issue, as it was stamped with the name and description of the issuing Chinese banking firm, much after the fashion of the European bank note. With it may be compared *longo intervallo* the tickal of Siam and the larin or 'hook' money (silver) of Persia and Ceylon, specimens of which are still fairly common in Western Indian bazaars.

It has often been written about and explained, but the following information which I gathered may still be of use to students. Perhaps the best general introduction to sycee is to be found in the remarks of Terrien de Lacouperie, *Catalogue of Chinese Coins* (1892, pp. xxii–xxv), from which I extract the following notes : "The coinage of ancient China circulated always by weight for its intrinsic value. The weight and the various patterns were regulated by the State, and every one, including guild merchants of private and town communities, subject to these rules, was at liberty to issue his own coins, bearing his distinctive symbol (written characters) or name . . . .

"The shape that was commonly given to the ingots of gold and silver in ancient times is not described. The cubic inch of the regulations of the Tchou dynasty for gold, does not seem to have been continued for long, and the non-appearance of any special name for the unit of each of the two precious metals does not permit of any but a negative inference on

the matter. We may therefore surmise that the most common shape was no other than the simplest one, *i.e.*, that of the crucible itself in its most convenient oblong form, which is still at present in use for the silver currency.[5] The metal, while still hot and soft in the crucible, is impressed either with a stamp marked with a legend, or concentric circle-lines, or with several stamps inscribed. The stamping causes the metal to rise all round, and the result is to shape the ingot like a boat or shoe. In the middle ages the Chinese ingots of gold or silver in Central Asia were called *bâlish* or *yâstok*, both which words mean "a cushion," and although supposed by some to allude to this so-called shoe-shape, may perhaps refer to the loaf-shape, such as those of ancient Japan and of the Laocian States, which are exemplified in the numismatic collections of the British and other Museums. The previously mentioned shape of ingot is compared to a boat in descriptions of the gold imported from China to India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tavernier, in 1676, says that they were called *gold-schuyt* by the Hollanders, *i.e.*, a boat of gold, and this word *schuyt* is supposed to have suggested the English term *shoe*, applied not long afterwards to the same ingots. The Chinese silver shoes in the Panjab in 1862, and in Kashgar in 1876, were called *yambu*, and compared to a deep boat. *Kur* was also a term used in the latter place.

"There is no reason to suppose that the present shoes of silver and gold in China do not preserve a form that was used in times anterior to the Han dynasty.

"*Sycee*, Chinese, fine silk, is the general term for lump silver, and is explained as meaning that, if pure, it may be drawn out under the application of heat into fine silk-like threads. This is, of course, a script-etymology, and pure fancy, derived from the ideographical meaning inherent in the symbols, while the historical etymology must be sought for in a foreign term transliterated thereby. *Yuenpao* is the common name among foreigners for the silver ingot which bears some resemblance to a native shoe. There are a certain number of these silver shoes in the British Museum collection."

In 1834 Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 29–30 wrote thus on the subject: "Sycee silver, in Chinese *Wan-yin*, is the only approach to a silver currency among the Chinese. In it the government taxes and duties, and the salaries of officers, are paid; and it is also current among merchants in general. The term Sycee is derived from two Chinese words *Se-sze*, "fine floss silk," which expression is synonymous with the signification of the term *Wan*. This silver is formed into ingots (by the Chinese called Shoes), which are stamped with the mark of the office that issues them, and the date of their issue. The ingots are of various weights, but most commonly of ten *taels* each.

"Sycee silver is divided into several classes, according to its fineness and freedom from alloy: the kinds most current at Canton are the five following:

"1st. *Kwan-heang*, the Hoppo's duties, or the silver which is forwarded to the imperial treasury at Peking. This is of 97 to 99 touch. On all the imperial duties, a certain percentage is levied for the purpose of turning them into Sycee of this high standard, and of conveying them to Peking without any loss in the full amount. The Hoppo, however, in all probability increases the percentage far above what is requisite, that he may be enabled to retain the remainder for himself and his dependents.

"2nd. *Fankoo* or *Fan-foo*. The treasurer's receipts, or that in which the land-tax is paid. This is also of a high standard, but inferior to that of the Hoppo's duties, and being intended for use in the province, not for conveyance to Peking, no percentage is levied on the taxes for it.

"3rd. *Yuenpaou*, or *Une-po*, literally "chief in value." This kind is usually imported from Soochow, in large pieces of 50 *taels* each. It does not appear to belong to any particular government tax.

5 One, if not the most, curious form resulting from this process of manufacture is the *chûlôn* or *chaubinbauk*, the well-known Shan shell-money, which is the result of the natural efflorescence of silver under certain methods of smelting.

"4th. *Yen, or E[illegible]*, salt duties." It is difficult to account for these being of so low a standard, the salt trade being entirely a government monopoly. This class is superior only to

"5th. *Mut-tae or Wuh-tae*. The name of which signifying "uncleansed or unpurified," designates it as the worst of all. It is seldom used, except for the purpose of plating, or rather washing, baser metals.

"The *tael* of Sycee in the East India Company's accounts is reckoned at 6s. 8*d* sterling. When assayed in London, this metal is frequently found to contain a small admixture of gold. Mercantile account sales give the following average out-turn of China bullion remittances to London, Calcutta, and Bombay; that

100 tacls of Sycee yield	£ 316, at 5s. an oz. (including 1½ per ct. for gold).
	3078 Sicca Rs. or with charges 3062 Rs. at Calcutta
	3335 Bombay Rs. or with charges 3302 Rs. at Bombay."

Sycee is again alluded to by Staunton (*Account of Macartney's Embassy to China*, 1797, p. 97): "Silver is more properly among the Chinese a merchandise. None of it is coined, but large payments are made in lumps of it in the form of the crucibles in which it was refined and with the stamp of a single character upon it to ascertain its weight, mostly of ten ounces. The value of silver in the current coin varies according to the relative scarcity or plenty of that metal issued from the Imperial Treasury."

Sycee, as a term, was employed for both gold and silver stamped and certified lumps of currency metal, and regarding it that fine English merchant in the Far East, Lockyer, writing in 1711 (*Trade in India*, pp. 132-4) says in his informing way :—"Gold makers [in Canton] (as they are commonly call'd) cast all the Gold, that comes thro' their Hands, into Shoos of about 10 Tale weight, or 12 *oz.* 2 *dwt.* 4 *gr.* of an equal Fineness. As one makes them 93 Touch, another is famous for 94, &c. A private Mark is stampt in the Sides, and a piece of printed Paper pasted to the middle of them, by which every one's Make is known, as our Cutlers, and other Mechanicks do in their Trades. Both Ends of the Shoos are alike, and bigger than in the middle, with thin Brims rising above the rest, whence the upperside somewhat resembles a Boat. From the middle, which in cooling sinks into a small Pit, arise Circles one within another, like the Rings in the Balls of a Man's Fingers, but bigger. The smaller and closer these are the finer the Gold is. When Silver, Copper, or other Metal is inclosed in casting, as sometimes you may meet with it in small Bits, the Sides will be uneven, knobby, and a Rising instead of Sinking in the Middle. Sometimes they make it not above 50 or 60 Touch, and guild it four or five times over ; so that relying on our smooth Stones, you are liable to be imposed on. Therefore I look on the rougher ones that are used by the Banians of Indostan, with a Ball of Black Wax, to be the best. But for want of these raise the Sides with a Graver, or cut it half through with a Chizel and break the rest ; whence you may see the Colour and Grain, and easily detect their Fraud. Should you cut it quite thro', the Chizel will so draw the Gold over the Allay, that you can learn nothing by it. This they'll not willingly permit, but on the contrary, be affronted at a Request that shews so great a Distrust of them. Therefore the best way is to make a Bargain before you begin the Trial, and you may manage them afterwards as you will. They are call'd after the Makers' Names, or from the Places whence they come ; but I think the former : for there is a great deal made at Pekin ; but none of that Name. *Chuja* and *Chuckja* are 93 Touch. *Tingza, Shing*, and *Guanza* 94. Of these the former turn to the best Account. *Sinchupoa* and *Chuchepoa* are reckon'd 96 and 95 Touch. The Chinese in Gold and Silver (whom, for the Generality of the People, I look on as the best acquainted with, and most knowing in those Metals of any Nation in the World) always reckon one Touch finer than it really is, and will allow you so in the Receipt of Money. Gold in Bars or Ingots comes chiefly from Cochinchina and Tonqueen, and differs in Fineness from 75 to 100 Touch. 'Tis of several sizes, and easier much

than the Shoes to be counterfeited ; which the foregoing Rules may fortify you against." Lockyer had some experience of this currency for he says (p. 102) : "We paid near 820 tale Sissee [at Canton]."

In view of the above quotations and the remarks made *ante*, vol XLVIII, p. 107 f. on Burmese gold standards, it is worthwhile to draw attention to the following table extracted from Stevens, *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade*, 1775, p. 71, where he gives a series of "Chinese characters, whereby you may form some judgement on the value of their gold." From this last statement can be extracted a table of recognised standards of Chinese gold, taking "sycee" at par of 100 touch.

CHINESE GOLD STANDARDS, 1775.

	Name.	Percentage of "sycee."
1.	Twanghan (a bar wrapped in paper)	94½ to 95
2.	Seong Kutt or Soang Catt	90 to 92
3.	Tungzee	96
4.	Tungzee, Yenuzee or Tingwan	95
5.	Toozee or Tinjee	92
6.	Cheanzee or Swajzee	92
7.	Seong Pon or Soang Pon	93½
8.	Yeukxzee, Seongyeukx or Songyeux	94 to 95
9.	Ponzee or Seong Pon	94
10	Chuze or Chiya (in bars)	94
11.	Chanzee or Soarhzy (in shoes)	93
12.	Ongee	90 to 93
13.	Toozee	92
14.	Ponzee or Seong Po (in bars)	93
15.	Cutzee or Songcatt	90
16.	Yeukxzee (shoes wrapped in paper stamped "the double ring Chop").	96

It is obvious, however, from an examination of the above table that it must be taken for what it may be worth, as the same name is made to do duty for varying standards. Obviously also both names and standards are taken from the reports of different merchants after testing with their own touch-needles and *quâ* their appreciation of the Chinese words. It shows once more, then, the difficulty that the old traders had to encounter in their pecuniary transactions.

Writing of Siam, Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, 1884, p. 398 (footnote) says :—"The Siamese distinguish six qualities of gold : (1) *Nopakun kow nam* ; (2) *Nua paat* ; (3) *Nua chet* ; (4) *Nua hok* ; (5) *Nua ha* ; (6) *Nua see*. These six grades date from olden times—as early as 1347—when gold was plentiful in Chieng Saan. Gold of the first two grades realizes in value from sixteen to eighteen times its weight in silver."

To return to Sycee, later on, Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* 1886, writing (pp. 628-9) on "Shoes of gold," said :—"Shoe of Gold (or of Silver). The name for certain ingots of precious metal, somewhat in the form of a Chinese shoe, but more like a boat, which were formerly current in the trade of the Far East. Indeed of silver they are still current in China, for Giles says : '[Sycee is] the common name among foreigners for the Chinese Silver ingot, which bears some resemblance to a native shoe. May be of any weight from 1 oz. and even less, to 50 and sometimes 100 oz., and is always stamped by the assayer and banker, in evidence of purity' (*Gloss. of Reference*. 128)."

"The same form of ingot was probably the *bâlish* (or *yâstok*) of the Middle Ages, respecting which see *Cathay*, pp. 115, 481, etc. Both of these latter words mean also 'a cushion,' which is perhaps as good a comparison as either 'shoe' or 'boat'. The word now used in

Central Asia is *yambú*. There are cuts of the gold ingots in Tavernier, whose words suggest what is probably the true origin of the popular English name, *viz.*, a corruption of Dutch *Goldschuyt*."

"1566. ' . . . . valuable goods exported from this country (China) . . . . are first a quantity of gold, which is carried to India in loaves in the shape of boats . . . .' —*C. Federici*, in Ramusio, iii, 391 b."

"1611. 'Then, I tell you, from China I could load ships with cakes of gold fashioned like boats, containing, each of them, roundly speaking, 2 marks weight, and so each cake will be worth 280 pardaos.'—*Couto, Dialogo do Soldado Pratico*, p. 155."

"1676. 'The Pieces of Gold mark'd Fig. 1, and 2, are by the Hollanders called Goltschut, that is to say, a Boat of Gold, because they are in the form of a Boat. Other nations call them Loaves of Gold . . . . The Great Pieces come to 12 hundred Guilders of Holland Money, and thirteen hundred and fifty Livres of our Money.'—Tavernier, *E.T.*, ii. 8."

"1702. 'Sent the Moolah to be delivered the Nabob, Dewan, and Buxie 48 China Oranges . . . . but the Dewan bid the Moolah write the Governor for a hundred more that he might send them to Court ; which is understood to be One Hundred shoes of gold, or so many thousand pagodas or rupees.'—In Wheeler, i. 397."

"1704. 'Price Currant, July, 1704 (at Malacca) . . . . Gold, China, in Shoos 94 Touch.'—Lockyer, 70."

"1862. 'A silver ingot *Yambu* weighs about 2 (Indian) *seers* . . . . =4 lbs., and is worth 165 Co.'s rupees. *Koomoosh*, also called *Yambucha*, or small silver ingot, is worth 33 Rs. . . . . 5 *yambuchas*, being equal to 1 *yambu*. There are two descriptions of '*yambucha* ;' one is a square piece of silver, having a Chinese stamp on it ; the other . . . . in the form of a boat, has no stamp. The *Yambu* is *in the form of a boat*, and has a Chinese stamp on it.' —*Punjab Trade Report*, App. ccxxvi–xxviii. 1."

"1875. 'The *yâmbú* or *kúrs* is a silver ingot something the shape a deep boat with projecting bow and stern. The upper surface is slightly hollowed, and stamped with a Chinese inscription. It is said to be pure silver, and to weigh 50 (Cashghar [Kâshgar]) *ser* =30,000 grams English.'—Report of *Forsyth's Mission to Kashghar*, 494."

Lockyer, like other merchants of his time, was very close and precise in the matter of currency, as the following quotation from *Trade in India*, (1711), pp, 135–6, will show :— "Formerly they used to sell for Sisee, or Silver full fine; but of late the Method is alter'd. 10 Tale of Gold 93 fine, sold for 94 Tale weight of Sisee Silver is 7 above Touch. 10 Tale of Gold 100 Touch, sold for 94 Tale Sisee Silver is Touch for Touch. 10 Tale of Gold Touch 94 for 100 Sisee, is 12¼ above. To reduce Sisee into Currant Silver, multiply by 100, and divide by 94. The Hoppos divide by 93. All the Eastern People allay their Gold with Silver, therefore a Copperish Hue is Grounds for Suspicion. The coursest, or Gold of the lowest Touch is most advisable[6]: For, in a parting Essay you get all the Silver that is mixt, with it for nothing, *viz.* 80 Tale weight Touch 58, is 58 Tale of pure Gold and 22 Tale of Silver Allay, which you pay not a Farthing for."

In writing thus Lockyer was following the custom of his day. Witness the remarks of Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, 1766 (p. 125) : "At China they divide Things decimally, as in buying Gold or Silver, which is esteemed by the one-hundredth Part, and their Touching Needles (by which they generally try the Fineness of the Gold and Silver) are marked and numbered accordingly. The finest Gold among them is one hundred Touch, called Sycee, that is, pure Gold without any Allay in it. So if a Shoe of Gold touch 93, then it hath 93/100 Parts fine Gold, and 7/100 Parts of Allay in it. Gold rises and falls in China according to the

[6] This remark shows Lockyer's judgment in currency matters.

Demand for it. Gold bought at Touch for Touch, is when Ten Tale-weight of Sycee Silver is paid for One Tale-weight of pure Gold. Therefore Nine Tale-weights of Silver are to be paid for One of that mixed Mass, for ten times 9/10 is 90, the Sycee Gold there is in, when at 90 Touch. If it touch 96, then are 9-6/10 of Silver to be paid for one of Gold. If it touch 88, then 8-8/10 of Silver for One Tale of Gold, so that if you separate the last Figure of the Touch for a Decimal, and then multiply this Number by the Weight of the Mass, you will have the Weight of Silver to be paid for it."

Sycee was the regular currency in China itself in dealing with foreigners,[7] for Lockyer (*Trade in India*, pp. 139–40) says :—" Rupees pass Currant for Sisee, English Crowns for Currant Silver . . . . All the (silver) Money received for the Emperour's Customs is refined to Sisee and run into Shoos like the Gold . . . . "

Again Colquhoun (*Across Chryse*, 1883, p. 21) says : " At last we made up our minds, after sifting the evidence in regard to this question, to take Mexican dollars, new and chopped (*i.e.*, stamped), for use on the river and to use sycee silver (stamped) for the Yunnan land-journey [in Southern Yunnan] "

Sycee was found to be currency also at a shortly earlier date, for Capt. Blakiston, writing in 1862 (*The Yang Tsze*, ch. ix, pp. 146–7), tells us :—" We had hitherto paid in Mexican dollars, but, having run out of our supply of those useful auxiliaries, we were forced to make an inroad on our stock of 'sycee.' Each of us carried 450 taels weight of silver in this form (*i.e.* in small lumps), equal to about six hundred dollars, and, for fear of loss from shipwreck or other mishap, we distributed the amount among our different packages. Mine was tied in old socks, and kept very various company . . . .

" A money-changer was sent for, and came on board with his balance-scales, and after some little time rendered us a statement to a fraction of a cash—ten cash go to a halfpenny—of the exchange, at the rate of 1720 per tael. The Sz'chuan tael was here in use, and is of greater weight than that on the lower river. The proportion is, 100 Sz'chuan taels equal 101·6 Shanghai, or 102·48 Hankow taels. Mexican dollars had been taken as far as I-chang, in the province of Hoo-peh, at 1000 to 1100 cash."

So high was the position of Sycee that Herstlet (*China Treaties*, 1896, vol. I, p. 26) says : " Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and China, 26 June 1858 : Article xxiii, Payment of Duties in Sycee or Foreign Money. Duties shall be paid to the bankers, authorised by the Chinese Government to receive the same in its behalf, either in sycee or in foreign money, according to the assay made at Canton on the 13th July, 1843."[8]

The Sycee system had, however, its pitfalls for European Governments, as Chalmers, (*Colonial Currency*, 1883, p. 373) records an instance where the British Government was misled as to the orders it sent to Hong Kong : " The Home Government herein reckoned without the Chinese. In China, fine, or Hai-Kwan, Sycee, silver had always been reckoned not by tale but by weight, the standard measure being the 'Tael' weighing some 580 grains, sub-divided decimally into 10 mace or 100 candareens. Of the only Chinese coins (copper 'Cash'), one thousand (each weighing one mace) were originally equivalent to one tael of fine or Sycee silver. But owing to adulteration (with sand, etc.), and to illicit coinage, as many as 1,400 cash sometimes passed for a tael.

" Now, as for all but petty transactions the Chinese used silver and measured that silver by its fine weight and not by tale, the introduction of token British silver coins which

7 In Yule's *Ava*, 1858, p. 345, there is a very curious remark with reference to Chinese silver :—" A considerable quantity of silver is brought from China in the way of trade. It is imported by the Shans in a very pure state, made up into small slabs or flat plates, which are from five to ten tickals in weight. The silver which these men themselves use is nevertheless very impure, containing often fully 100 per cent. alloy."

8 There is much more information of the same kind in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1858, No. 287.

represent fractions of a gold sovereign, proceeded on a fundamental misconception ; and the Royal Proclamation of 1844 remained a dead letter. All accounts (except those of the Government) were kept in dollars, and the sole instrument and medium of exchange, both at Hong Kong and at all the open ports (except Shanghai) continued to be the silver dollar, weighed in Hong Kong at 1,000 dollars to 717 taels, *i.e.*, nearly 416 grains per dollar."

In Burma Sycee was well understood and Anderson (*Mandlay to Momein*, 1876, p. 377) found that "all the coined money [at Bhamo] was exchanged for sycee, or lump, silver, at the rate of one hundred rupees for seventy tickals of the finest quality, or seventy-three tickals and a half of the more alloyed which passes among the Kakhyens (Kachins)."

Coming to my own time, 1887 onward, on Fig. 15, Plate II, I show a piece of *myinkâ* or saddle silver,[9] which has been chipped for use. This is nothing but the well-known sycee silver[10] of former Burmese commerce and the old books. It had, however, become rare in Burma by 1889 and I only procured one specimen in Mandalay, where I stayed three years and made many enquiries. Nevertheless, it was a standing "product" of Upper Burma,[11] and until 1885, at any rate, the only currency in Bhamo, where our political agents were paid in it. *E.g.*, in 1868 Col. G. A. Strover drew his salary there in sycee silver, while political agent, then and subsequently, though correspondence in 1889 failed to produce a specimen from Bhamo.

In reference to Col. Strover's experience there is a curious allusion to sycee silver, characteristic of Burmese ways, in Sladen's *Official Narrative of the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo in* 1867 :[12] "All the money in my possession consisted of India-coined rupees, which, it was said, could not pass current among Kakhyens [Kachins], or within the Shan States. The rupees must be changed for silver bullion of peculiar standard [sycee], readily procurable and current everywhere. Such at least was the information tendered at Mandalay: and yet on arrival at Bhamo, silver had become, for some unaccountable reason, an unknown commodity altogether. I would gladly have changed 5,000 rupees. It was our all, but no amount of solicitation was of any avail in procuring as many hundreds in bullion. I importuned everyone. The Chinese said they were poor and did not possess silver. The officials excused the emptiness of their treasury by assuring me that remittances had only just been made to the capital on account of the previous year's taxes." All this was the result of organized opposition to Sladen's mission.

Later on Sladen writes that he "lost 30 per cent. on exchanging rupees for silver [sycee] bullion, but this loss obviously had no bearing on the true relative value of the rupees and the bullion. But it is possible in these regions for even the locally current sycee to be of small value." Thus Cooper,[13] writing from "Tai-tsan-loo, Western border of China" in 1868, says : "For the information of future travellers I should mention that beyond this place, as far as Lassa, money is at a great discount, two or three needles and a little thread, or a piece of Chinese cloth, procuring what money cannot . . . . Sycee is used at a great loss."

As an instance of the commerical value of preserving the form of a currency, I may mention that in Rangoon in 1891 I purchased in the Municipal Market a piece of inferior silver (now in the British Museum) which came from Bombay and consisted of half a piece

9 This seems to be the *bâlish* silver quoted by Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., Shoes of Gold.

10 Temple, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. III, pp. 195, n. 1, 309, n. 6.

11 See *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 472.

12 House of Commons, *Parl. Papers*, No. 165 of 1871, pp. 27, 134.

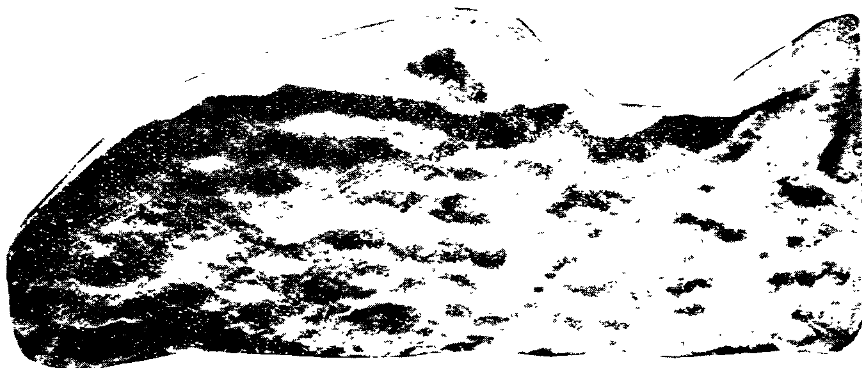
13 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

BURMESE CURRENCY.

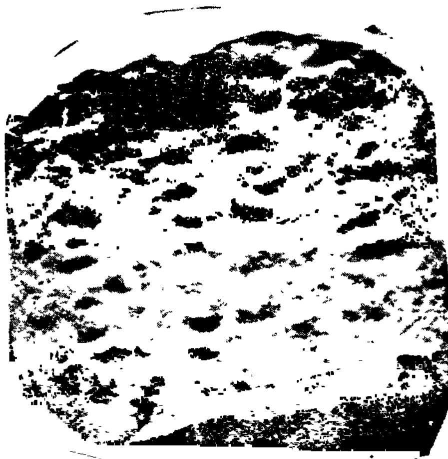
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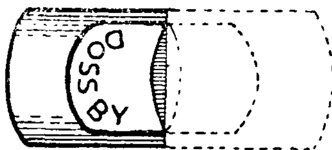
4



5

HORNIMAN MUSEUM, HOLLOWAY.

of imitation sycee, cut in the centre exactly like the piece in fig. 15, plate II, but stamped on the back thus :



These words must stand either for some such words as By (rab Doss . . . .) Doss [Bhairavdâs . . . . dâs], after the fashion of the Bombay nomenclature of firms. or for ". . . . Doss [dâs] Byculla."

On Plate VI, figs. 4 and 5, are shown two pieces of Burmese silver of the sycee type, though not sycee, from the Horniman Museum at Forest Hill, London.

And then as to the eighteenth century in Burma we read in Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, ed. 1853, p. 167 : "The Burmese have no coined money, but in their commercial transactions they make use of gold and silver bullion. Hence they are obliged to employ scales in all payments. The principal weight that they have, and to which all others are referred, is the ticale [tickal]; it is equal to about half an ounce. The gold and silver used is sometimes quite pure, but ordinarily it is mixed with some alloy ; and of course its value depends on its degree of purity. But the inferior money of Amarapura and Rangoon is *lead*. Its value is not by any means fixed, but varies according to its abundance or scarcity. Sometimes a ticale of silver with a portion of alloy, is equal to 200 ticali[14] of lead, sometimes to a thousand, and even to more. In Tavai and Merghi pieces of *tin* with the impression of a cock, which is the Burmese arms,[15] are used for money."

The system of currency which culminated in gold and silver sycee is very old, as Yule's remarks show,[16] that the *sommo* of Pegolotti was worth 5 ducats $= 9\frac{1}{2}s. \times 5 = 47\frac{1}{2}s.$ = say Rs. 24 at par about = the value by weight of an ordinary piece of sycee silver. Again in the above quoted passages the fixed alloy works out at 11 *oz.* 17 *dwt.*, or 12 *oz.* fine silver, per *sommo*, and the varying weight therefore makes it practically certain that by the *sommo* the old travellers meant a lump of sycee silver.

I also gather that the pieces of gold mentioned by Goes (1605), in Yule's *Cathay*, vol. II, pp. 582, 583, 586, must have been stamped lumps of gold, *i.e.*, gold sycee, and that the silver measured out to him in bulk must have been sycee silver.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT INSCRIPTION IN THE JHALAWAR STATE.

This Inscription of Vikram Samvat 746 was discovered by the Curator, Darbar Archæological Museum, in the temple of Chandra-mauli Mahâdêva on the bank of the river Chandrabhaga, Jhalrapatan, in the year 1915. It belongs to the time of Râjâ Durag-gan of the Maurya family. This temple now bears the name of Shitleshwar Mahâdêva. The supporting pillars are cylindrical in shape and are beautifully engraved. The roof of the porch seems to have been repaired lately, although a small portion of it has been left alone, which shows what the original workmanship was like. The supporting pillars have each a "Bajra Ghanta" fastened to chains engraved in stone. Before the idol of Shiva Nandi is seated, and a number of statues of various gods and goddesses stand in the corners. Near by, the river Chandrabhaga flows from west to east. It is held sacred and is visited by thousands of people who come to bathe in its holy waters in the month of Kartik, a fair being also held on that occasion. This place is some 18 miles from the Railway. The nearest station is Shri-chhatrapur on B. B. & C. I. Railway.

S. CHERN.

14 *Ticale, ticali* are Italian forms of tickal.

15 I wonder what Sangermano's authority for this statement was.

16 *Cathay*, I, p 117, n. 123 : II, pp. 289, 293, 298 : and also Introd., vol. I, pp. cxxv vi.

BOOK-NOTICES.

DICTIONARY OF THE CAR-NICOBARESE LANGUAGE, by THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD, B.A., Rangoon, American Baptist Mission Press, 1925.

The chief sources of our knowledge of Nicobarese has hitherto been de Roepstorff's *Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect* (Calcutta, 1884), and the works of E. H. Man and Sir Richard Temple; and now Mr. Whitehead has made a valuable addition to our information by the publication of this account of the Car Dialect. Although Car and Nancowry are certainly variant forms of the same Môn-Khmêr speech, they differ so widely both in grammar and in vocabulary that it would almost be possible to class them, not as cognate dialects, but as separate languages not very closely allied to each other. Car is spoken by some 5200 people out of the eight or ten thousand Nicobarese, while the number of speakers of Nancowry (Mr. Whitehead spells the word "Nankauri") is about 1165. The other dialects (Chowra, Teressa, and Shompen) share among themselves the remaining speakers of the language.

To his Dictionary proper Mr. Whitehead has prefixed an Introductory Chapter of about fifty pages in which he gives an account of the general features of the language. This does not pretend to be a formal grammar, but is rather a collection of notes of varying length dealing with the main particulars. The most important sections are those devoted to the sounds of the language, to the pronouns, and to the verb. While there is no list of numerals, there is an interesting catalogue of the numeral co-efficients that form an important element in the methods of counting employed by speakers of Indo-Chinese languages.

In the section on phonetics, the vowel sounds are treated with minuteness, the chief features of interest being the many diphthongs and semi-diphthongs, and the tendency of some vowels to change under the influence of a following consonant. As for the consonants, with a few accidental exceptions, there are no sonant stops (*g*, *j*, *d*, *b*),—in this differing widely from Nancowry—and no aspirated consonants. Two letters,—*k* and *n*,—are liable to become "clipped" when final. I presume that by this term it is meant that, as in Burmese and other languages, they are sounded without the off-glide; but this is doubtful, for the author mentions another sound, which he represents by *ṛ*. This, he says is "a kind of modified (or clipped) *r*", in which "clipped" can hardly have this meaning, especially as the sound is never final.

The pronouns are the only words that show inflexion. They have three numbers,—singular, dual (only when referring to persons), and plural,—and the pronoun of the first person has two forms each for the dual and plural, one including, and the other excluding the person addressed. So far as I am aware, the latter distinction is not found in Nancowry, which has, however, the three numbers. The comparative table below[1] shows the principal personal pronouns in the two dialects. It illustrates at once the connexion and the difference between them.

As regards verbs, the author tells us little about conjugation, but gives a long and valuable list of suffixes (which he calls affixes) and prefixes that, as in cognate forms of speech, modify the root-meaning of the word. No information is given about tenses, and I presume that, as in Nancowry, present, past and future are all represented by the same form, the temporal significance being gathered from the context.

Similarly, we are given no information about the declension of nouns. It is true that in languages of this family there are no formal cases, but, to take an example, it would have been interesting to learn how the idea of the genitive is expressed. Does the possessor follow or precede the thing possessed? Is, for instance, "the house of the parent[2]" *pa-ti* (house) *yòng* (parent), or *yòng pa-ti*? From sentences given as examples of other syntactical uses, I presume that, as in Nancowry, the former, and not the latter, is the correct idiom, but it would have been well if this had been distinctly stated. Readers of Pater Schmidt's *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* will remember how important from the point of view of anthropology is this question of the position of the genitive.

The Dictionary itself is admirable. It is no mere vocabulary, for nearly every entry is supplied with sentences illustrating the exact meaning of the word under examination. Considering the scanty word-store that would be possessed by an isolated and uncivilized tribe of only a few thousand people, it is astonishingly full, and the evident care with which it has been compiled, gives confidence as to its accuracy. I can congratulate not only the author on its successful completion, but also my fellow-students who are struggling with the Môn-Khmêr languages on finding ready to their hands a new and excellent weapon to aid their conquest.

G.A.G.

1

	Singular.		Dual.		Plural.	
	Car.	Nancowry	Car.	Nancowry.	Car.	Nancowry.
I ..	*chū-ò, chūn* ..	*tiũe* ..	*an, ai-ya-a* (In.); *an, āi-yö* (Ex.)	*tieāe* ..	*in, ai-yī-ö* (In.); *in, ī-hò* (Ex.)	*tieōi* ..
Thou ..	*man, meh-e"* ..	*me*	*nan, na-a"* ..	*ina* ..	*yin, yī-ö* ..	*ifä* ..
He ..	*an, a-na, ön* ..	*anah* ..	*nan* ..	*ona* ..	*yin, cha-a* ..	*ofä* ..

2 Car, like Nancowry, has no word for 'father' or 'mother.' It has only 'male parent' and 'female parent.'

HISTORY OF BURMA, from the earliest times to March 10, 1824, the beginning of the English Conquest, by G. E. HARVEY, with a preface by SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., with seven illustrations and five coloured maps : Longmans Green and Co., London, 1925.

Although just over a century had elapsed since Lord Amherst was forced by the provocations of the Government of Ava to commence the first Burmese War, the average Englishman knows very little more about the history of Burma than he did at that date. Sir Arthur Phayre attempted to lift the veil of darkness which shrouded the annals of the country by the publication of a *History of Burma* in 1883 ; but, as Sir Richard Temple points out in a foreword to Mr. Harvey's work, Sir Arthur had no access to the inscriptions, which are numerous from the eleventh century onwards, and made no use of Chinese records. These valuable sources, coupled with the less trustworthy vernacular chronicles of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Dutch and Portuguese records and certain unpublished state papers in the India Office, form the ground work of Mr. Harvey's history, which unquestionably supplies a longfelt want and is likely to be a standard volume of reference for many years to come.

His first chapter, which is devoted to the shadowy ages preceding the rise of the kingdom of Pagan in 1044, is necessarily brief and conjectural. The art of writing was probably brought from South India about A.D 300 to the Pyus,—that strange, unknown race, which once occupied Prome, and gradually lost its identity and became merged in the local tribes of the Pagan kingdom after A.D. 800, but no inscriptions of an earlier date than A.D. 500 have so far been discovered, and the bulk of those included in *Epigraphia Birmanica* belong to a much later date. The general conclusion, at which Mr. Harvey arrives, is that the Burmese are a mixed Mongolian race, to which various Tibeto-Burman tribes—the Pyu, the Kauran or Arakanese, and the Thet or Chins,—have contributed elements, and with these have mingled the Talaings of Lower Burma, who were originally Hindu immigrants from Telingana on the coast of Madras. Immigration also took place from northern India through Assam, and influenced the religious ideas and architecture of Upper Burma in the fifth century ; and the complete disappearance among the Burmese of their primeval Mongolian traditions is due to the fact that these Indian immigrants, whether from Northern or Southern India, were the only people who could read and write in those early ages and so keep tradition alive. Thus it comes that the tradition, folk-lore, and chronicles of the Mongolian Burmese are predominantly Indian in character.

Although Mr. Harvey in his treatment of the Pagan kingdom, which was practically paramount in Burma from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, frankly introduces matter which is pure legend or folk-lore, certain definite facts emerge from his combination of recorded fact, as embodied, for example, in the Myazedi inscription of A.D. 1112, with the romantic narrative of the chronicles. The dynasty, founded by Anaorahta in 1044, which lasted until the terrible Tartar invasion of 1287, managed to hold Burma together for more than two hundred years, built magnificent temples, and preserved Theravada Buddhism, which, in the author's words, "is one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known." Indeed, the tale of the Pagan rulers, though not free from the stain of cruelty, is on the whole more attractive to the modern reader than the long and dreary chronicle of wholesale murder, raiding, and rapine which commences with Shan dominion in 1287, includes the chequered history of the Toungoo dynasty, and ends, so far as Mr. Harvey's work is concerned, with the challenge offered by Bagyidaw of the Alaungpaya line to the Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, whom the author incorrectly styles Viceroy of India. The title of Viceroy did not come into existence and use until after the transfer of the Government of India to the English Crown in 1858. Battle, murder, and sudden death fill the centuries succeeding the great Shan immigrations ; here and there one catches a glimpse of a ruler endowed with greater nobility, personality, or administrative aptitude than the general run of Burmese kings. Such, indeed, were Queen Shinsawbu (1453–72) of gracious memory ; Thalun of the Toungoo line, under whose orders the first Revenue Inquest ever made in Burma was carried out in 1638 ; Bayinnaung, who commenced his martial adventures while still in his teens and continued fighting till his death at the age of 66 ; Alaungpaya, who rose from the position of village headman to be master of Burma ; and Bodawpaya. But one looks in vain for any figure comparable with those of Aśoka, of Samudragupta, of Harsha, and of Akbar in India. These rulers were quite as despotic as the kings of Burma, but they were more cultured, more civilized, and, so long as they lived, they maintained a tolerably efficient administrative organization. It was in this respect that the Burmese Court was a signal failure, and Mr. Harvey's references to the exceptional inefficiency of the government recall the worst days of the later Mughal rulers, when every official was a law unto himself and the injunctions of the pageant emperor went unheeded.

Quite as valuable as the actual history of the various dynasties are the notes which Mr. Harvey has appended to his narrative. Among these one may call attention particularly to the notes on "The temples and their builders," "Massacre of the kinsmen," "Thalun's inquest," which include illuminating paragraphs on slaves and captives, the ideas underlying prohibition of certain exports, and the organisation of society, and "Administrative

conditions." In several respects, particularly as regards official oppression and tyranny, conditions under the kings of Burma approximated to those existing in India under some of the less efficient rulers, both Hindu and Muslim: but it is doubtful whether any Indian potentate, except perhaps Sultan Balban or Muhammad bin Tughlak, was guilty of such sanguinary cruelty as that which characterized successive rulers of Burma. In his note on "Cholas in the Delta," Mr. Harvey rightly exposes Mr. Taw Sein Ko's error in attributing the erection of two stone posts at Pegu to Rajêndra the Gangaikonda Chola. Kidaram or Kadaram, which has been identified with Kedah in the Malay States, is identical with the Kaṭâha of the Tiruvalangadu copperplate inscriptions and with the Kâḷaham of the ancient Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappalai*. The Raja of Kadaram was also ruler of Śri Vishaya or Vijaya, which appears to have been Palembaug on the east coast of Sumatra. At page 320 there is an interesting note on "Myosado," the Burmese name for a human victim buried alive under a building,—a custom which was once well-known in India also.

Enough has been said to indicate that Mr. Harvey's work is a valuable contribution to the historical literature concerning England's eastern possessions. It bears the impress of steady research and first-hand knowledge of the country; and as Sir Richard Temple writes in an excellent foreword, it "will form a starting point for searchers of the coming generation. It has blazed a way through the jungle, so that others may build the road." What a jungle it is, can be to some extent understood from a mere perusal of the genealogical tables, which are printed after the explanatory notes. To have woven a consecutive story, replete with new facts, out of that medley of strange names, and incidentally to have thrown most interesting sidelights upon the social condition, customs, and civilization of Burma under its own rulers, is an achievement worthy of the Service to which Mr. Harvey belongs.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE ROOT ACCH—IN MODERN INDIA, IN SONDERDRUCK AUS DER GARBE-FESTGABE, 1927, by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON.

In this learned contribution Sir George Grierson commences with the statement: "Much has been written concerning the origin of the Prakrit $\sqrt{acch}$—'be'." Then after taking us through the modern Indian languages he winds up with the invaluable remarks: "The most important general point to note in the above is that the forms derived from the primitive past participle, may be, and often are, used in the sense of the present. It is important, because the same phenomenon also occurs in the case of other verbal bases used as verbs substantive. In such cases the participial origin is indicated by the fact that such a present tense is liable to change for gender, a thing which could not happen if the tense were derived from the primitive present. When we find a modern present tense so changing for gender, we may be certain that it is derived from a participle, and not from any finite tense. I have more than once observed that this guide has not been taken advantage of by inquirers." Readers of this *Journal* will be grateful to Sir George.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES, by DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., Calcutta; Published in the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) series.

It is generally admitted that, like most countries in the world, ancient India in prehistoric days evolved out of a tribal stage into a settled order of society. What were the names of these tribes, where and how they lived, whence and from which place they came, and what led finally to their absorption are questions, an examination of which would afford supreme interest to antiquarians. We know Vedic literature contains mention of a few tribes. Again these and other tribes are not unknown to post-vedic literature —a clear inference that tribal systems of organisation continued to thrive even in the epic and the Pauranic periods.

But there are striking pieces of evidence to indicate that even in pre-epic days, and at least by the epic age, India had evolved a settled system of government and administration. It is not possible for us to say whether tribal systems of organisation continued side by side with the orderly forms of government. But it is just possible that each tribe gradually developed a sense of state consciousness with the result that each became dominant in that region. Or it may be that originally there was a great family of princes and rulers like the traditional race of the Ikṣvâkus, the different members of which occupied neighbouring territories and became in course of time independent rulers. Whatever it was, the fact was that there were small separate kingdoms occupied by different monarchs and possibly different peoples.

An attempt is made in the book under review to trace the history of five such tribes which played a prominent part in the history of ancient India. These are the Kâśis, the Kosalas, the Aśmakas, the Mâghadas, and the Bhojas. The study of each tribe is an exhaustive one, from its origin to its final disappearance or absorption into other powerful territory. This is not the first endeavour of Dr. Law in this direction. He has already published similar studies with an earnestness all his own. Almost all his authorities are literary, and each one of them is furnished with a wealth of detail that one must call it a study complete by itself.

We trust that the distinguished scholar will pursue his studies further and give us an authoritative and exhaustive treatise on all the tribal kingdoms of Hindu India both in her prehistoric and historical periods.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

JEAN DE THÉVENOT'S ACCOUNT OF SURAT.

BY H. G. RAWLINSON, M A

(*Continued from page* 204.)

THÉVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XIII.

Cemeteries and Cremations.

The cemeteries of Surat are outside the city, three or four hundred paces from the Baroche Gate. The Catholics have a special one of their own there. The English and the Dutch have theirs too, as well as some Indian monks. The English and the Dutch like to adorn their tombs with brick pyramids coated with lime, and when I was there, they were building one for a Dutch Governor, which was to cost eight thousand francs. Among others there is one of a certain toper who had been banished to India by the General States, and who was said to be a relative of the Prince of Orange : a monument was erected in his honour in the same way as those of other persons of distinction ; but to show that he was an adept in the art of drinking, a large stone cup has been placed on top of the pyramid, and another cup at each of the corners of the tomb below, and beside each cup there is the figure of a sugar-loaf : and when the Dutch want to amuse themselves at this tomb, they make a hundred stews in these cups, and use other, smaller cups to take what they have prepared, out of the large ones, and then they eat or drink it.[15]

The Hindu holy men have their tombs about two thousand paces from those of the Dutch. They are square, and are built of plaster : they are two or three feet high, and two feet in width, some being covered by a dome, and others by a plaster pyramid somewhat more than three feet in height : there is a small window on one of the sides, through which the top of the tomb can be seen ; and as there are the soles of two feet engraven, some people thought that the the Vartias were buried head downwards and feet upwards, but on investigation I found out that there is nothing in this theory, and that the corpses are buried in these tombs in the usual manner.

The place where the Banias burn the corpses of their dead, is beyond the cemeteries, on the river-bank, and when they are consumed by the flames, the ashes are left there to be washed away by the water of the Tapti, as this river is considered as sacred. They believe that they are greatly contributing to the welfare of the soul of the deceased, by burning his body immediately after his death, for they say that the soul suffers from the time of its separation from the body, until the body is burned. It is true that, if they are in a place where wood is unobtainable, they attach a stone to the corpse and throw it into the water, and their religion permits burial if there is neither water nor wood : however, they are convinced that the soul is far happier when the body has been burned. Nevertheless they do not burn the bodies of children who die before the age of two years, because they are still innocent, neither do they burn the bodies of Vartias or Yogîs, who are a kind of dervish, because they follow the rite of Madeo, who is one of their great saints, and who commanded that corpses should be buried.

THÉVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XIV.

Various Curiosities at Surat.

There is a large well near the English cemeteries. A Bania constructed it for the convenience of travellers, and it is square in shape, the same size as the Ahmedabad well which I have described. Above it there are several rather thin brick arches, at distances of several feet from one another. There are various flights of steps leading down, and the daylight enters by the spaces between the arches, so that one can see clearly all the way down. Outside

[15] A similar account is to be found in Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, p. 405 ff.

there is the image of a face, all red, but its features are not distinguishable. The Indians say that it is the pagoda[16] of Madeo, and the Hindus are much devoted to it.

A reservoir near the Daman Gate, where the finest walk of the district begins, is much esteemed. This gate is covered and surrounded by the branches of a fine War-tree[17] which the Portuguese call a root-tree, and which affords the most pleasant shelter to all who come to this tank. This large water reservoir has sixteen angles; each of its sides is one hundred paces in length, and the whole structure is as long as a musket-shot in diameter. The bottom of it is paved with large, smooth stones, and there are steps almost all round it after the manner of an amphitheatre, reaching from the top of the tank down to the bottom : each step is half a foot in height, and they are made of fine free-stone brought from the neighbourhood of Cambay; that portion inside the tank which is not in steps, is in talus; and three slopes have been made as watering-places.

In the middle of this reservoir there is a stone edifice about four toises (1 toise=6.39459 feet) in height, length and width, which one mounts by two little staircases. It is a place where people can enjoy themselves and take the air; but they must reach it by boat. The great tank is filled by rain-water during the rainy season; after flowing through the country-side, where it forms a large canal, which has had to be bridged, the water runs into a large area enclosed by walls, whence it passes into the tank by three holes which have been cut circular, having a diameter of over four feet; and near by, there is a kind of Muhammadan chapel.

This tank was constructed at the expense of a rich Bania named Gopi,[18] who had it built for the public benefit; and in former times no other water was drunk in Surat but the water of this tank, for the five wells which supply the entire city nowadays, were not discovered until a long time after the tank was constructed. It was begun at the same time as the castle, and people say that the one cost as much to construct as the other. It is most certainly a piece of work worthy of a king, and may well be compared to the finest ever built by the Romans for the public benefit. However, as the Levantines allow everything to perish for want of proper upkeep, it was already obstructed by six feet of earth when I saw it; and it is in great danger of being completely filled up with earth some day, unless some charitable Bania has it cleaned out.

Having inspected this fine tank, we went to a place a quarter of a league away, to see the Princess's Garden there, so-called because it belongs to the sister of the Great Mogul. It has a large area, planted with trees of various kinds, such as mangoes, palms, mirabolams, wars, maisa trees, and several others planted in avenues. Among the shrubs I saw the querzehere of aacla, with which I have dealt fully in my second volume, and also the Egyptian acacia. There are several very straight, fine avenues, and especially the four which traverse the garden cross-wise, with a small channel in their midst, the water of which is drawn from a well by bullocks. In the middle of the garden there is a building with four fronts, each having its divan, and in each corner a small room, and in front of each of these divans, there is a square tank full of water, whence issue the streams which flow along the main avenues. However, though this park is well laid out, it has nothing of the elegance of our gardens. One does not see our bowers, our beautiful flower-beds or the accuracy of their divisions, and still less the various fountains which we have.

At one hundred or a hundred and fifty paces from this garden, we saw the War tree in its entire fulness. This tree is also called Ber, and Banyan-tree, and Root-tree, owing to the facility with which its branches, which bear large filaments, take root, thus reproducing fresh branches : thus a single tree can fill a very large area, and this particular one is very extensive and very tall, and casts a very large extent of shade. Its trunk is round, with a diameter of eighty paces, which makes more than thirty toises. The branches which had

[16] A Hindu temple.

[17] Waḍ, *Ficus indica*.

[18] This is the famous Gopi Talao, now drained.

taken root irregularly, had been cut so skilfully, that one can walk beneath the tree now without inconvenience.

The Hindus in India account this tree sacred, and we had no trouble in recognising it from afar, by the flags which the Banias had planted on its top and on its higher branches. It is accompanied by a pagoda dedicated to an idol they call Mameva; and those who do not belong to their religion, think that it is a representation of Eve. We found a Brahman sitting there, who was dabbing red on the brows of those who came there to pay their devotions, and he also received their gifts of rice, or cocoanut. This pagoda is built beneath the tree in the form of a grotto: the exterior bears paintings of various figures representing the fables of their false gods, and inside the grotto there is a head red all over.

In this quarter I saw a man who was very charitable to the ants. He was carrying flour in a sack to distribute to them, and he laid a handful of it in every place where he saw a number of ants collected together.

While we were in the country, we examined the soil of Surat. It is very dark grey soil, and we were assured that it was so excellent that the people never manured it: the corn is sown after the rains, *i.e.*, after the month of September, and it is cut after February. Sugar-canes are also planted: the custom when planting them is to dig deep furrows into which, before placing the canes, they put several of those small fish which we call gudgeons in Paris; whether these fish serve to enrich the soil, or whether they add some quality to the cane, the Indians claim that without this improvement the product of the canes will be valueless: they lay their cuttings of cane over these fish the one at the end of the other, and from each knot of cane thus embedded, there springs a sugar-cane which is harvested in due season.

The soil of Surat is also good for rice, and they sow a considerable quantity of it. Mangoes and palms of all kinds, and other kinds of trees thrive well there, and bring in a good revenue. The Dutch water their fields with well-water, which is drawn by bullocks as described by me in Part Two: but the cornfields are never watered, because the dews, which are abundant in the morning, are sufficient for these crops.

The Tapti River is always rather dirty at Surat, and for this reason the inhabitants use it neither for watering nor for drinking purposes, but only for bathing: and this they do every morning, like other Indians. They use well-water for drinking, and it is brought in skins by bullocks. It is not really much of a river, for even at high tide, it is not larger than half of the Seine: however, it rises to such an extent during the winter owing to the water of the rains, that it overflows its banks furiously, causing great ravages. It rises at a place called Gehar-Cond, in the Deccan hills, ten leagues from Brampur.[19] It flows past this town, and before reaching the sea, waters various districts, touching several towns, lastly that of Surat. When the sea is low, this river flows as far as the bar: but at high tide, the sea generally advances as much as two leagues beyond this bar; and in this way it receives the waters of the Tapti.

THÉVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XV.

The Fort of Surat.

The bar of Surat, where vessels now arrive, is not the real harbour: at the most it can only be called a roadstead; and it is not without cause that I said at the beginning of this book that it is called the bar because of the sands which prevent boats from proceeding further. As a matter of fact there is so little water that, even when vessels have been unloaded, the ordinary tides are not sufficient to permit of their advancing, and people have to wait for the full-moon tide; but at that time they come up to Surat, especially when they are in need of repair. Small boats reach the city easily even when there is very little tide.

The real port of Surat is Souali,[20] two leagues from the bar. It is only four leagues and a half away from the city, and people cross the river just by the city, so as to go there by land.

[19] Burhânpur. [20] Suvâli, the famous "Swally Hole," of the Seventeenth Century Records.

All vessels used to anchor at this port, where there is good anchoring-ground ; but as the Customs were frequently defrauded there, arrival there was prohibited, and no one has been there since the year 1660 except the English and the Dutch, who still have permission to anchor there, and each have their warehouse there. This port gives them fine facility for saving anything they like without paying duty ; and the coaches of the Governors, Commanders or Presidents of these two nations, which frequently drive in these quarters, could easily carry away anything small in bulk from their ships. They even have gardens at Soulay, on the sea-side, and each has a little port where they keep their bots (Dutch boats) or craft : so much so that it only rests with them if they have a mind to evade the duty on many commodities.

Since the prohibition has been issued for other nations to anchor at Souali, there is always a great concourse of vessels at the bar, though it is very inconvenient for them : for none of the vessels from Persia, Arabia Felix, or generally from all the lands of India, has ceased coming here ; and thus the prohibition from landing at Souali has not in any way diminished the profits of the Customs, which pay to the king annually twelve lakhs of rupees, each lakh being equivalent to about one hundred thousand pounds. The Controller of the Customs is a Muslim, and holds his commission from the Governor of Surat. The clerks are Banias, and the rest of the Customs staff, such as guards, porters and others are also Muslims, and are known as Customs peons.

THÉVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Incursion of Sivaji.

In January 1664 Rajah Sivaji disconcerted these Customs officials and their Governor in a strange manner : and as he has become illustrious through his actions, it will not be out of place to relate his history. This Sivaji was the son of a captain of the king of Bijapur, and was born at Bassein.[21] As he was of a restless and turbulent spirit, he began to rebel during his father's days, and having placed himself at the head of a number of bandits and of a host of dissolute youths, he held out in the mountains of Bijapur against such as came to attack him there, and he refused to listen to reason. The king, believing that Sivaji's father was in league with him, had him arrested ; and as he died in prison, Sivaji conceived so fierce a hatred against this king, that he did all in his power to obtain his revenge. He laid waste a part of Bijapur within a very short time, and with what he pilfered, he fortified himself so well with men, arms and horses, that his position was strong enough to enable him to seize some towns and to form a small State in spite of the king, who died at this time. The queen, who was now regent, having her hands full with other matters, tried her utmost to recall Sivaji to his duty : but being unsuccessful, she accepted the peace which he proposed to her, and after that she remained in peace.

However, as the Rajah could not keep quiet, he laid waste some places belonging to the Great Mogul : this compelled the emperor to send troops against him under Shasta Khan, his uncle, Governor of Aurangabad. Shasta Khan had far larger forces than Sivaji, and pursued him vigorously, but the Rajah always took refuge in the mountains, and as he was extremely clever, the Mogul was unable to catch him.

Finally, however, the old captain, thinking that Sivaji's turbulent spirit would result in some mischief to his disadvantage, decided to temporise, and stayed for a long time in the Rajah's territory. As Sivaji was greatly annoyed by Shasta Khan's patience, he resorted to strategem. He ordered one of his captains to write to this Mogul, and to persuade him that he was desirous of entering the service of the Great Mogul and bringing with him five hundred men in his command. When Shasta Khan received these letters, he did not at first dare to trust them ; but when he continued to receive them, and the captain could not adduce any causes of discontent which appeared to have any semblance of truth, he told him to come and bring his men with him. No sooner was he in the camp of the Moguls, than he demanded a

[21] This is a curious mistake. He was born at Shivner, in the Poona district, May 1627.

passport to go and see the king, and join his service: but Shasta Khan contented himself with letting him entertain hopes, and he kept his eye upon him.

Sivaji had ordered him to do his utmost to insinuate himself in the mind of Shasta Khan, and to spare nothing with this intent. He had told him even to go to the length of showing all possible animosity on suitable occasions, and above all to be the first in any attacks which might be made against himself and his subjects. The captain did not fail to obey him. He put to fire and sword all that he came across in the Rajah's territory, and did much more damage there than anyone else; this won for him the complete confidence of Shasta Khan, who in the end appointed him Captain of his guards. He guarded him badly, however, for having one day informed Sivaji that on a certain night he would be on guard near the General's tent, the Rajah came there with his men; and being introduced by his Captain, he approached Shasta Khan, who, having awakened, seized his weapons, and was wounded in the hand. Nevertheless he found a means of saving himself, but one of his sons was killed, and as Sivaji thought he had killed the man himself, he gave the signal for retreat. He withdrew with his Captain and all his cavalry in good order. He took away this General's treasure, and he also carried off his daughter, to whom he paid all possible honour. He forbade his men, under a severe penalty, to do her any harm, on the contrary he had her treated most respectfully; and when he learned that her father was still alive, he sent word to him that, if he sent him as her ransom a certain sum which he indicated, he would return his daughter safe and sound: and this was promptly done.

After that, he wrote to Shasta Khan to ask him to withdraw, and did not conceal from him that he himself was the originator of the stratagem which had been carried out; he added that he was planning several others with intent to ruin him, and that most certainly, if he did not withdraw from Sivaji's lands, he would have to pay for it with his life. Shasta Khan did not neglect this advice. He informed the king that it was impossible to force Sivaji in the mountains; and that he could not undertake to do so unless he allowed his troops to perish: and he received an order from the Court to withdraw on the pretext of some new enterprise. Nevertheless Sivaji was determined to avenge himself on the Mogul by some means or other, provided that it might prove useful to himself; and as he was not ignorant of the fact that the city of Surat was full of wealth, he took measures to pillage it: so that no one might suspect his designs, he divided his troops into two camps; and as his State was mainly on the road between Bassein and Shaoul,[22] in the mountains, he formed one camp near Shaoul, where he set one of his flags, and at the same time posted another camp near Bassein; and after having instructed his Commanders not to do any pillaging, but, on the contrary, to pay for anything they took, he secretly disguised himself as a fakir. He went to find out the easiest roads to get to Surat speedily; he entered the city to make investigations regarding the locality: and in this way he had all the leisure he wanted for reconnoitring.

Having returned to his main camp, he commanded four thousand of his men to follow him silently, and the others to remain in encampment and to make as much noise in his absence as though the whole of the troops were there, so that no one should suspect anything of the enterprise in hand, and so that it should be believed that he was still in one of his two camps. All was done as he had commanded. The march was sufficiently secret, though he precipitated it to surprise Surat; and he encamped near the Brampur[23] gate. To amuse the Governor, who sent to meet him, Sivaji asked for guides, on the pretext that he wished to pass beyond the place; but without giving him any reply, the Governor withdrew into the fortress with all his most precious possessions, and sent out in every direction for succour. The majority of the inhabitants, surprised, deserted their houses, and fled into the country. Sivaji's men entered the city, pillaged it for four days, and burned several houses. It was only the quarters inhabited by the English and the Dutch that were able to escape from these

22 Chaul Revadandâ. 23 Burhânpur.

marauders, by reason of the vigorous resistance which they offered, and by means of the cannon which they levelled, the effects of which Sivaji did not want to try, as he had no cannon himself.

Neither did this Rajah desire to risk attacking the castle, though he was well aware that they had stored all the most valuable things there, in particular a large amount of ready cash. He feared that this attack would cost him too much time, and that the reinforcements which might come, would compel him to abandon the booty he had secured in the city: besides, as the castle had a means of defending itself, his victory there would not have been so profitable as in the case of the remaining part. He therefore decided to retire with all the riches he had amassed. It is believed in Surat that this Rajah carried off more than thirty millions in jewels, gold or silver; in one Bania's house alone he found twenty-two pounds of strung pearls, as well as a large quantity of others which were not yet pierced.

By the way, it would be astonishing that so populous a city should so patiently have allowed a handful of men to pillage it, if one did not know that, for the most part, the Indians are cowardly. No sooner did they see Sivaji with his band, than they all fled, some to the country to retire to Baroche, and the others to the castle, where the Governor of the City was among the first to take refuge. Indeed, the European Christians, who had stayed firm in their quarters, were the only people who saved themselves. All the rest of the city was pillaged, except the Capuchin monastery. When the pillagers were opposite their convent, they passed by; and they had received orders from their chief to act in this way, because, on the evening of the first day, Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins, moved to compassion for the poor Christians resident in Surat, had approached this Rajah, and had spoken to him in their favour asking him at least to do no injury to their persons. Sivaji respected him: he took him under his protection, and granted him his request for the Christians.

The Great Mogul was much affected by the pillage of this city, and the boldness of Sivaji; but as his affairs did not permit of his pursuing him then and there, he dissimulated the grief that this attack caused him, and postponed his revenge.

In 1666 Aurangzeb urgently desired to be rid of him, and to gain his ends, he pretended to approve of what Sivaji had done, and praised his action as that of a gallant man, putting the blame on the Governor of Surat, who had not had the courage to oppose him. He thus explained himself before the other rajahs of the Court, among whom he well knew that Sivaji had many friends; and he gave them to understand that, as he esteemed the valour of this Rajah, he wished him to come to the Court, and he said plainly that he would be glad if someone would make this known to Sivaji He even asked one of them to write to him, and he gave his royal word that no harm would be done to him that he could come to the Court in all security, that he, the emperor, would forget the past, and that his troops would be so well treated that he would have no cause for complaint. Several rajahs wrote what the king had said, and went in person as surety for his word: and thus he had no objection to coming to the Court with his son, after having commanded his troops to be always on their guard, under a skilful captain whom he left at the head of them.

At first he received all manner of caresses at the Court, but some months afterwards, perceiving the coldness in the king's manner towards him, he complained openly of it, and told him without hesitation that he believed the king desired his, Sivaji's, death, though he had come to the Court on the strength of the king's royal parole, without having been under any constraint or necessity to do so, but that His Majesty could learn from Shasta Khan and from the Governor of Surat, what manner of man he was, and that, if he was to perish, there would be those who would avenge his death; but in the meantime, before they could kill him, he wished to die by his own hand: and, drawing his dagger, he attempted suicide; but he was prevented, and watch was kept over him.

The king would have gladly killed him, but he feared that the rajahs would rise against him. They were already murmuring at the treatment which was being meted out to Sivaji

in spite of the assurance which had been given him: and they all took all the more interest in him, as most of them were only at Court on the strength of the king's parole. This consideration compelled Aurangzeb to treat him well, and to make much of his son. He told him that he had never had thoughts of putting him to death, and he flattered him by promising him a good commission if he would go to Kandahar, which place he then intended to besiege. Sivaji feigned consent to this, provided that he might command his own troops. The king having granted him this request, he asked for a passport to have them fetched; and when he had obtained it, he decided to utilise it to withdraw from the Court. For this reason he gave orders to those to whom he entrusted the passport, and whom he sent on in advance on the pretext of bringing his troops, to bring him horses to certain places which he indicated to them; this they did not fail to do. When he considered the time ripe for going to join them, he had himself and his son carried to the river bank at night in baskets. As soon as they had passed over, they mounted horses which were ready waiting for them, and at the same time he told the ferryman he might inform the king that he had taken Rajah Sivaji across. They galloped night and day: they found fresh horses at the appointed places according to the instructions which Sivaji had given; and they passed everything on the strength of the king's passport: but as the son was unable to stand the strain of this long ride, he died on the way. The Rajah left money for his corpse to be burned with all due honour, and immediately went to his State in good health.

Aurangzeb was extremely angry about this flight. Several people thought that it was only a false rumour which was being circulated, and that Sivaji had been put to death; but the truth was soon known. This rajah was short and swarthy, with fiery eyes showing great intelligence. He generally ate only one meal daily, and enjoyed good health; and when he pillaged Surat in 1664, he was only thirty-five years of age.

THÉVENOT'S TRAVELS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Capuchin, Father Ambrose.

Father Ambrose, about whom I have spoken, has acquired great credit in the country of the Mogul by reason of his virtue and his services, and he is esteemed equally by Christians and Hindus: moreover he is full of charity towards all. It is he who generally settles the disputes which arise among the Christians, and especially among the Catholics; and he has such a measure of authority from the Mogul officials, that if one of the parties is so obstinate as not to wish to accommodate himself, Father Ambrose compels him on his own authority to agree to what is right. He does not hesitate to have a Christian imprisoned if his behaviour is scandalous, and if the Governor or the Cotoual receive complaints about it, or petitions for the release of the prisoner, they both send the complainant to the Father, saying that this is a matter over which they have no control. If the suppliant finds favour with them, they simply offer their intercession to the Capuchin, and one day I saw a man whom he had released from prison at the request of the Cotoual, and this official was reprimanding him severely for having caused Father Ambrose's indignation. He banishes from the city persons of too irregular living, and the Cotoual himself sends him peons to conduct them out of the town, with instructions to his people to conduct them wherever the Capuchin may advise.

He frequently uses his favour for Hindus also; and I have seen a heathen, who was being taken to prison for some minor offence, released at his request. He boldly disputes about the Faith in the presence of the Governor: and one day he brought back to her duty a Christian woman debauched by a secretary to the queen, who, in order to lead a licentious life, had deserted her religion and embraced Muhammadanism, and he himself went one morning to take her away from this heathen. His life has indeed ever been blameless, which is no ordinary praise for a man who lives in a country where there are so many nations living in great disorder, and which his duties compel him to frequent.

THE APABHRAMŚA STABAKAS OF RÂMA-ŚÂRMAN : A FEW SUGGESTIONS.

BY MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH, M.A., B.L.

THE reconstruction of the Apabraṃśa Stabakas of Râma-Śarman by Sir George A. Grierson (published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1922–1923) is, to say the least, marvellous and quite worthy of the veteran scholar. But as it is based in many places on conjectures, extremely bad as the text is, there is room for suggestions.

Verse 3, line 3. *sipâ* (*sidâ, nipâ, nidâ*) *nitê* has been amended as *siprâdikê*. This suits the metre. This will give the Apabhraṃśa form *chappâ* (or. *chippâ*). But *chappâ* (or, *chippâ*) < *siprâ* is unknown. Moreover by accepting *siprâdi* as a *gaṇa*, which is evidently the intention of the author, where *ch* < *s*, there crops up a serious defect in the treatment of the subject. In the preceding line he states *k*(*kh* ?) < *kṣ*. But there is a large number of cases in Apabhraṃśa, where *ch* < *kṣ*, which remains unprovided. I would, therefore, suggest the reading *kṣiptâdikê*. This gives a *gaṇa*, where *ch* < *kṣ* like *kṣurâdi* of Mârkaṇḍeya and *akṣyâdi* of other Prakrit grammarians. In fact *kṣipta* is included in the above *gaṇa* of those grammarians. In Apabhraṃśa also we find *chuṭṭha, chûḍha* = *kṣipta*, both the forms occurring in the Bhavisatta Kaha. It will be interesting to know what name Râma Śarman gives to this *gaṇa* in the Prâkṛta Stabaka.[1]

Verse 28, lines 1 and 4. *nṛṭi luṭi*. Both have been amended to *luṭi*. But there is very clearly *-ṛ* in the first place, though it has been misread as *-u*. As regards *-û* in the second place it can be taken for *-ṛ*, just like *sûṇi* in v. 4. 1. 2. We cannot be sure of Mârkaṇḍeya's reading *luṭ* for *lṛṭ*.

Verse 30, line 1. *gṛhṇô-*. This has been corrected to *guṇhô-*. But the change of *-ṛ* to *-u* is unnecessary, as *-ṛ* is permissible by v. 4. Hemacandra actually enjoins (IV. 394) the form *gṛṇha* for his Apabhraṃśa.

Verse 31, line 1. *tôma tônnasuêhi* has been amended to *tô mô tâṇṇa* (? *teṇṇi*) *suêhi* (? *aêhi*). In this reading we should expect *mâṃ* after *tvâṃ* in the second line. But this does not suit the metre. I would suggest the reading *tômaṃ tâṇṇa abêhi*. *tômaṃ* = *tvâm* ; cf. Pk. *tumaṃ*, *tâṇṇa* = *têṣâm* ; cf. Pk. *tâṇa, tâṇaṃ* ; Middle Assamese *tân*, Eastern Bengal dialect *tân*. For *abêhi* cf. Beng. *ebe* ; in the text *su* might represent *a*, and *ê, bê*.

In the third line of the same verse we find *bâhunyatîtyôditam*. Sir George suggests *bâhulya* for *bâhunya*, or *vâhunya*. But he does not amend the reading. I would suggest *bâhulyakênôditam ; ty* can easily represent *n*.

In the next Stabaka v. 10. l. 4 the text gives *prâcyâta sôraṭṭapadâvilambâ*. This has been amended to *Prâcyâ tu Sôraṭṭa-padâvalambâ*. Sir George is not fully satisfied with the reading *Sôraṭṭa*. I would suggest *tad-râṣṭra*. This exactly corresponds to *tad-dêśîya* in the description of *Prâcyâ* given by Mârkaṇḍeya.

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1 A reference to Sir G. Grierson has elicited the following reply.

C.E.A.W.O., *Jt. Editor*.

In this valuable Note on the Apabhraṃśa Stabakas of Rāma-śarman, Mr. Muhammad Shahidullah, in regard to his suggested reading *kṣiptâdikê* in verse 3, says " it will be interesting to know what name Râma Śarman gives to this *gaṇa* in the Prâkṛta Stabaka".

The *gaṇa* referred to is in I, iii, 5. In I, iii, 4, the author deals with Prâkṛt *ch* < *sp*, *ts* and other compounds that do not concern us. He then goes on in 5 :—

lakṣmīḥ sadṛkṣaḥ khalu *makṣikâdi*
utkṣipta ṛkṣôkṣa (? *ṛkṣâkṣa*) iha praviṣṭah
kṣanē kṣamāyām api vā cha-kārah
akṣy-ādi *vṛkṣēṣv* api dṛśyatē ca.

Comm. *lacchī, saricchō, macchiā, ucchittō, ricchō, acchō* (? *ucchō*) . ādi-śabdāt, *chettaṁ, chīraṁ, vacchō,* ityādi-grahaḥ. kṣaṇâdau *chanam, chamā,p acchaṁ* (? *pacchī*), *ācchaṁ* (? *acchī*), *vacchō.* pakṣē *khaṇam, khamā, kukkhī* (? *pakkhī*), *mukkhī* (? *makkhī*), *rukkhō.*

The Comm. is corrupt in parts, and some of the words are doubtful

G. A. GRIERSON.

INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHÂRÂJA SURAPÂLADÊVA, DATED [VIKRAMA-] SAṀVAT, 1212.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THIS inscription was found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, at Ṭhâkarḍâ, during his tour in the Dûngarpur State, and is described in the *Annual Report of the Museum* for 1915–16. I edit the text from an ink impression kindly placed at my disposal by him.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing, which covers a space of 11 in. × 9 in. The average size of the letters is about ¾ in. Some inverted letters also seem to have been engraved later on in the right lower corner.

The character is Nâgarî of the twelfth century A.D. The letter *i* in *Ma-idhêna* (l. 10) shows its earlier form. The *mātrās* of *u*, *û* and *ê* are written in different ways ; as in *-Sûnu-* (l. 3), *putrô-* (l. 4), *-pûrvvaṁ* (l. 8), *-dêvêna* (l. 7) and *kêdârâ* (l. 9). Also, *dha* is written in two ways as in *abhidhâna* (line 2) and *Śrîdhara* (l. 10),. and so also *va* in *ravi-* (l. 1) and *-jîvina* (l. 6).

The language is Sanskrit with a few mistakes, which are corrected in the footnotes accompanying the text.

In respect of orthography, the following may be noted :—

(1) *Anusvara* is used for *ṅa* and *ṇa* for *na* in *Aṇaṁgapâla* (l. 7).

(2) *s* for *ś* in *Siddhêsvara* (l. 7). Rules of *sandhi* are not observed in ll. 5, 7, 8, etc.

This inscription is of the time of Mahârâja Surapâladêva, the son and successor of Vijayapâladêva, whose inscription[1] dated Saṁvat 1190 1133 (A.D.) was found at Ingnodâ (about 180 miles from the find-spot of this inscription) in the territory of the junior Râjâ of Devâs in Central India. It is dated the 1st day of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, Saṁvat 1212, corresponding to 31st July 1155 A.D., and records a grant of a land by Mahârâjaputra (Prince) Anaṅgapâladêva to the temple of the god Siddhêśvara. The names of the princes mentioned in the Ingnodâ inscription are also mentioned in this, but the epithets 'Mahârâjâdhirâja,' 'Paramēśvara' and 'Paramabhaṭṭâraka' are not followed in this. However, it appears from these two inscriptions that they were probably, though not necessarily[2], independent kings at first, and ruled over certain parts of Rajputana and Central India.

The family to which they belonged is not mentioned in either of the inscriptions. This leads to the difficulty in assigning a place to them among the ruling dynasties of the twelfth century A.D. R. B. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, at first,[3] included them among the Kachhavâha rulers of Gwalior, but later on changed his opinion and remarked in the *Annual Report of the Museum*, that possibly they were the descendants of the Pratihâra kings of Kanauj and ruled over parts of Central India and Rajputana after the kingdom of Kanauj had passed into the hands of the Gahaḍwâl king Chandradêva at the end of the eleventh century A.D.

This latter view of his seems to me better ; for it may be known that, after the end of the Imperial Pratihâra dynasty of Kanauj, the scions of the family continued to rule for sometime in the territories where their masters had placed them, as can be inferred from the discovery of an inscription,[4] dated Saṁvat 1277 (A.D. 1220) of the Pratihâra Malayavarmâ at Kureṭhâ in the Gwalior State. So, it is possible that, like Malayavarmâ, these princes had also ruled in the territories where their inscriptions are found. This could happen only if they governed either as independent kings, or as subordinates to the Parmâra rulers of Mâlwâ,

1 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 53.

2 Mathanadêva, son of Mahârâjâdhirâja Sâvaṭ of the Pratihâra *gotra* bore the titles 'Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara,' but he was a feudatory of the Pratihâra king Kshitipâladêva (Mahipâla) [*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 265.] See also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 169 ff.

3 Supplementary notes to *Tod Râjasthâna* (in Hindi), by R. B. G. H. Ojha, p. 372.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLVII, p. 242, n. 4. See also the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1918–19, p. 2, 4 (*b*) V. The names of the princes of this record also agree with those of the later Pratihâras of Kanauj.

just as did the Parmâras of Vâgaḍa[5] (which included the whole of the present Bânswârâ and Dûngarpur States), whose rule began with Ḍambarsiṁha, brother of the Parmâra Vairîsiṁha (I.) of Mâlwâ and ended with Vijayarâja[6] about Saṁvat 1166 (A.D. 1109).

Since the Ingnodâ inscription of Vijayapâla is dated Saṁvat 1190 (A.D. 1133), it may also be guessed that the reign of Pṛithvîpâladêva, the third predecessor of Vijayapâla, may have begun a short period before the end of the Vâgaḍa rulers, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., if an average rule of twenty years be assigned to each of the two rulers preceding Vijayapâla. It may also be seen from the same inscription that the epithets *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* are applied to Tihuṇapâladêva (Tribhuvanapâladêva) only. This shows that the power of these rulers probably rose to its height in the reign of Tribhuvanapâladêva, who, according to the supposed average, appears to have been the contemporary of the Parmâra ruler Naravarmâ (s. 1161–90) of Mâlwâ, during whose reign the power of Mâlwâ was considerably reduced by a continuous warfare of twelve years with the Solaṅkî ruler Siddharâja Jayasiṁha of Gujarât.

The genealogy of the princes according to this inscription is as follows :—

Pṛithvîpâladêva *alias* Bhartṛipaṭṭa.
|
Tribhuvanapâladêva. (Tihuṇapâla of the Ingnodâ inscription).
|
Vijayapâladêva (s. 1190 = A.D. 1133).
|
Surapâladêva (s. 1212 = A.D. 1155).
|
Anaṅgapâladêva.

Line. *Text.*

1 ओँ[7] || संवत् १२१२ वर्षे ||[8] भाद्रपदशुदि १ रविदिने
2 समस्तराजावलीविराजितभर्तृपट्टा[9]भिधानश्रीपृ-
3. थ्वीपालदेव[वः] तत्सूनुमहाराजश्रीत्रिभुवनपालदे-
4. व[वः]तस्य पत्रो महाराजश्रीविजयपालदेव[वः] तस्य पु-
5. त्रो [त्र]महाराजश्रीसुरपालदेवप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याण-
6. विजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोजीविन[10] महाराजपुत्रश्री-
7. अणंगपालदेवेन श्रीसिद्धेस्व [श्व]रदेवाय श्रेया[यो]र्थं उ-
8. दकपूर्व्वं हल्ल[11]मैकस्यभूमी [मिः] प्रदत्ता | अन्यत् तटाकि-
9. नीव्यतिकरे ये केपि केदारा [राः] प्रदत्ता[त्ताः] ते च प्रमाणाः ||
10. लिखितं पं०श्रीधरसुतपं०मइधेन || मंगलं महाश्री [श्रीः] ||

Translation.

Oṁ | On Sunday, the 1st day of the bright fortnight of *Bhâdrapada* of the Saṁvat year 1212 (A.D. 1155)—[there was] *Śrî*-Pṛithvîpâladêva *alias* Bhartṛipaṭṭa, who shone among the row of the kings ; his son [was] *Mahârâja Śrî*-Tribhuvanapâladêva ; his son [was] *Mahârâja Śrî*-Vijayapâladêva ; his son [was] *Mahârâja Śrî*-Surapâladêva—during [the latter's] prosperous, beneficial and victorious reign a land of one plough was granted by *Mahârâjaputra Śrî*-Anaṅgapâladêva who served his [father's] lotuslike feet, for his welfare with [the ceremony of pouring] water [on the hand of the grantee] to [the temple of] the god Siddhêśvara. Also, whatever fields have been granted near *Taṭâkinî* [a small pond], they are also confirmed [by this writ].

[This is] written by Pandit Ma'idha, son of Pandit Śrîdhara. Let great happiness attend.

[5] See *Annual Reports* of the Rajputana Museum, 1914–15, 4 (*b*) 1 and 1916–17, 4 (*b*) 2. Also, *Ep Ind.*, vol. XIV, p 296.

[6] An inscription, dated s. 1166 (A.D. 1109), of the time of Vijayarâja is preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

[7] Expressed by a symbol

[8] The strokes are redundant.

[9] The reading in the Ingnodâ inscription (*ante*, p. 55) is different and doubtful.

[10] Read °पद्मोपजीविना.

[11] Read हलैकस्य°. The protruded line of म in the impression seems cancelled by two parallel lines.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH D.

(*Continued from page 139.*)

5. Pṛthak.

This is a word well-known in later literature where it has the meaning *nânâ*, 'diversely, variously, separately, individually, in different ways;' and it has been assumed by the commentators, Indian as well as European, that this is the meaning in the Veda also. This assumption is indeed correct as regards 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1, and some other verses; but it is otherwise with regard to 10, 91, 7; 9, 86, 2 and 10, 142, 4, all which verses contain similes with *pṛthak* as the *tertium comparationis*. In 10, 142, 4 it is said that Agni goes, *pṛthak*, like an eager missile; in 10, 91, 7, that the flames of Agni press forward, *pṛthak*, like the horses of a chariot; and in 9, 86, 2, that the swift gladdening streams of Soma rush forward, *pṛthak*, like the horses of a chariot. It is obvious that the meaning 'diversely, variously, separately in different ways', is inappropriate here; for the horses of a chariot can not be said to press forward 'diversely' or 'in different ways'. On the contrary, it is their community of action and community of goal that is the point of comparison elsewhere in the RV. Compare, for instance, 3, 33, 2: *ácchâ samudrám rathyèva yâthaḥ* 'you, Vipâṭ and Śutudri, go to the sea (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. *anyâ' vâm anyâ'm ápyeti śubhre* in the same verse and *samânám yónim ánu saṃcárantî* in the next verse); 2, 39, 3: *arvâ'ñcâ yâtaṃ rathyèva śakrâ* 'come, O ye two mighty (Aśvins) towards us (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 10, 106, 1: *sadhrîcînâ' yâ'tave prêm ajîgaḥ*); and 3, 36, 6: *â'paḥ samudrám rathyèva jagmuḥ* 'the waters went (together) to the sea like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 5, 60, 3, *â'pa iva sadhryàñco dhavadhve*). Compare also the epithet *sahavâhaḥ*, drawing together, used of the horses which draw the chariot of Bṛhaspati in 7, 97, 6: *táṃ śagmâ'so arushâ'so áśvâ bṛ'haspátiṃ sahavâ'ho vahanti | sáhaś cid yásya nî'lavat sadhásthaṃ nábho ná rûpám arushám vásânâḥ*. *Pṛthak* therefore cannot mean 'diversely,' 'variously,' 'separately,' 'in different ways,' here; it must have some other signification that can yield good sense in these passages.

What this other signification is, can be determined by these passages themselves. As we have seen, *pṛthag-gamana* is a common characteristic of Agni, of Agni's flames, of the horses of a chariot, and of an eager missile—that is, of a weapon that has been hurled against the foe. If we find out therefore from other passages of the RV. an answer to the question. 'What attribute is it that is characteristic of the movement of the above-named things?' We shall in all likelihood have found out the meaning of *pṛthak* in these passages.

The answer to the above question is not difficult to find; for, the only attribute that characterises commonly the movement of Agni, of Agni's flames, etc., is 'swiftness,' 'rapidity,' 'quickness,' 'impetuousness,' etc. Compare respectively the following passages: (*a*) 3, 26, 2; *táṃ śubhrám agním ávase havâmahe . . . átithiṃ raghushyádam* 'we invoke him for protection, Agni, the bright, the swift-moving, the guest'; 10, 6, 4: *devâ'ñ ácchâ raghupátvâ jigâti* 'he (Agni), the swift-mover, goes to the gods,' 1, 140, 9: *tuvigrêbhiḥ sátvabhir yâti ví jráyaḥ* 'he moves swiftly with his much-devouring flames,'; 1, 79, 1: *áhir dhúnir vâ'ta iva dhrájîmân* '(Agni) swift (like) Ahi, flying like the wind'; 4, 4, 4: *práti spáśo ví sṛja tû'rṇitamaḥ* 'send forth thy spies, (O Agni,) thou that art the swiftest'; (*b*) 4, 4, 2: *táva bhramâ'sa âśuyâ' patanti* 'thy flames go swiftly'; 6, 66, 10: *tṛshu-cyávaso juhvò nâ'gnêḥ* 'moving swiftly like the tongues (*i.e.*, flames) of Agni'; 9, 22, 2: *agnér iva bhramâ' vṛ'thâ* 'impetuous like the flames of Agni'; 4, 6, 10: *tveshâ'so agne arcáyaś cáranti śyenâ'so ná duvasânâ'so ártham* 'thy bright flames, O Agni, move (swiftly) like hawks coursing to their goal'; 4, 6, 5: *drávanty asya vâjíno ná śókâḥ* 'his flames run like racing horses'; (*c*) 1, 148, 3: *áśvâso ná rathyò rârahâṇâ'ḥ* 'coursing like the horses of a chariot; 10, 119, 3: *ún mâ pîtâ' ayaṃsata rátham*

áśvâ ivâśávaḥ '(the streams of Soma) drunk (by me) have roused me (as quickly) as swift horses (draw) a chariot ' (*cf.* preceding verse, *prá vá'tâ iva dódhata ún mâ pîtâ' ayaṁsata*); 4, 1, 3 : *sákhe sákhâyam abhy â' vavṛtsvâśúṃ ná cakráṃ ráthyeva ráṁhyâ* ' carry the friend to us, O friend, with speed, as the two horses of a chariot roll the swift wheel '; 2, 4, 6 : *vâ'r ṇá pathâ' ráthyeva svânît* ' (who, Agni,) rushed forth (as swiftly) as water on its path, as the two horses of a chariot '; (*d*) 9, 69, 6 : *sû'ryasyeva raśmáyo drâvayitnávo matsarâ'saḥ prasúpaḥ sâkám îrate* ' the torpid (?), intoxicating (streams of Soma) move together, swift like the rays of the sun '; 9, 69, 7 : *síndhor iva pravaṇé nimná âśávo vṛ'shacyutâ mádâso gâtúm âśata* ' the streams of Soma, falling from (the hands of) the man proceed on their way, swift like the currents of a river down an incline '; 9, 86, 1 : *prá ta âśávaḥ pavamâna dhîjávo mádâ arshanti raghujâ' iva tmánâ* ' thy swift, thought-inspiring, intoxicating streams, O Pavamana, rush forward of themselves like horses born of fleet (sires and dams) '; 1, 5, 7 : *â' tvâ viśantv âśávaḥ sómâsa indra girvaṇaḥ* ' let the swift streams of Soma enter into you, O Indra fond of praise '; 9, 22, 1 : *eté sómâsa âśávo ráthâ iva prá vâjinaḥ | sárgâḥ sṛshṭâ' aheshata* ' these swift streams of Soma have moved (as swiftly) as racing chariots, (as) horses unloosed '; (*e*) 1, 143, 5 : *ná yó várâya marútâm iva svanáḥ séneva sṛshṭâ' divyâ' yáthâśániḥ* ' that, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile sent on its way, like the thunderbolt of heaven, can not be stopped'; 6, 6, 5 : *ádha jihvâ' pâpatîti prá vṛ'shṇo goshuyúdho nâ'śániḥ sṛjânâ'* ' then speeds the flame of the bull (*sc.* Agni) like the missile hurled by the fighter for cows '; 1, 116, 1 : *yâ'v árbhagâya vimádâya jâyâ'ṃ senâjúvâ nyûhátû ráthena* ' who (two) brought a wife to the young Vimada in a chariot that is as swift as a missile.'

Pṛthak therefore signifies in these verses ' swiftly ', ' rapidly ', ' quickly,' ' impetuously, ' etc., a meaning which suits the context. It has this meaning in the following passages :

2, 17, 3: *ádhâkṛnoḥ prathamáṃ vîryàṃ mahád*
yád asyâ'gre bráhmaṇâ śúshmam aírayaḥ |
ratheshṭhéna háryaśvena vícyutâḥ
prá jîráyaḥ sisrate sadhryàk pṛ'thak ||

"Then didst thou, (O Bṛhaspati) perform (thy) first valiant deed when thou, before this (Indra), didst shatter the powerful (Vala) with thy spell. The swift (Waters) released by (Indra), who was in his chariot (and) who has tawny horses, rush forward together impetuously."

There are some difficulties in the first half of this verse. The release of the Waters mentioned in the second half-verse indicates that the valiant deed (*mahad vîryam*) of the first half-verse refers to the overthrow of the demon that had imprisoned them ; compare 2, 22, 1 : *sá îṃ mamâda máhi kárma kártave mahâ'm urúṃ saínaṃ saścad devó deváṃ satyám índraṃ satyá índuḥ* ; 2, 24, 14 : *bráhmaṇas pátir abhavad yathâvaśáṃ satyó manyúr máhi kármâ karishyatáḥ* where also the phrase *mahi karma* refers to such overthrow ; cf. also 3, 33, 7 : *pravâ'cyaṃ śaśvadhâ' vîryàṃ tád índrasya kárma yád áhiṃ vivṛścát | ví vájreṇa parishádo jaghâ-nâ'yann â'po 'yanam icchámânâḥ.* I therefore take *śushma* as referring to the demon that imprisoned the Waters, and *airayaḥ* in the sense of shattering, destroying—a sense which the word has in the preceding verse but one, *víśvâ yád gotrâ' sáhasâ párîvṛtâ máde sómasya dṛṁhi-tâ'ny aírayat.* The mention of *brahman* as the instrument used for shattering shows (comp. 2, 24, 3 *úd gâ' âjad ábhinad bráhmaṇâ valám*) that the first half-verse is addressed to Bṛhaspati who is known as *brahmaṇas pati* or ' lord of spells.' It is indeed possible to interpret, as Oldenberg has in fact done (*RV. Noten* I, p. 201), the first half-verse also as being addressed to Indra. But this seems to me however to be a somewhat forced interpretation, and I prefer to regard this verse as belonging to the type of verses (*cf.* 1, 62, 4) whose two halves refer to Indra and Bṛhaspati respectively, and to interpret it as I have done above.

The word *asya* in the second pâda seems to refer to Indra and the words *asya agre* to be equivalent to *asya puraḥ.* Bṛhaspati is, as we know from 2, 24, 9 and the Yajus texts (TS.

6, 4, 10; MS. 4, 6, 3; KS. 27, 8) the *purohita* of the gods (*devâḥ*) and therefore of their chief, Indra, also. Now, the chief function of the king's *purohita* is, as laid down by Indian writers, the removal, by means of magical spells, of all evils whether caused by human or by extra-human agency. These writers therefore lay particular stress on the necessity of having as *purohita* one that is well-versed in Atharvanic spells; see, for instance, Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra 1, 8, 5 (p. 15) *purohitam uditoditakulaśîlaṃ shaḍaṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanîtyâṃ ca abhivinîtaṃ, âpadâṃ daivamânushîṇâm atharvabhir upâyaiś ca pratikartâraṃ kurvîta*; Mahâbhârata 12, 73, 30-31: *bhârgavâṅgirasâṃ vede kṛtavidyaḥ shaḍaṅgavit || yajñakarmavidhijñas tu vidhijñaḥ paushṭikeshu ca | ashṭâdaśavikalpânâṃ vidhijñaḥ śântikarmaṇâm || sarvarogavihînaś ca saṃyutaḥ saṃyatendriyaḥ | (purohitaḥ kâryaḥ)*; Yâjñavalkyasmṛti 1, 313. *purohitaṃ prakurvîta daivajñam uditoditam | daṇḍanîtyâṃ ca kuśalam atharvâṅgirase tathâ*; see also ch. II. of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitâ*. An efficient *purohita* therefore was able to destroy all evils and enemies that threatened the king; compare the following ślokas[22]: *upapannaṃ nanu śivaṃ saptasv aṅgeshu yasya me | daivînâṃ mânushîṇâṃ ca pratikartâ tvam âpadâm || 60 || tava mantrakṛto mantrair dûrât praśamitâribhiḥ | pratyâdiśyanta iva me dṛshṭalakshyabhidaḥ śarâḥ* addressed by king Dilîpa to his *purohita* Vasishṭha in the Raghuvaṁśa (I. 60, 61). In the light of these passages we can now understand better the role played by Bṛhaspati in the incidents referred to by the RV. The chant or shout (*arka, brahman, rava, virava, kranda, stanita*, etc.) with which he destroyed the demon and set free the cows and waters (see Bergaigne I, 302; Boyer, *J.A.*, 1906, I, p. 401ff.) represents the magical spell or *mantra* which he, as *purohita*, used in favour of his patron Indra against his foes. His comparison too, with a 'lion roaring in his den' in 10, 67, 9 (*siṁhám iva nâ'nadataṃ sadhásthe*) is one that is pregnant with meaning. The lion, it is believed, kills other animals by its mere roar; compare the Jâtaka stories Nos. 152[23] and 241[24] and the following sentences in Müller's translation of the first six stories of the *Piśâcaprakaraṇam* which is without doubt derived from an Indian original (Z.D.M.G., 48, pp. 198 ff.):

(Pages 205, 206) "Jener Löwen-König besass ungeheure Starke. Er pflegte in den Wald zu gehen und die Thiere durch sein Gebrüll zu tödten".

(Page 206) "Denn jener Löwen-König pflegt, wenn er sein Gebrüll ausgestossen hat, und irgend ein Thier gestorben ist;"

(Page 216) "Da ward der Löwen-König, der Grossvater jener Prinzessin, zornig. Er stiess ein Gebrüll aus, da starben Sangvathan [a jackal-king] und sein gesammtes Gefolge";

and as a *purohita* performs his *śântika, paushṭika* and *âbhicârika* ceremonies in his *yâgaśâlâ*, and as the *mantras* used therein kill the enemies even though they be afar, the comparison of these *mantras* with the roar of a lion, and of the *purohita* Bṛhaspati with a lion roaring in his den is singularly felicitous. Another figure of speech compares these rites and ceremonies which he performs to a *ratha* or war-chariot, in 2, 23, 3, which represents Bṛhaspati as mounted on the chariot of rite (*ṛtasya ratham*) which destroys enemies, slays demons, shatters the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows and wins the light.

Sâyaṇa, who as usual takes *pṛthak* to mean 'in different ways', has ingeniously attempted to explain away the consequent contradiction here between *sadhryak* and *pṛthak* by saying that the 'going in different ways' was caused by fear—*vicyutâḥ svasthânâc cyâvitâḥ santaḥ*

22 It is likewise useful to compare the preceding śloka also:

athâtharvanidhes tasya vijitâripuraḥ puraḥ |
arthyâm arthapatir vâcam âdade vadatâṃ varaḥ || 59 ||

Note also the close agreement in word as well as in meaning of these verses with the passage from *Kauṭilya* given above.

23 *Sîho . . . . tikkhattuṃ sîhanâdaṃ nadi. Paṭhaviyâ saddhiṃ âkâsaṃ ekaninnâdaṃ ahosi. Sigâlassa phalikaguhâya nipannass 'eva bhîtatasitassa hadayaṃ phali. So tatth'eva jîvitakkhayaṃ pâpuṇi* (p. 8).

24 *Sîho . . . . tikkhattuṃ appaṭivattiyaṃ sîhanâdaṃ nadi . . . . te pi hatthî sîhanâdaṃ sutvâ maraṇabhayatajjitâ aññamaññaṃ ovijjhitvâ tatth' eva jîvitakkhayaṃ pâpuṇiṃsu. Ṭhapetvâ sîhe sesâpi migasûkarâdayo sasabiḷâlapariyosânâ sabbe catuppadâ tatth' eva jîvitakkhayaṃ pâpuṇiṃsu . . . . Dvâdasayojaniko maṁśarâsi ahosi* (p. 245).

sadhryak sadhrîcînâḥ parasparasaṃgatâḥ pṛthak bhîtyâ viyuktâḥ santaḥ prasisrate prakarsheṇa dhâvanti. It is however the nature of Waters to flow together ; compare 4, 47, 2 : *yuvâ'n hí yántî'ndavo nimnám â'po ná sadhryàk ;* and 5, 60, 3 : *â'pa iva sadhryàñco dhavadhve ;* and the Waters (or Rivers) released by Indra are in many places said to have moved swiftly forward ; *cf.* 1, 32, 2 : *vâśrâ' iva dhenávaḥ syándamânâ áñjaḥ samudrám áva jagmur â'paḥ* 'running, like lowing cows (to their calves), the waters went straight to the sea'; 1, 130, 5 : *tvám vṛ'thâ nadyà indra sá'rtave'cchâ samudrám asṛjo ráthâñ iva vâjayató ráthâñ iva* 'thou hast released the rivers, O Indra, to run to the sea impetuously like chariots, like racing chariots'; 2, 15, 3 : *vájreṇa khâ'ny atṛṇan nadî'nâṃ vṛ'thâsṛjat pathíbhir dîrghayâthaiḥ* 'with the Vajra he bored openings for the rivers and let them loose (to flow) in long-extended paths': 4, 17, 3 : *vádhîd vṛtrám vájreṇa mandasânáḥ sáran â'po jávasâ hatávṛshṇîḥ* 'exulting he killed Vṛtra, with the Vajra : the waters, whose lord was killed, rushed forth swiftly'; and specially, 10, 111, 9-10 : *sṛjáḥ síndhûñr áhinâ jagrasânâ'ñ â'd íd etâ'ḥ prá vivijre javéna | mumukshamâṇâ utá yâ' mumucré' dhéd etâ' ná ramante nítiktâḥ | sadhrî'cîḥ síndhum uśatî'r ivâyan* 'thou didst deliver the Rivers swallowed by the dragon and these sped forth swiftly—those desiring to be free as well as those that were freed ; the swift ones do not stop ; like loving (wives) they went to the sea together'. It should be noted that both the ideas of 'going together' and 'going swiftly' are given expression to in this last-quoted passage.

8, 100, 7 : *prá nûnám dhâvatâ pṛ'thaṅ néhá yó vo ávâvarît |*
ní shîṃ vṛtrásya mármaṇi vájram ín'dro apîpatat ||

"Run forth now swiftly ; he is not now who had detained you. Indra has hit Vṛtra in his vital parts with the Vajra." This is, as is evident, an address to the Waters.

3, 56, 4 : *abhî'ka âsâṃ padavî'r abodhy*
âdityâ'nâm ahve câ'ru nâ'ma |
â'paś cid asmâ aramanta devî'ḥ
pṛ'thag vrájantîḥ pári shîm avṛñjan ||

The meaning of this verse is not quite clear ; I translate tentatively : "Their leader became known in the fight ; I have invoked the sweet name of the Âdityas. Even the immortal Waters stopped for him ; moving swiftly, they left (him)." With regard to the third *pâda*, compare 2, 30, 1: *índrâyâhighné ná ramanta â'paḥ*. The fourth *pâda* seems to refer to the same situation as 7, 21, 3 : *tvám indra srávitavâ' apáḥ kaḥ párishṭhitâ áhinâ śûra pûrvî'ḥ | tvád vâvakre rathyò ná dhénâ réjante víśvâ kṛtrímâṇi bhîshâ'* and 4, 22, 6 : *ádhâ ha tvád vṛshamaṇo bhiyânâ'ḥ prá síndhavo jávasâ cakramanta.*

2, 24, 14 : *bráhmaṇas páter abhavad yathâvaśáṃ*
satyó manyúr máhi kárma karishyatáḥ |
yó gâ' úd âjat sá divé ví câbhajan
mahî'va rîtíḥ śávasâsarat pṛ'thak ||

"The powerful spell of Brahmaṇaspati who was engaged in a great work had its own way (*i.e.*, acted as desired) : (he) who drove forth the cows gave it to heaven ; (the herd of cows) like a great current went forward impetuously with strong force." 'The great work' refers, as I have said above, to the overthrowing of the demon that has imprisoned the waters and cows. The *iva* in the fourth *pâda*, though apparently an *upamâ-vâcaka*, seems really to be used in the sense of *ca*, that is, as a *samuccaya-vâcaka* with the force of 'and'; for Bṛhaspati sets free, not only cows, but the waters also. Compare 2, 23, 18 : *táva śriyé vy àjihîta párvato gávâm gotrám úd asṛjo yád aṅgiraḥ | índreṇa yujâ' támasâ párîvṛtaṃ bṛ'haspate nír apâ'm aubjo arṇavám ;* see also 6, 73, 3 ; 2, 24, 73-4.

9, 86, 2 : *prá te mádâso madirâ'sa âśávo'*
'sṛkshata ráthyâso yáthâ pṛ'thak |
dhenúr ná vatsáṃ páyasâbhí vajríṇam
índram índavo mádhumanta ûrmáyaḥ ||

'The swift, gladdening streams (O Soma), ran forth impetuously like the horses of a chariot. The sweet-bearing streams (have run) towards Indra, the Vajra-bearer, as a cow with milk runs to its calf."

10, 44, 6 : *pṛ'thak prâ'yan prathamâ' devâhûtayó*
'kṛṇvata śravasyâ'ni dushṭárâ |
ná yé śekúr yajñíyâm nâ'vam árúham
îrmaivá té ny àviśanta kḗpayaḥ ||

This verse is somewhat obscure. I translate, following Yâska (*Nirukta*, 5, 25, 1): "The first invokers of the gods sped forth swiftly and performed famous (deeds) difficult to surpass; the wicked people who were unable to get upon the ship of sacrifice, stayed here only."

10, 91, 7 : *vâ'topadhûta ishitó váśām̐ ánu*
tṛshú yád ánnâ vévishad vitíshṭhase |
â' te yatante rathyò yáthâ pṛthak
śárdhâṁsy agne ajárâṇi dhákshataḥ ||

"When thou, O Agni, being fanned by the wind, extendest thyself rapidly, following thy desires, and reachest forth eagerly after food, the unaging flames of thee, that art burning, move forward swiftly like the horses of a chariot."

10, 142, 4 : *yád udváto niváto yâ'si bápsat*
pṛ'thag eshi pragardhínîva sénâ |
yadâ' te vâ'to anu vâ'ti śocír
vápteva śmáśru vapasi prá bhû'ma ||

"When thou goest, devouring, over ups and downs, thou movest as swiftly as an eager missile. When the wind is blowing behind thy flame, thou shavest the earth as a barber the moustache." By an 'eager missile' is to be understood a weapon that has been hurled against the enemy. Weapons are frequently described in Indian literature as drinking the blood or life-breath of the enemy; see, for instance, the Mahâbhârata (Kumbhakonam ed.); 7, 27, 27, *pattribhiḥ prâṇibhojanaiḥ* | *nânârûpais tadâmitrân kruddhe nighnati Phalgune*: 7, 91, 23: *dvishatâm asubhojinâ . . . . nârâcena*; 7, 117, 10 : *śarâ rudhirabhojanâḥ*; 7, 117, 27 : *te (śarâḥ) . . . . papuḥ śoṇitam âhave*: 7, 134, 26 : *apiban sûtaputrasya śoṇitaṃ raktabhojanâḥ* (*sc. nârâcâḥ*). A greedy weapon therefore means a weapon that is eager to drink the blood or the life-breath of the enemy.

10, 101, 4 : *sî'râ yuñjanti kaváyo*
yugâ' ví tanvate pṛ'thak |
dhî'râ devéshu sumnayâ' ||

"The wise put the ploughs together; the clever, desiring the grace of the gods, quickly make ready the yokes."

AV. 11, 5, 13 : *agnaú sû'rye candrámasi mâtaríśvan*
brahmacâry àpsú samídham â' dadhâti |
tâ'sâm arcî'ṁshi pṛ'thag abhre caranti
tâ'sâm â'jyaṃ púrusho varshám â'paḥ ||

"In the fire, in the sun, in the moon, in Mâtariśvan, in the waters, the Vedic student puts fuel. Their gleams go quickly to the cloud: their sacrificial butter is man, rain, waters." Compare Manusmṛti III, 76 : *agnau prâstâhutiḥ samyag âdityam upatishṭhate* | *âdityâj jâyate vṛshṭir vṛshṭer annaṃ tataḥ prajâḥ*.

AV. 7, 45 2 : *agnér ivâsya dáhato dâvásya dáhataḥ pṛ'thak* |
etâ'm etásyershyâ'm udnâ'gním iva śamaya ||

"Extinguish, as (one does) fire with water, this man's jealousy which is burning impetuously (*i.e.*, fiercely) like fire, like forest-fire."

AV. 4, 15, 2 : *sám îkshayantu tavishâ'ḥ sudâ'navo*
'pâ'ṃ rásâ óshadhîbhiḥ sacantâm |
varshásya sárgâ mahayantu bhû'miṃ
pṛ'thag jâyantâm óshadhayo viśvárûpâḥ ||

"Let the strong liberal ones (*sc.* the Maruts) cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

AV. 4, 15, 3 : *sám îkshayasva gá'yato núbhâṁsy*
apá'ṁ végâsaḥ pṛ'thag u'd vijantâm |
varshásya sárgâ mahayantu bhû'miṃ
pṛ'thag jâyantâm óshadhayo viśvárûpâḥ ||

"Do thou make the singers behold the clouds together; let the swift streams of water rush out rapidly; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

Whitney in his *Translation* (p. 172) renders *pṛthak* in these passages as 'here and there'; and gives a note, after verse 4, that "*pṛthak*, lit. 'severally, separately' is used in these verses rather in the sense of 'all about, everywhere'." It seems to me that it is preferable to accept here (for verses 2 and 3) the meaning, 'quickly, rapidly' established for *pṛthak* above, and that this makes it unnecessary to suggest a third meaning, 'all about, everywhere', for it. With regard to verse 4, the meaning *nânâ*, 'severally', may be considered to suit well here and also in *AV.* 3, 19, 6 and 5, 20, 7, where too the words *pṛthak* and *ghosha* (in 5, 20, 7 its synonym *dhvanayaḥ*) occur. A better sense, however, is yielded by these passages if we interpret *pṛthak* here as 'strong', a meaning which is a development from that of 'rapid, quick, impetuous'; see *Vedische Studien* I, p. 47 and 97 for numerous examples of such development. I would therefore translate these verses as follows:

AV. 4, 15, 4 : *gaṇâ's tvópa gâyantu mâ'rutâḥ parjanya ghoshiṇaḥ pṛ'thak* |
sárgâ varshásya várshato várshantu pṛthivî'm ánu ||

"Let the troops of Maruts that shout strongly sing to thee, O Parjanya; let gushes of raining rain rain along the earth." Shouting strongly is a characteristic of the Maruts that is frequently mentioned in the RV.; compare for instance 1, 64, 8 : *siṁhâ' iva nânadati prácetasaḥ*; 1, 85, 2 : *árcanto arkáṃ janáyanta indriyám ádhi śríyo dadhire pṛ'śnimâtaraḥ*; 5, 54, 12 : *svárantí ghóshaṃ vítataṃ ṛtâyávaḥ*; compare also 1, 169, 7; 3, 26, 5 and Bergaigne II, 373.

AV. 3, 19, 6 : *úd dhárshantâm maghavan vâ'jinâny*
úd vîrâ'ṇâṃ jáyatâm etu ghóshaḥ |
pṛ'thag ghóshâ ululáyaḥ ketumánta úd îratâm |
devâ' índrajyeshṭhâ marúto yantu sénayâ ||

"Let their energies be excited, O bounteous one; let the shout of the conquering heroes arise; let strong shouts and clear jubilant cries go up; let the divine Maruts with Indra as chief go with the army." To *pṛthag ghoshâḥ* in this verse corresponds *dyumân ghoshaḥ* in 10, 84, 4 : *dyumántaṃ ghóshaṃ vijayâ'ya kṛṇmahe*.

AV. 5, 20, 7 : *antaréme nábhasî ghósho astu*
pṛ'thak te dhvánayo yantu śî'bham |
abhí kranda stanáyotpípânaḥ
ślokakṛ'n mitratû'ryâya svardhî' ||

"Let there be noise between these two firmaments; let thy sounds go swift and strong; roar (at them), thunder, truculent, resounding unto the victory of our friends, a good partizan." The last half-verse is unintelligible to me and I have therefore repeated here the translation of Whitney.

Pṛthak has the sense of *nânâ* in the other passages where it occurs, namely, in 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1; 8, 43, 18 and 8, 43, 29.

1, 131, 2 : *viśveshu hí tvâ sávaneshu tuñjáte*
samânám ékam vr̥'shamaṇyavaḥ pr̥'thak
svàh sánishyavaḥ pr̥'thak |
táṃ tvâ nâ'vaṃ na' parsháṇiṃ
śûshásya dhurí dhîmahi |
índraṃ ná yajñaiś citáyanta âyávaḥ
stómebhir índram âyávaḥ ||

"(They) call urgently to thee in all Soma-libations—thee that art one and common, the people with excellent hymns (of praise), desiring to attain light, (call upon) separately. We people, glorifying Indra with praises as with sacrifices, place at the head of the strong (hymn), thee that, like a ship, carriest us across."

1, 157, 1 : *ábodhy agnír jmá úd eti sû'ryo*
vy ùshâ'ś candrâ' mahy â'vo arcíshâ |
â'yukshâtâm aśvínâ yâ'tave ráthaṃ
prâ'sâvid deváḥ savitâ' jágat pr̥'thak ||

"Agni has awaked; the sun rises from the earth; the bright dawn has opened heaven and earth with her light; the (two) Aśvins have yoked their chariot for going; the divine Savitr̥ has impelled the world individually (to action)."

8, 43, 18 : *túbhyaṃ tâ' aṅgirastama víśvâḥ sukshitáyaḥ pr̥'thak* |
ágne kâ'mâya yemire ||

"Thee, O best of Aṅgirases, have all those people with good dwelling-houses, attached to themselves, separately, in order to obtain their desires, O Agni."

8, 43, 29 : *túbhyaṃ ghét té jánâ imé víśvâḥ sukshitáyaḥ pr̥'thak* |
dhâsíṃ hinvanty áttave ||

"All these people with good dwelling-houses (O Agni) have separately impelled thee to eat the food." The words *viśvâḥ sukshitayaḥ* in these two verses though literally meaning 'all (people) that have good dwelling-houses' seem to be used in the sense of 'all (people) possessed of houses; *i.e.* householders'; *viśvâḥ sukshitayaḥ* thus: *viśve gr̥hapatayaḥ*, *viśveshu gr̥heshu naraḥ*, *gr̥he-gr̥he naraḥ*. Compare 5, 14, 4; 10, 91, 2; 1, 128, 4; 4, 7, 3; etc.

Thus the meaning of *pr̥thak* is 1. (*a*) quick, rapid, impetuous; (*b*) strong; and 2. separately, differently, diversely, variously.

Likewise, the root *prath*, from which the word *pr̥thak* is without doubt derived, and its derivative *pr̥thu* seem also to signify 'to rush, to move quickly or swiftly' and 'swift' respectively. Regarding the latter word, namely *pr̥thu*, it is the first member of the compound *pr̥thuprajña* which is given in the *Mahâvyutpatti* (Mironow's ed.; 48) as a synonym of *âśuprajña*, *javanaprajña*, *tîkshṇaprajña*, *gambhîraprajña*, etc. This seems to indicate that *pr̥thu* in *pr̥thuprajña* means *âśu* or *javana*.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS BOWREY, 1669–1713, edited by LIEUT.-COL. SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., Hakluyt Society (2nd Series, No. LVII), 1927.

If the least doubt were left in any sceptical mind as to the correctness of the identification of "T.B.", the writer of the MS. published by the Hakluyt Society in 1905 under the title *A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, this is wholly dispelled by the discovery in 1913 of Bowrey's papers in the Manor House, Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire. The romantic story of this find is delightfully told in Sir Richard Temple's General Introduction to this latest volume of the valuable Hakluyt Series. The papers now edited deal chiefly with Bowrey's movements and life after his return from the East in 1689; but the story of the *Mary Galley*, of which Bowrey was the principal proprietor, and its voyage under Captain Joseph Tolson to Bencoolen, Batavia, Balasore and Calcutta are of much interest to all students of early navigation in Indian waters. The editor has been ably assisted in the matter of technical nautical details by Mr. G. S. Laird Clowes of the Science Museum, S. Kensington. The illustrations are excellently produced, and the notes are characteristically full and accurate.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, (Bangalore), vol. XVII, No. 3, January, 1927.

This issue contains an interesting and suggestive article from the talented pen of Mr. O. C. Gangoly on *The Cult of Agastya* in Southern India and in Indonesia. We are conducted from place to place in South India and across the sea to Siam, Cambodia and the islands of he Malay Archipelago as far east as Bali, showing how deep had been the veneration felt for, and how wide-flung the influence cast by, this famous "pitcher-born" muni. We are told that Agastya is still popularly known in Java as "Śiva-guru" the preceptor of Śiva, or "Bhaṭṭâraka-guru" the revered preceptor, and that his name is "used to this day in all oath formulas, in Java and Bali." Mr. Gangoly considers he has proved that the worship of Agastya was an established cult in Java long before the seventh century, and that it must have come from South India. It would have enhanced the interest of the story had it been possible to cite evidence of the cult from Sumatra, which, as the "first Java", was in all probability affected at an earlier date than the islands further east. Such evidence might, moreover, afford some clue as to the origins of the kingdoms of Śrîvijaya and Malâyu in that island, our knowledge of which has been so amplified by the researches of Monsieur G. Ferrand. The uniformity of type and detail between the images of Agastya at Vedâraṇyam and Chidambaram and those of Śiva-guru found at different sites in Java is very striking, thus tending to corroborate the view taken by Mr. Gangoly. At the same time it may be noted perhaps that these images bear a curious resemblance in some respects to the sculptured figures of rather unusual type found at Gaṛhwâ in the Allahabad district and at Pampâpura near Mirzapur, which Sherring (*Tribes and Castes*, I, 357f.; *JRAS.*, 1871, p. 376 f.) described as "bearded Bhar figures."

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

PAVANADUTAM OF DHOYI, published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

This is a Sanskrit poem on the model of the well-known work of Kâḷidâsa, the *Mêghadûta*. The existence of a manuscript of this work was brought to notice by that veteran manuscript collector, Mahâmahopâdhyâya Haraprasad Sastri. It was published first of all in the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1905 from a single manuscript. The new edition is based upon three manuscripts, the earliest of them being datable in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and the other two belonging rather to the middle of the nineteenth. The previous editions are also made use of for the purpose. Notwithstanding the fact that the edition still leaves much to be desired, it is a great improvement upon its predecessor.

This is a work referable to the court of the last great Sêna ruler of Bengal, Lakshmaṇasêna. All that we can say about the precise date of the work, according to the learned editor, is that the poet belonged to the twelfth century, and the work was composed before A.D. 1205, when it got to e quoted by others.

In regard to the matter of the work, it is more or less conventional in character, and even the geographical information that it contains does not compare very favourably with that of the *Mêghadûta* itself. The work has, however, its worth, at least for the sake of comparison, and careful study of it will enable industrious students to pick out details of value. The editing and publishing of the poem are both creditable, and we congratulate Mr. Chakravarti on the result of his labours.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, vol. 46, No. 3, September, 1926.

In *Some Misunderstandings about India*, being the Presidential Address delivered before the Society at Philadelphia in April, 1926, Mr. W. E. Clark draws attention to the exaggerated emphasis so often placed upon the spiritual and religious elements in Indian life, and makes a strong appeal, supported by sound argument, for the devotion of more attention to the huge mass of literature that has come down to us on subjects of "a practical and worldly nature"—to the "neglected subject of Indian *realien*." He adverts to the special importance of the inscriptions, and pleads for an adequately edited compilation of such as have been found to date, in a form that will enable them to be readily used by research workers. He also urges the need for fuller study of the part played by guild organizations and of the references to sea-voyages, as we now know, largely from the researches of French and Dutch scholars, that the Indians were "one of the greatest navigating and colonizing peoples of antiquity." This suggestive address is commended to the notice of that rapidly increasing body of Indian scholars interested in the past history of their land, to whom perhaps further acknowledgment is due. It may be added that the extensive Jaina literature, hitherto so inadequately studied by Western workers, is likely to prove a most prolific and valuable mine of information, that merits systematic working.

In *The Original Râmâyaṇa* Mr. E. Washburn Hopkins compares several passages in the North-Western Recension text with the Bombay and Bengal versions, with special reference to the question whether there ever was an *Adi-Râmâyana*. He comes to the conclusion that it is vain to hope to reconstruct any *Adi-Râmâyana* by working back from the textual variations in the recensions available to us. If it had been a case of manuscript copy-makers such a condition as now exists would have been almost impossible. He thinks, therefore, with Jacobi, that the text must have been handed down by word of mouth, and that the bards who transmitted it were responsible for the variations. "At some vague period," he adds, "these oral versions were reduced to writing according to the local authorities and the written texts still hold the divagations of various ancient bards." His long critical study of the epics invests Mr. Hopkins' views with exceptional value and interest for all students of the *Râmâyaṇa*.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE JAINA GAZETTE; the monthly organ of the All-India Jain Association, vol. XXI, No. 6, June, 1925. Jaina Gazette Office, George Town, Madras.

This issue of the Jaina monthly organ contains an interesting article on the Vratyas, by Professor Q. Chakravarti of the Presidency College, Madras, which was one of the papers read at the Third All-India Oriental Conference in December, 1924. The author commences by a rapid survey of existing information and theories about the Vratyas, and suggests that an explanation consonant with all the available facts is forthcoming, provided that we discard the prevalent but inaccurate belief that Jainism originated with Mahavira about the year 527 B.C. It may be admitted that Parsvanatha, the twenty-third Tirthankara, was a historical figure, and this admission implies that Jainism in some form or another must have been in existence in the eighth century B.C. Professor Chakravarti discusses the historicity of the earlier Tirthankaras, the influence of the famous Ikshvaku clan of the Kshatriyas on early Aryan culture, and the character and tenets of the Yatis, who are mentioned in Vedic literature. Thence he deduces the view that early in the Vedic period an influential school had arisen which deprecated the sacrificial cult of the Vedas and eventually preached the doctrine of *ahimsa*, thereby incurring the hatred and contempt of the Indra-worshipping Vedic Aryans. In other words the Vratyas signified to non-Jaina writers "the observers of the *Vrata*," in contradistinction to the performers of sacrifices, and these Vratyas preached the *ahimsa vrata*, enjoined by Vrishabha, revived by Parśvanâth, and adopted by Mahâvira.

This theory differs somewhat from that suggested by Professor Samaddar in his recent publication, *The Glories of Magadha*. He holds that the Vratyas were merely Aryans, who had advanced beyond the territorial limits of the main body of Vedic Aryans in the Panjab, and, as pioneers of liberal tendencies, had formed an advance settlement in Magadha, where their ancient Brahmanic rites and ideas underwent modification. Professor Chakravarti, on his side, holds that the term Vratya "was applied to the religious protestants among the Aryans who were opposed to the ritualism of the cult of Indra, and was extended to the lower orders among the [followers of the] new faith. The career of designation is thus the reverse of what was suggested by Rama Krishna Bhagavat, according to whom it first implied a barbarous non-Aryan tribe and later on came to be applied to some Aryans. Knowing the aristocratic racial pride of the Aryans, we can never for a moment believe that they allowed themselves to be designated by such a term with its implication of barbarity and *mlechha* life."

Professor Chakravarti proffers his theory with all modesty. He does not regard it as the only possible solution of the problem, but merely offers it as a working hypothesis, which appears to fit in with existing facts and evidence. It is on that account the more worthy of study: and while any final decision of the matter is at present impossible, it is clear that an acceptance by scholars of the view that Jainism was already in existence as a religious and ethical doctrine about the date of the *Brahmanas* would go far towards establishing the plausibility of Professor Chakravarti's theory. The article is suggestive and well-written.

S. M. EDWARDES.

TATTVASANGRAHA, two volumes, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Nos. XXX and XXXI.

The Gaikwad's Oriental Series, published under the authority of the government of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, is one of the most useful and interesting of the series of Sanskrit publications which are at present being issued in India. The others that challenge a ready comparison are the series of publications that used to be issued regularly by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, for which the late Mahâmahopâdhyâya Dr. Ganapati Sastri was mainly responsible. These publications by the most forward Indian States have had to shoulder the responsibility which the Asiatic Society of Bengal had assumed and discharged with so much distinction in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series. The Gaikwad's Series is characterised by the comparatively rare character of the works selected for publication and the combined learning, eastern and western, with which the works are usually edited. In this respect they challenge a ready comparison, perhaps to its own advantage, with publications of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

The work under review is of a class with the *Sarvadarśana Sangraha* of Mâdhavâchârya. The work, a comparatively brief one with the commentary which is voluminous, constitutes something like a cyclopædia of Indian logic for the eighth century after Christ. It is the work of an author by name Śântarakshita, who lived early in the eighth century in India and passed on in the forties of that century to Tibet, where he established a school of Buddhism. It is a work which may, more or less, be described as belonging to Mahâyânism and treating of logic in particular. He has, therefore, to controvert all the systems of logic then known, and establish, on the basis of that comparative study, the superior excellence of Mahâyâna logic accepted as such. He has to pass under review a pretty large number of works and criticise them. Of these there are as many as sixty to seventy authors under reference. The work is commented on by his own disciple Kamalaśila, and the commentary is known as the *Pañjika*. The commentator adds to the value of the publication by making clear the references which are made only allusively by Śântarakshita. Between

the author and his disciple therefore we get, as it were, a conspectus of the learning of logic, and the stage that learning had reached in the eighth century A.D., the period when Buddhism remained still so far in good repute that the rising dynasty of Tibet adopted the religion and introduced it in the 'land of snow'.

The work is edited with a very considerable amount of creditable care and learning by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya and Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. The latter provides an illuminating English introduction which puts into requisition all that is known of Indian logic and Indian logicians, and the introduction covers as many as a hundred and fifty pages, while the Sanskrit *Prastávana* of seventy pages exhibits great learning and contains in it, as part of it, a versified summary of all the systems brought under advertence in the *Tattvasangraha*. The work is of such great value for this department of learning, and even for the general history of Indian culture, that we congratulate the editors and the Government of His Highness the Gaikwad on the publication. S. K. AIYANGAR.

JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, MADRAS, vol. I, part I, January 1927.

Another quarterly scientific *Journal* has been started in Madras, showing how far the interest in research has progressed in India among the natives of that land. It was only the other day that we noticed a similar *Journal* in Rajahmundry, and we welcome every such new comer into the antiquarian and archæological field, provided its work is as good and sound as that of the two new *Journals*. It is by local effort on the spot that the study of the history, literature and philosophy of the country can be really forwarded. General enquiry, like that of the Asiatic Societies is of course necessary in order to keep us in touch with the progress of learning as a whole, but it is the local associations that can bring the details to light.

A considerable difference is observable in the two first numbers of the new magazines. The Rajahmundry papers were chiefly historical; the Madras papers are chiefly on literature and philosophy. No doubt as time goes on both will exhibit researches in all directions, and let us hope that the excellence of the first issues will be maintained. R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COLOURS OF THE GODS.

A correspondent writes to me : "talking of popular Indian beliefs as to Christianity, when I was in Bihâr the peasants were firmly convinced that the Christian God was sky-blue in colour. This, of course, was quite proper, as their own Kṛishṇa was dark-blue. The belief was founded on a very old version of the Lord's Prayer which commenced 'Hê Âsmânî Bâp.'" R. C. TEMPLE.

MUSSULMEN.

The use by Europeans of the incorrect term Mussulmen for Musalmâns has already been noted, in this Journal, and here is another instance from an unsuspected source.

1866. About the middle of the twelfth century, a rumour circulated through Europe that there reigned in Asia, a powerful Christian Emperor, Presbyter Johannes. In a bloody fight he had broken the power of the Mussulmen.—S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 29.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A NOTE ON PIRACY IN EASTERN WATERS.

There are several omissions in Mr. Charles Hill's valuable notes on the above subject. One of the most entertaining of the early pirates was Captain Mucknell. He had been fined for calling the Puritans "Red-headed devils." This incensed him, and fuel was added to the flame, when he was ordered to give a state-room on his vessel, the *John*, to the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique, and his dusky family. "They would all be poisoned," he said, "if these blacks stayed long aboard." Two of the Company's officers who were on board threatened to report him, whereupon Mucknell got them to go ashore for a picnic at Johanna, and then marooned them. He disposed of other opponents by cropping their ears or landing them at St. Helena. When in his cups, we are told, he would say "I am a Prince at Sea. I am the proudest man on Earth. I am a Cockny, that's my glory!" He spent most of his time hovering round the Canary Isles, where he plundered the Company's shipping. The Parliament's ships once hunted him on to the rocks off the Scilly Islands, but he escaped, and a gold chain was offered for his capture. However, there is no record that he was ever brought to book. (*English Factories*, 1642-6, p. 262.)

Another famous corsair was Hugo Lambert, a Dutchman who sailed under French colours, and got the French factory into very bad odour by plundering a treasure-ship belonging to the Queen of Bijapur. Her Majesty was taking a vast store of jewels, silks, and carpets, with her on the Mecca pilgrimage, to distribute as gifts, when Hugo intercepted the ship. The famous father Ambrose, the Capuchin, whose word was law at Surat, had to intervene on behalf of his compatriots. (Thévenot's *Voyages des Indes Orientales*, ed. 1727. vol. V, chap. XI.)

Several pirates are mentioned in Ovington. On p. 438 he narrates the adventures of one Captain Say, who was captured by the notorious Sanganians. On page 468, he mentions a certain Captain A——S, who committed piracies in the vicinity of Mocha. I have never been able to identify Captain A——S, or to find out anything further about Captain Say. As I am engaged in editing Ovington, I should be grateful to any reader who could kindly assist me, or tell me if he has found any contemporary references to them in the Company's Records or other literature.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

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TO

PART DCCXI—A. VOL. LVI—1927.

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ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY. HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

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FORMERLY LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY.

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AND

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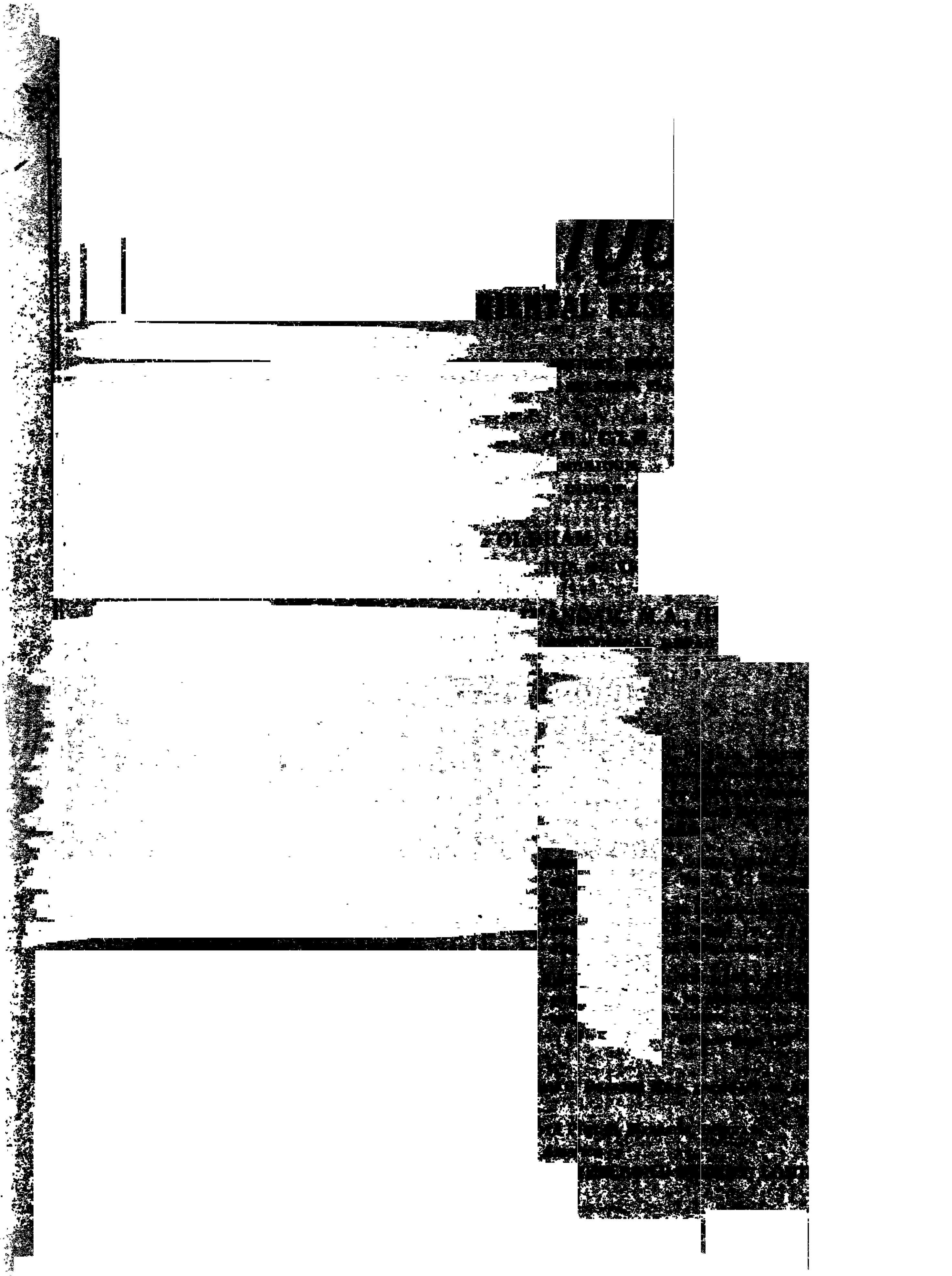
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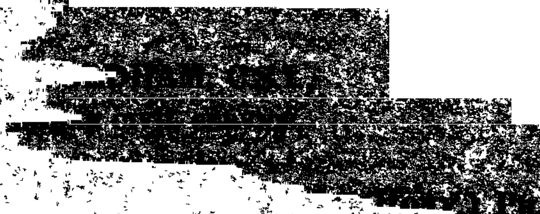
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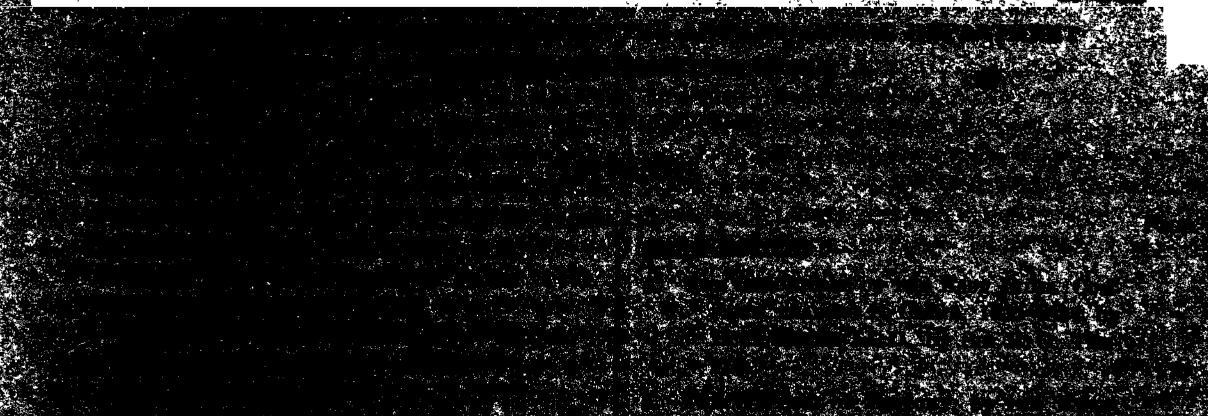
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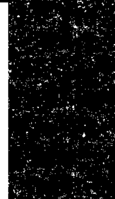
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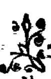
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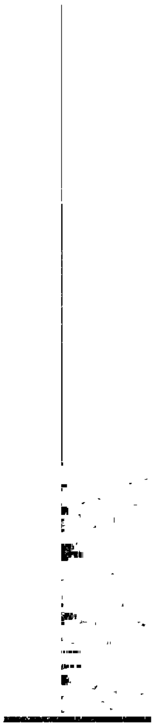
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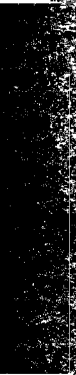
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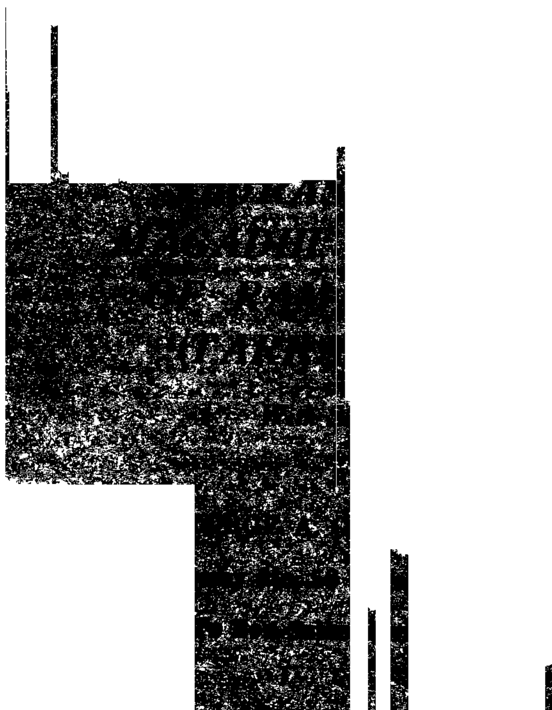
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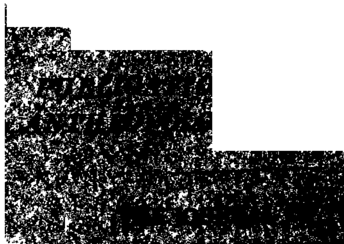
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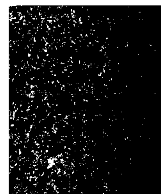
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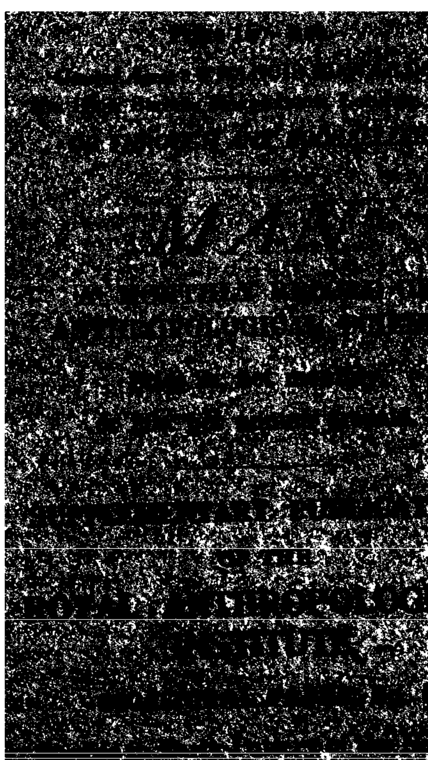
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